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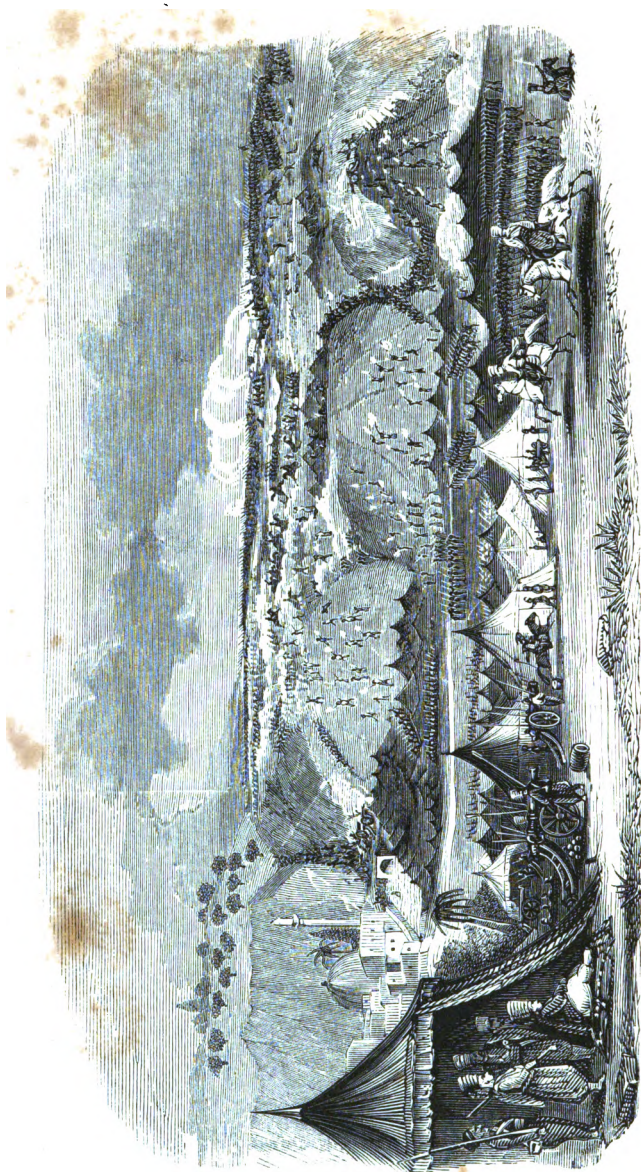












Battle of Nizib.

TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES  
IN  
ASIA MINOR, MESOPOTAMIA,  
CHALDEA, AND ARMENIA.

BY

WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

IN CHARGE OF THE EXPEDITION SENT BY THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,  
AND THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,  
TO THE CHRISTIAN TRIBES IN CHALDEA.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# CONTENTS

## OF

### THE FIRST VOLUME.

---

	PAGE
INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER - - - - -	1

#### CHAPTER I.

Suburb of Constantinople. The Lyre, why used in Illuminations. Mehemet Ali Pasha. Scutari, the Golden City. Fountain of Hermagora. The Giant Amycus. City of Chalcedon. Shores of the Propontia. Its Isles. Description of Harakah, or Libyssa. Tomb of Hannibal. Character of the Carthaginian Hero. His Death - - -	9
---	---

#### CHAPTER II.

Ismid—the ancient Nicomedia. Its present Condition. Old Canal. Village and Lake of Sabanjah. Ancient Bridge. Tradition of the Natives. Plain of Duz-cha, or Duseprum. Mohammedan horror of Pork. Visit to Uskub—the ancient Prusa ad Hypium. Mountains of the Summer Quarters. Ancient mode of felling Trees. Difficulties and Misadventures on the shores of the Black Sea. Alabli. Heraclea Pontica. Hercules' Labours. Acherusian Peninsula. Temple of Diospolin. Wolf or Sword River - - -	24
--	----

#### CHAPTER III.

The Hero's Stone. Pass of Blessings. Aspect of Country. Ascent of the Kara Tagh (Black Mountains). Valley of the Filiyas, or Billæus. Endemic Character of the Plague. Ruins of Stations and Guard-houses. Roman Road. Great Plane-tree. Ruins of Tium. Rivers of Bartan. Inscription I. <span style="float: right;">a</span>	
---	--

W W Bishop

tion and Sculptures, Tomb of Queen Amastria. Description of the Town, and origin of Amaserah—the ancient Amastrius	- - - - -	42
--	-----------	----

## CHAPTER IV.

The Hollow Rock. Mountain Pass. Mesjid in the Forest. Baggage in Arrear. Turkish Hospitality. Ascent of the Orminius. Slavonian Mountaineers. Town of Zafaran Boli. Church of St. Stephen. Empress Theodora. Environs of Zafaran Boli. Injustice to a Greek Boy. Osmanli Misrule	- - - - -	59
--	-----------	----

## CHAPTER V.

Upland of Iflani. The Black Forest. Muleteer runs away. New mode of procuring Horses. Trouble with the Muleteers. Visit to the Copper Mines. Cupidity of a Turkish Governor. City of Kastamuni. Evils of farmed Governments. Trade of Kastamuni. Its Castle. Persecutions of Christians. Town of Tash Kupri—Pompeiopolis. Antiquities. Splendid Sarcophagus. Greek Metropolis	-	70
---	---	----

## CHAPTER VI.

Virgin's Castle. Gate of Flints. Pine Forest. Jackalls. Town of Boiabad. Castle of the Sipahis. Valley of the Blue River. The Black Valley. Guard-house in the Defile. Town of Vizir Kupri. Greek Sepulchral Monument. Hare Mountains. Charcoal Burners. Attempt at Robbery. Practical Justice	- - - - -	87
--	-----------	----

## CHAPTER VII.

Town of Osmanjik. Thermal Spring. Monument of Icesius. Town and Castle of Churum. Passage of the Halys. Town of Eakilub. Reception by the Governor. Sepulchral Monuments. Castle of Blucium. Celtic Fort. Baptismal Font. Interior of a Cottage. Salt Mine. Arrival at Changri	- - - - -	97
--	-----------	----

## CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE

Town of Changri. Its Christian Inhabitants. Politics of the old Families of Turks. Guard-house of Tunai. Continuous Fog. Kalahjik (the Little Castle). Local Rebellion. Shock of an Earthquake. Are joined by suspicious Characters. Impaled Kurd. Ruins at Hasan Oghlan	- 109
--	-------

## CHAPTER IX.

A French Instructor of Cavalry. Visit to Izzet Mehemet Pasha. A Swiss Renegade. Severity of Winter. Start for the Mines of Ishik Tagh. Fort of the Galatians. Mule buried in the Snow. Thermal Baths. Remarkable Basaltic Pass. Pine Forest in Winter. The Mines of Ishik Tagh. A Sacrifice to Pluto. Quit the Mines. City of Angora. Its Ruins. Temple of Jupiter. Christian Churches. Angora Goats. Trade and Commerce	- 120
--	-------

## CHAPTER X.

Quit Angora. Epidemic among Cattle. Istanos and its Caves. Ascent of the Goklu Tagh. Mountain Cave. Castle and hot springs of Germesh. Robbers' Cave. Junction of two Rivers. Upland of the Haimaneh. Warm Baths of Yanina. Distrust of the Kurds. Red Castle. Plague in the Villages. Monastic Caves	- - - - 136
---	-------------

## CHAPTER XI.

Deserted Mines and Foxes. Khawasses part from us. Bridge of the King's Taster. District of the Short-Lance Tribe. The Silver and Lead Mines of Denek. Wild-goose Chase. Independent Turkomans. Castle of the Black-Eye. Rude Turkoman. Tradition of Jemalah Castle. Hosein Ghazi. Valley of the Sword River. Town of Kirshehr. Numerous Dervishes. Artificial Mound. Thermal Spring	- - - 149
---	-----------

a 2



## CHAPTER XII.

PAGE

Utch Ayak (the Three Arches). Rock Forts of Buffalo Plain.	
The Castle of the Lake. Mujur—Mocissus. Haji Bektash, the Founder of the Janissaries. Evils of the religious and social condition of the Turks. Noble Prospect in the Valley of the Halys. Caves of Osiana. Fantastic forms in the Rock	- - - - - 162

## CHAPTER XIII.

Christians of Nev Shehr. Conversations with the Priests. Attempted Deception and Extortion. Rocking Stones. Salt Mines. Tradition of Haji Bektash. Subterranean Chapel. Curious Missal. Difficulties with the Turkomans. Place of Sipahis. Vale of Parnassus. Pass of Kazi Uyük. First view of the Great Salt Lake	- - - - - 173
--	---------------

## CHAPTER XIV.

Koch Hisar (Ram's Castle). Legend of a Mohammedan Girl. Kurd Migrations. Saline Marshes and Lakes. The Rock Pass. Peace Mount—Ruins of Congusta. Mohammedan Theological Students. Ruins of Perta. The Sultan's Khan. Seljukiyan Sultans. Broken-down Tatar. The Great Salt Lake. Extent, Characters, and Animals. Ak Serai (the White Palace). Saracenic Architecture	- 186
---	-------

## CHAPTER XV.

Iron Village. Ravines with Grottoes. Garsabora, a town of Caves. Castle of Sevri Hisar. Secluded Greek Church. Lose our Way. Monastery of St. James. Kaiser Keuy—Dio Cæsarea. Valley of Soandum. Numerous Caves. Greek Festival for the Dead. Castle of Zingibar—Nora and Cybistra. Plain of Kara Hisar. Fortified Khan. Town	
---	--

of Injeh Su (Narrow Water). General Conclusions.	
Cappadocian Greeks. Natural Features. Hasan Tagh.	
Contrasted Configuration. Various Rock Architecture	- 200

## CHAPTER XVI.

Kaiseriye. Armenian Christians. Character of the City.	
Population and Antiquities. Mount Argæus—Arjish Tagh.	
Start from Kaiseriye. Group in a Market-Place. Armenians not Christians. Effects of the Bastinado. A fierce Ayyan. Enter Anti-Taurus	- - - - 219

## CHAPTER XVII.

Viran Shehr (Ruined City). Shohair (Little Town). Saracenic Road. Tunuz—ancient Tonoza. Black Sanctuary. Agricultural Armenians. Pass of the Beard-Stroker. Town of Gurun. Sources of the Tokmah Su—Melas. Derendah—ancient Ptandari. Christian Inhabitants. Castle. Historical Reminiscences	- - - - 234
---	-------------

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Start from Derendah. Akjah Kurds. Resistance to the Osmanlis. The Salep Orchis. Arka—ancient Arcas. Aspuzi, summer quarters of Malatiye. Discussion on road to be pursued. Town of Malatiye—Melitene. Start for the Taurus. Persian Pilgrims. Viran Shehr (Ruined Town)—the ancient Laviassena	- - - - 247
--	-------------

## CHAPTER XIX.

Passage of the Taurus. Pass of Erkenek. Pelvereh—ancient Perre. Roman Roads. Town of Besni—ancient Nisus. Difficulties in fording the Gök Su. Town of Adiyaman—	
---	--

Hisn Mansur and Carbanum. Troubles with the Kurds.	
River and Town of Kakhtah. Kurd Bey of Tokariz.	
Evil habits of the Kurds - - - -	260

## CHAPTER XX.

Vale of Gergen Kafehsi. Rupture with the Kurds. Castle of Gergen. Prospect from the Castle. Armenians of Taurus. Muleteer runs away. Visit from a Kurd Chief. Bribe the Ayyan. Dangerous Mountain Road. Passage of Euphrates. Syrian Villages. Cataracts of Samosata. Aqueduct. Difficulty of procuring food. Deserted Villages. Someisat—Samosata. Ruins of Syrian Villages. Curious Cavities. Ecclesiastical and Monastic Edifices. Arrival at Birehjik - - - -	275
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXI.

Retrospective. Views of the Sultan Mahmoud. Hafiz Pasha, Serasker. Diyarbekr. Campaign of Sinjar. Campaigns in Taurus. Campaign of Akjah Tagh and Kakhtah. Preparations in other Pashaliks. Prussian Officers. Passage of Taurus by the Army. Camp at Nizib. Policy of Ibrahim Pasha - - - -	289
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXII.

Town of Birehjik. Prospect around us. Ferries on Euphrates. Road to the Camp. Reception by the Serasker. Birehjik at night-time. Return to the Camp. Aspect of the Camp. Curious Whirlwinds. Village of Nizib. Defences of the Camp - - - -	304
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Prisoners of War. Arrival of the Egyptian Army. Thoughts suggested by our present position. Mohammedan Vespers. A Reconnoissance. Skirmish of Irregular Cavalry—Interrupted by Cannonade. A Martial Dervish. Conflagration of the Plain. Fate of Isaid Bey - - -	317
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXIV.

PAGE

Position of the Turks turned by the Enemy. Hafiz Pasha's Irresolution. Position of the two Armies. Midnight Cannonade. Personal Arrangements. Preliminaries to the Engagement. Arrival of Reinforcements. The Kurds pillage the Tents. Egyptian Prisoners disband. Progress of the Battle. Right and left wings driven back. Final Defeat of the Turks	- - -	331
--	-------	-----

## CHAPTER XXV.

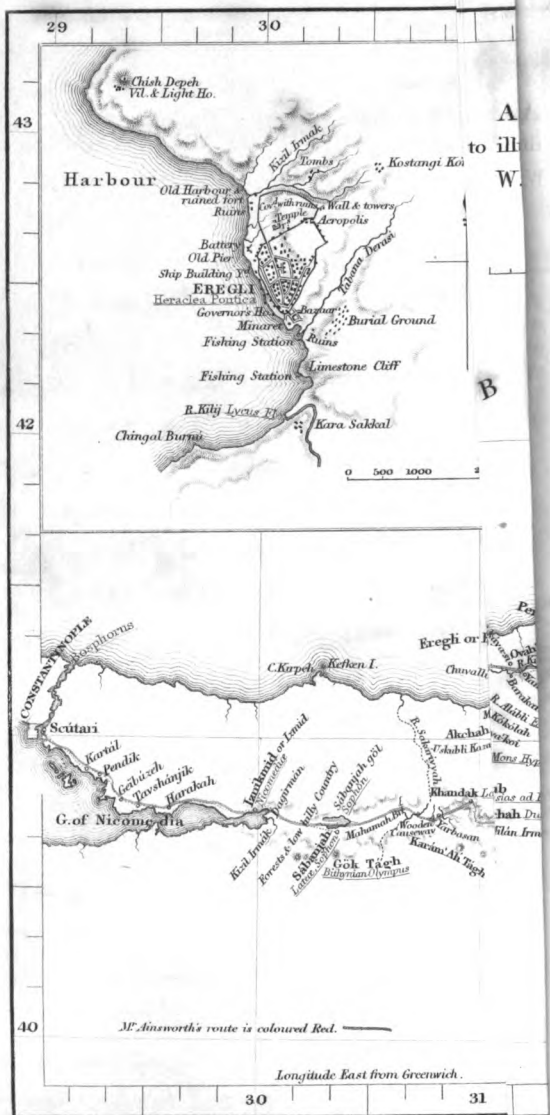
Line of Retreat. Turn off for Aintab. Attempt at Robbery. Descent of a Ravine. Night's Bivouac. Retreat obstructed by the Kurds. Sufferings of the Disabled. Pons Singæ. Reach Besni. Renewed opposition from the Kurds. A murdered Christian. Arrival at Malatiyeh	-	349
---	---	-----

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

---

	PAGE
The Battle of Nizib . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Map of part of Asia Minor, to illustrate the route to Angora, <i>to face</i>	1
The Sultan's Sign Manual . . . . .	8
The Tomb of Hannibal . . . . .	9
Harakli—Heraclea Pontica . . . . .	24
Pelasgian Gateway . . . . .	31
The Hero's Stone . . . . .	42
Tomb of Amastris . . . . .	58
Zafaran Boli—Flaviopolis . . . . .	59
Tash Kupri—Pompeiopolis . . . . .	70
Pass of the Black Valley . . . . .	87
Town of Osmanjik . . . . .	97
Tomb of Icesius . . . . .	100
Eskilub—Blucium . . . . .	108
Kalahjik—Peium . . . . .	109
Basaltic Pass . . . . .	120
View at Angora . . . . .	136
Map of Asia Minor and Route across Mesopotamia . . . . . <i>to face</i>	136
Mevelevi Dervishes . . . . .	149
Utch Ayak . . . . .	162
Excavated Stones at Osiana . . . . .	172
Rocking Stones . . . . .	173
Sultan's Khan . . . . .	186
Castle of Sevri Hisar . . . . .	200
Mount Argæus . . . . .	221
Viran Shehr . . . . .	234
Laviasena . . . . .	247
Castle of Besni . . . . .	260
Gergen Kalehsi . . . . .	275
Hafiz Pasha's Tent . . . . .	317





# TRAVELS IN ASIA MINOR.

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## INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

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ON the return of the Euphrates Expedition to this country in the year 1837, a strong desire was excited among many, to become acquainted with the actual condition of the mountaineer Chaldean Christians, of whom much had been heard during that Expedition, but whose isolated position, and country difficult of access, had placed them beyond the reach of the exploratory excursions of the officers.

Under these circumstances, the Royal Geographical Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, united to bear the expenses of an expedition, which should specially visit these interesting tribes, and the Author of the present Narrative, and Mr. Rassam, having been selected by the Geographical Society for the undertaking, were approved of by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The Author had accompanied the Euphrates Expedition as Surgeon and Geologist, and had communicated



several papers to the *Transactions of the Geographical Society*, besides publishing the result of his scientific researches in a separate volume.

Mr. Rassam was a Chaldean, native of Musul, who had been educated by the missionaries at Cairo, and had joined the Euphrates Expedition at Malta, where he was at that time the chief Arabic Translator to the Board of Missions. He had returned with the author through Kurdistan and Asia Minor, a long exploratory trip made in search of coal, by order of Colonel Chesney, the able and enlightened Commander of the Euphrates Expedition. His travelling experience, his knowledge of the Turkish and Arabic languages, his previous connection with missionary societies, and his claims of relationship among the Chaldeans, rendered him peculiarly fitted for the undertaking generally, and the task of making the inquiries suggested by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge accordingly devolved chiefly upon him.

To these gentlemen was subsequently joined Mr. Thomas M. Russell, whose abilities as a mathematician rendered him of the highest value to the Expedition, so long as he continued with it. After the retreat from Nizib, he was compelled, by protracted illness, to return home, and the astronomical portion of its labours suffered much from his loss.

A considerable extent of territory, variously inhabited, lay between the confines of Europe and the country of the Chaldeans, many parts of which presented a most interesting field for geographical and general exploration; the Societies, therefore, drew up a form of Instructions as to what were to constitute the objects of research, of exploration, or of actual survey, on the route. These comprised labours, of such magnitude as can only be appreciated by those who have been personally upon the ground.

The primary instructions regarded the exploration of that portion of Lesser Asia which lay between Heraclea Pontica and Angora, and in the midst of which there were supposed to exist ancient sites, and even modern cities, as Zaferan Boli, very little known to our maps or geographical treatises.

The next great object was the survey of the celebrated Halys, or Salt River, of the Ancients,—the Kizil Irmak, or Red River, of the Turks. Then to enter into, and ascertain whether roads existed in the Haimaneh, a central district of Lesser Asia, tenanted by Kurds and Turkomans. To visit the mines of Central Asia, and more especially the salt mines of Hajji Bektash. Thence to explore the Great Salt Lake—the Tattea Palus of the Ancients, and to fix its northern and southern boundaries. To ascertain the elevation of as many points,

especially high table-lands and their principal summits, as possible. To visit Kaiseriye, and to determine the course and sources of the Melas—a long-debated question.

Proceeding into Cataonian Cappadocia, the Expedition was to identify in that country the ancient sites of Castabala, Ariarathia, Commana Cappadocia, and others.

Arrived at Malatiye, it was left to the urgencies of the moment, whether the Expedition should proceed direct to Musul, by Dyarbekr and the valley of the Tigris, or whether, after examining the passage of Euphrates through Taurus, and the cataracts above So-meisat, it should enter Mesopotamia and penetrate at once into the Sinjar.

The presence of the Serasker of the Turkish army at the time on the frontiers of Syria and Mesopotamia, presented a favourable opportunity for attempting the second line, under his protection. Unfortunately, however, the Expedition arrived at the moment of the advance of the Egyptian army; the battle of Nizib followed, and by the disastrous results of that action, it was thrown back, with many losses and privations, upon Constantinople.

Mesopotamia was ultimately reached by an interesting line through Lesser Asia, the passes of Taurus, and

North Syria. It was traversed by a new road, on the line of which the ruins of an ancient Christian Chaldean city were met with, and Musul itself was reached in the spring of 1840.

Excursions were made thence, according to the instructions, to visit the remarkable city of Atra, in the Desert, and the Babylonian ruin of Ur of the Persians. Nineveh, Eski Musul, and the field of Arbela, were also explored.

During the same summer the Author, accompanied by Mr. Rassam, effected an entrance into the Kurdistan mountains, and the country of the Chaldean Christians. The instructions demanded an exploration and determination of the sites of Amadiyeh, Julamerik, and Rowandiz; information regarding the Chaldean mountaineers of the Tiyyari, Hakari and other tribes; and friendly and religious communications with their patriarch, bishops and priests. All this was happily accomplished.

The reports concerning the Izedis, or Devil-Worshippers, were also to be examined into, and their chief seat of worship was visited with this view.

If, by means of a caravan or otherwise, the Expedition could cross the intervening mountains into Persia, it was to be done, and the Lake of Urmieh to be explored. This was also carried into execution, and the

party returned by the pass of Keli-shin and the peak of Rowandiz, which was ascended, and its height determined. The city of the same name was also visited.

Quitting Musul shortly after their return from the mountains, the party proceeded according to instructions to the pass where the Tigris is hemmed in by the Kurdistan mountains, so celebrated for the resistance made at that point to the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks. Some interesting ruins were found there.

The site of Tigranocerta, and the rivers of Se'rt and Betlis, were then explored, the cities of the same names were also visited, and thence the Expedition proceeded into Greater Armenia.

Finally the party returned by the lofty upland of Mush, and the still more elevated and cold regions of Khinis Kalehsi, and the commercial sites of Erzurum and Trebizond, to Constantinople, where they arrived in the fall of the year 1840.

With the exception of that part of the travels which extended over the country between Musul and Trebizond,—comprising the Passes of Xenophon, the site of Tigranocerta, the discussion regarding the easterly feeders of the Tigris, and the description of the uplands of Armenia,—the scientific and geographical results of the Expedition have already been communicated to the Royal Geographical Society. It is not proposed, there-

fore, in the work now offered to the public, to dwell upon the various matters which more properly formed the subject of those reports, but, as far as possible, to convey a general idea of the character of the countries visited, of the peculiarities of their inhabitants, their scenery and antiquities, and, still more especially, to present a succinct narrative, in the form of a journal, of the intercourse held with the Chaldean Christians, and of the various adventures and mishaps which the party had to encounter while travelling through countries at all times of little security, but rendered still less so by the disturbed period in which the Expedition was undertaken.

Mr. Rassam quitted London in the spring of 1838 for Malta, and Mr. Russell and the Author shortly afterwards left this country, with a view to carry a series of observations on terrestrial magnetism across the Continent of Europe. These were subsequently printed, and favourably commented upon, by the reporter, Colonel Sabine, F.R.S., in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.

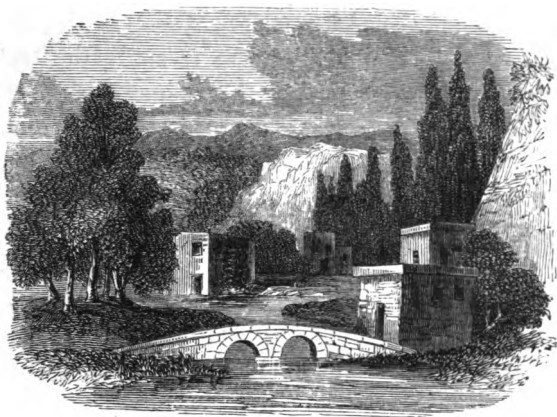
On their journey they consulted the libraries of Paris, that of the Armenians near Venice, and the libraries of Vienna, on subjects connected with the countries they were about to visit. Soon after their arrival at Constantinople, where they were joined by Mr. Rassam

and a friend of his, Mr. Pulsford, a young Englishman travelling for information, and who was to accompany the Expedition a short distance into Asia Minor, they left that city, to commence their exploratory travels: having been previously, through the kindness of Lord Ponsonby, provided with a firman of considerable length and great power, and bearing the Sultan's sign manual.



The Sultan's Sign Manual.

## CHAPTER I.



The Tomb of Hannibal.

Suburb of Constantinople. The Lyre, why used in Illuminations. Mehemet Ali Pasha. Scutari, the Golden City. Fountain of Hermagora. The Giant Amycus. City of Chalcedon. Shores the Propontis. Its Isles. Description of Harakah, or Libyssa. Tomb of Hannibal. Character of the Carthaginian Hero. His Death.

ON leaving Pera, which was the portion of Constantinople devoted to the residence of foreigners, as early as the time of Michael Paleologus, for Uskudar, or Scutari, the caique, starting from the point of Top Khani, or the Arsenal, did not wend its way directly out of the Golden Horn across to Scutari. In order to gain the advantage of a strong back current, it kept along the European shore, passing first the Arsenal itself, and then the suburb of Fundukli, remarkable for its red painted houses, a distinction of bright from sombre colours, which the Turks



arrogate to themselves in all that concerns them; but which they show especially, in their houses and garments, their tombs and their turbans.

The suburb of Fundukli was formerly the seat of the country house of Hussein Agha, one of the richest Osmanlis of the time of Mohammed IV.; and scarcely a week elapsed, according to Oriental chroniclers, without a visit from the Sultan, who enjoyed the amusement of fishing from windows which advanced upon the Bosphorus. The Osmanlis appear to have progressed in the luxurious appliances of that noble stream since those days; for not only several palaces of the Sultan, but those of beys and aghas innumerable, have in the present day apartments, beneath which its clear deep waters flow undisturbed.

Fundukli is considered by Constantinopolitan topographers to be the site of the ancient Aianton, where was the tomb erected by Chalcis in honour of a dolphin, or what I fear might with equal propriety, although little poetic beauty, be designated a porpoise. Chalcis, according to mythologists, was a shepherd who played upon the lyre with so much skill, that one of these ungainly fish, like seals on the coasts of Caledonia, was wooed and won by his harmony. A certain Charandas, jealous of the talent of Chalcis, killed the porpoise, when the sorrowing musician erected a monument\*, to his finny admirer. These edifices of ancient times are now passed away, and not a vestige of such structures remain; but what is interesting in the narrative, and

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\* It appears that sheep-tending in those early and pastoral times was a lucrative as well as poetic and artistic employment.

what, indeed, has induced us, *en passant*, to refer to it, is, that, as in many other cases in the East, the mythological tradition has continued to be transmitted, only in another manner; for whenever Mohammedan joys or festivities demand an illumination for the night, the shores of the Bosphorus may be seen from Fundukli to Buyuk Dereh, sparkling with radiant lyres.

Beyond Fundukli is the suburb called Dolma Bak-tchi (the Garden of Dolmas\*), which was the favourite quarter of Selim III. The palace of the Sultan is now supplanted by a cannon foundry, and the little port in front of this appears to be the same as that formerly called Pentecontoricos, from the galleys with fifty oars, which Taurus led there when he left Scythia on his way to Crete. The Argonauts also landed at this point.

Constantinople is divided into four governments or pashaliks, each of the pashas being a member of the ministry. The suburbs of Galata, Pera, and Fundukli constitute one of these governments, and are at the present moment ruled by Mehemet Ali Pasha, a young man of very gentlemanly manners, who was a great favourite of the late as well as of the present Sultan. At the death of Mahmud, he was only Mehemet Ali Bey, a young courtier, and was the person despatched before the battle of Nizib to carry the firman and insignia of Serasker of the East to Hafiz Pasha. In his hurry he outstripped his escort, and proceeded onwards with a single tatar; when in the passes of Taurus, he was

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\* Dolmas are beydenjams, also called egg-plant (*Solanum Melongena*), filled with rice and chopped meat, or the same admirable compound enveloped in vine-leaves and boiled.

attacked by some Kurds, who intended to rob him. It was in vain that he proclaimed his high office of chamberlain to the Sultan, and bearer of despatches from the Father of Kings; the Kurds did not pay the slightest attention to his asseverations. "What!" he said, turning with mingled apprehension and astonishment to the tatar, "do not these people know the Sultan?" "No, my lord, not in the least," was the quiet but significant reply. So he was obliged to fee his master's faithful and submissive subjects, before he was allowed to continue his journey.

Mehemet Ali Pasha has many of the faults of an Oriental, but he cannot be considered as belonging to the old school; and although he has not made himself acquainted with any European language, he is by no means hostile to Franks, or to the introduction of European ameliorations. His fortune has for some years past been always in the ascendant, and he is at the present moment one of the most rising men in Constantinople.

The caique having reached as far as the stairs of Dolma Baktchi, struck across the Thracian Bosphorus, the course of whose currents has exercised the ingenuity of many geographers, among them our own celebrated Rennell. They appear, however, to be mainly regulated by the alternate salient and re-entering angles of the shore. There are seven of these, producing as many different currents, and which are felt in different directions. Englishmen who, while at Constantinople, may have business to transact with the ambassador, run a good chance of becoming intimately acquainted with them.

As we were rowed across the Bosphorus, Scutari, the "Golden City" of the Greeks, extended before us almost to its extreme southerly point, its houses rising in the rear to the cypress-clad heights of the Necropolis on the one side, and to the acclivities of Burghalu on the other. With a population of from 30,000 to 35,000 souls, it may be truly said, that it would be considered a large town but for the presence of Constantinople on the other side.

Porters having been put in requisition, we ascended the narrow streets, till we reached an open space at the back of the town, where we found the menzil-khan, or post-house. We had provided ourselves with an especial firman for horses, as the service from Scutari to Ismid is performed in rude carts, driven along at great speed, each with four horses, and not at all adapted for the transport of mathematical instruments.

The baggage being loaded, we rode across the vast burial-ground, like a cemetery in a forest, which is the admiration of all Oriental travellers, till a gentle descent brought us upon the beautiful vale of Kawak Serai, with the village of Kadi Keuy, the Propontis, and its rocky islets before us, and the great quadrangular barracks of Scutari advancing upon the promontory of Bos to our right.

The poplars from whence the valley of Kawak Serai (Poplar Palace) obtained its name, have disappeared, and the same may also be said of the Kiosk of Murad, which formerly existed in the same place. The valley is watered by a small rivulet, which has its sources at a short distance up the vale, a place which once had the high-sounding title of Fons Hermagora. Near where

this rivulet flows into the sea is a raised place of Moham-medan prayer, overshadowed by some fine plane-trees, and beyond is a modern guard-house. Here was once a temple to Venus, and a smaller one to the hero Eurostes, and at the bottom of the same valley is the bay anciently of Amycus, afterwards of Chalcedon.

Amycus is a semi-fabulous personage, pourtrayed by the poets as the son of Neptune and of the nymph Meles, and who reigned in the most remote times over Bebrycia. This king is said by Apollodorus to have challenged the Argonauts to a wrestling match, and Pollux accepting the challenge killed him. He is also described as a giant by the ancient poets, more especially Valerius Flaccus; and a mountain at the head of the Bosphorus is recorded to the present day by tradition as the burial-place of this giant of old, as consecrated in its name of Giant's Mountain.

It appears from Hierocles that at the head of the harbour of Amycus was Necropolis (The City of the Dead). This is an interesting notice, as it assists in fixing the relative position of places, and shows also that while ages go by, names change, and races of men succeed to one another; that the uses and purposes of things may remain the same; and that Osmanlis lie now in all the pride of marble and gold, on crumbling dust, where Bebrycians, Athenians, and Romans have mouldered away before.

Passing the vale of Kawak Serai, we found ourselves abreast of the small but pretty village of Kadi Keuy, the site of ancient Chalcedon, a city which enjoys no less celebrity from its antiquity, the great men to whom it gave birth, and the various fortune which fell to

its lot, than from the monuments which adorned it; and in particular that famous temple of Apollo, whose oracles scarcely yielded the palm to those of Delphi. The Megareans, the founders of Chalcedon, were long the object of derision to their neighbours, and the wit expended on their misinterpretation of an oracle, which dates from the most remote period of ancient Greece, was not too old to be revived by the sarcasm-loving pen of Gibbon.

The ride from Chalcedon along the shores of the Propontis, even as far as to Ismid, is at once interesting from the number of historical recollections, and remarkably beautiful in its soft and varied scenery. It is everywhere covered with verdure, diversified by gardens and groves, and embellished by extensive landscapes, embracing the Propontis and its islands, and the high and wooded coast of Mediterranean Bithynia, backed by the cloud-capped summits of Olympus.

The gulf which follows that of Chalcedon, now called Mundi Burnu, is the ancient harbour of Eutropas. The remains of walls and other fragments of antiquity are still to be observed. It was here that Phocas destroyed Maurice and his four sons.

A little beyond this we came to a bridge called that of the Bostangi Bashi, or head of the Gardens. There was here a guard and a government-station, where passports are examined, and quarantine is sometimes enforced. Not far from hence, and near the shore, are the ruins of the monastery of St. George, close to which is a mineral spring. The islands, called those of the Princes—the Propontides of Pliny—open upon the right in all their beauty. They are six in number, four large and two

small. Two of the larger, Protea and Antigonea, are sterile, while in those of Prinkipo and Kalkis are several monasteries, and a school of some repute. Pierre Gilles, one of the oldest and best topographers of Constantinople, found the remains here of the mine which gave to the island its name of Kalkis. This traveller was sent into the Levant by Francis I., but being forgotten by his ministers, he was reduced to the necessity of enlisting in the Turkish service, and in the quality of a military man made several campaigns in Persia. He at last got away and reached Rome, where he published his valuable researches. Happy it is that in our days of intelligence wedded to philanthropy, such a termination to the toil and labour of several years can in very few cases be expected to occur.

Leaving Mount Aidos to the left, and passing the hills of Yaka Juk, we went no farther on the first day of our journey (the 18th of September, 1838,) than Kartal, a village chiefly tenanted by Greeks, and surrounded by gardens of vegetables for the Constantinopolitan market. The first day the traveller leaves the metropolis in this half-civilized country, he has to take a lesson in spreading his carpet on the floor, and sleeping under his cloak,—a practice to which he soon becomes inured.

The next day we rode through Pandikhi, the Panti-chium of old, a fishing-village, also of Greeks, and where are the remains of a castle, in part constructed out of the the ruins of a still more ancient edifice. The road from hence begins to ascend to the large village of Geybuseh, leaving Cape Acritan, with the little isle of Nyssa beyond, to the right.

Geybuseh, the ancient Dacibyza, has a handsome

jami, and is surrounded by burial-grounds, shaded with the customary cypresses. At the menzil-khan there is a marble sarcophagus, which now serves as a trough for watering horses; and numerous other fragmentary remains attest the antiquity of the site. This small town, which is provided with a tolerable market, and contains a population of 1500 souls, is built on a hill of trap rocks succeeded by cretaceous limestones, the latter of which constitute a hilly country from hence to Tavshanjik (The Little Hare), a pretty village of Osmanli Turks, surrounded by gardens, and groves of fruit-trees, and vineyards, which extend from thence along the shore to Harakah, a menzil-khan and ferry to Ersek, on the opposite side of the gulf of Astacus or Nicomedia.

After exploring the ruins around, we passed the night in this last place, in a small but clean mesjid\*; the only inconvenience of such a peculiar resting-place being, that they turned us out an hour before day-break for the sabah-namazi, or morning-prayer.

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\* The terms *mosque* and *jami* are very indiscriminately used by travellers in the East, nor are the natives themselves always particular in their application. *Mosque* is a French word adopted in our language, and corrupted from the Spanish *mesquita*, or the Turkish *mesjid*; a term generally applied to a place of Mohammedan worship not having a *menareh*, commonly written from the French, *minaret*. Such as have the latter appendages are called *Jamis*, from *Jumah-namazi*, "the place of Friday's devotions," so that a *mesjid* is also sometimes called by the same name. A royal *jami* is called *Selatyn*. Some natives have asserted that no place of worship is, strictly speaking, a *jami*, unless it has two *menarehs*, a *mesjid* having one. I have adopted, however, the first and most general acceptance.



Harakah is a remarkably beautiful spot. It is situated in a bay or inlet of the sea, from which the road rises gradually, among vineyards and plantations of apricots and cherries, to the west. To the east it is carried along a more difficult way hewn in the face of steep precipices of limestone; in the rear is a high artificial mound, with ruins on its summit, overtopped by rocky cliffs, and washed at its base by a rivulet whose banks are clothed with a luxuriant vegetation, which spreads thence over the whole vale.

To the east of the rivulet are ruins of walls and buildings, the interior of which are now occupied by gardens and vineyards, but which fully indicate the former existence of a small town. In front, and near to the shore, the rivulet is crossed by a low moss-clad bridge; above which, at a small distance, and on the right bank, is a mill; while to the left is the picturesque little mesjid which constituted our temporary home.

Beyond the mesjid is the post-house; a khan, or kerwanseraï, and a single shop occupy the opposite side of the road; and there are, besides, two or three houses in the gardens. These are all the habitations of Harakah, while in front of the khan, and drawn up upon the beach, are a few boats, the proprietors of which are engaged upon the ferry hence to Ersek; for this is the point where the great road from Scutari to Ismid comes from the interior uplands, after cutting the promontory of Acritan down to the sea-coast.

There can be no doubt from the comparison of ancient data with existing distances, that Harakah is on the site of the ancient Libyssa.

From the unchanging (at least without the lapse of

very long periods of time) circumstances of physical configuration, the ancient road was necessitated to follow the same line as it does at present. The same deep valley which separates the hill of Geybuseh from that of Tav-shanjik in the present day, becoming deep and impassably abrupt on the sea-side, offered the same obstacles to the road being carried along the coast in ancient times, as it does at present; while the southerly prolongation of Cape Acritan rendered it also equally advisable, for brevity sake, as well as for the facilities offered by the road, to carry it from Pandikhi inward to Geybuseh rather than along the shore.

Libyssa was distinguished from the numerous mansions, stations, and changes along the great road in a very particular manner, by its being the burial-place of the distinguished but unfortunate Hannibal\*. It has, therefore, been much sought after by comparative geographers. Colonel Leake has identified it with Malsum, a village to which he turned off from the great road to be ferried across to Ersek; but which neither is, nor ever was, upon the ancient or modern great road. Others have identified it with Geybuseh. There is some connexion of name between the two latter places; but two circumstances are fatal to the identification: first, that the distances are not the same; and secondly, that the tumulus of Hannibal was on the sea-shore, from which Geybuseh, and the tumulus near it, are distant some miles.

The descriptions left to us by writers of olden time,

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\* Helena, the mother of Constantine, to whom she gave birth in our good city of York, is said to have been the daughter of an innkeeper at Libyssa.

more especially those of the middle ages, are very complete. Stephanus, called the Byzantine, quoting Alexander Polyhistoris, says this site, Libyssa, is a maritime castle of Bithynia, and I have described ruins as of a castle in a position eminently maritime. Ptolemy says, "near the sea;" and Cellarius very properly deduces that from a statement of such latitude, it might be from three to four miles from the sea, if other circumstances favoured such an idea; but there are no such circumstances. Plutarch makes a very descriptive statement. "There is a place in Bithynia," says this valuable historian, "where are tumuli of sand, and a certain village of no great size, which is called Libyssa." This description does apply itself partially to Harakah, but not at all to Geybuseh. The account, however, of tumuli of sand appears to be an addition concerning the tumulus, over which, according to others, the sand was drifted, or refers to little heaps of drift-sand piled up in the bay. Pliny the Younger, who was long prefect of Nicomedia, records that the grave of Hannibal is marked by a tumulus.

Among other curious statements is one made by Appianus Alexandrinus, who says that Libyssa is neither a town nor a village, but a river, from which the neighbouring district is named; this does not certify that if a village sprang up, it might not be called after the river or district; and at Harakah there is a rivulet, at Geybuseh there is none. Eutropius describes Hannibal as being buried *near* Libyssa, and on the confines of the district of Nicomedia.

Libyssa is so written by all authorities, except by Ptolemy, who spells it Libissa. The Jerusalem Itine-

rary, in alluding to this place, swells up the titles of the Carthaginian hero to an amplitude which goes in advance of the truth.

*Ibi positus est Rex Annibalianus qui fuit Afrorum.*

The resting-place of a body, in which was enshrined a spirit so briefly successful, and so long unfortunate, is truly full of interest. The circumstances of the death of Hannibal are involved in the same melancholy sadness as the history of his whole life. A modern French author, poet, and politician,—who cannot view Hannibal but as “an East India Company’s General,” carrying on a mercantile campaign,—“a brilliant and heroic operation of commerce on the plains of Thrasymene,”—still contemplates the death of the Carthaginian as pathetic; and complacently remarks, that it reconciles him to his triumphs:

But how much deeper is the interest felt in the fate of such a man, by those who view him in the light of one who was engaged in combating, not for the liberty of his country only, but for that of the whole world; whose genius made a small centre of industry, the enemy all but triumphant of the most potent republic that ever existed; and who died, still stirring up the spirit of the East to resist a tyranny which at that moment threatened to overwhelm the whole world. “History,” says Heeren, “in relating the incredible ill-treatment experienced by Carthage previous to her fall, appears to have wished to offer to people, who can appreciate it, an example of what they may expect from the domination of a powerful republic.”

It is well known, that when the policy of Rome succeeded in effecting the disgrace of Hannibal, that, firm

to his original principles, and attached even in misfortune to the real interests of his country, he repaired to the court of Antiochus the Great, and urged that monarch to carry war into the interior of Italy itself. "How fortunate for Rome," says another philosophical historian, "that two such men as Hannibal and Antiochus could not agree!"

When this last opportunity of redeeming the liberty of the world was lost, Hannibal, still resolute in attempting something for the falling nations of the East and West, repaired to the court of Prusias II., who reigned at Nicomedia, and engaged that king as a last resource in a war with Eumenes II., king of Pergamus, and an ally of the Romans. But the paltry monarch of the Bithynian forests, awed by the power of Rome, or jealous of the abilities of his guest, treacherously intended to give him up; when, without a home, betrayed by those whose cause he had espoused, and with the prospect around him of the proximate subjugation of the whole of the civilized world, Hannibal withdrew himself from a no longer useful existence by a self-inflicted and miserable death\*.

It is difficult not to conceive, that as Lesser Asia promises to become a country which will be much frequented by travellers and tourists, more especially such

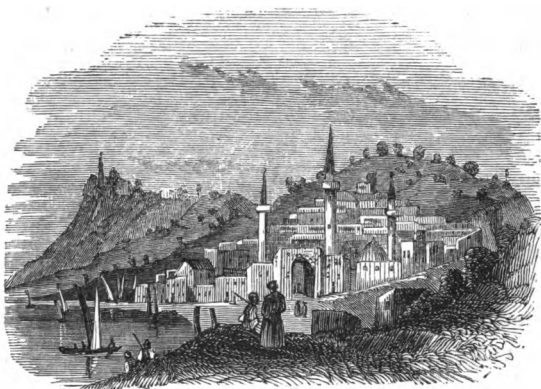
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\* The battle of Magnesia decided the fate of the old nations of the Asiatic peninsula, and acquired to the Romans all of Asia on this side of Taurus. Eumenes, in return for his friendship for the Romans, had large possessions added to his kingdom, but these were soon afterwards given up by Attalus, and reduced to a Roman province, under the name of Asia.

as are prepared by study and reading to enjoy and appreciate the scenery and the never-fading reminiscences which belong to these once favoured lands, that there will be many like ourselves, to whom a knowledge of the facts by which to guide themselves to so interesting a spot as the tomb of Hannibal will be acceptable; and who may rejoice in an excuse which will enable them to spend a few pensive hours by the ever-glorious and brilliant shores of the Propontis—moments which will not be less hallowed if passed over a grave which contains all that remains, save a virtuous memory, of “I, the conqueror of Spain and Gaul, and not only of the Alpine nations, but, which is greater yet, of the Alps themselves” (Hannibal to his soldiers: LIVY)—“The greatest enemy to the Roman name” (PLUTARCH, *Life of Lucullus*)—“This tremendous Hannibal” (Scipio to the Roman army: HOOKE).

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## CHAPTER II.



Harakli—Heraclea Pontica.

**Ismid, the ancient Nicomedia. Its present Condition. Old Canal. Village and Lake of Sabanjah. Ancient Bridge. Tradition of the Natives. Plain of Duz-cha, or Duseprum. Mohammedan horror of Pork. Visit to Uskub, the ancient Prusa ad Hypium. Mountains of the Summer Quarters. Ancient mode of felling Trees. Difficulties and Misadventures on the shores of the Black Sea. Alabli. Heraclea Pontica. Hercules' Labours. Acherusian Peninsula. Temple of Diospolin. Wolf or Sword River.**

A PLEASANT ride of six hours from Harakah took us to Izmid, or Nicomedia. The intervening country is hilly, but for the most part cultivated: the scenery delightful.

Nicomedia, so long the capital of a kingdom, has been truly said to occupy a most imperial situation, both with respect to the scenery about it, and to its political and commercial advantages. It is at the head of the gulf called that of Astacus, or after the city itself, Nico-

media. There is deep water for shipping of any burthen, and a perfectly safe and secure anchorage. The town stretches along the water's edge, and rises up the verdant acclivities of a hill, the summit of which was formerly crowned by the castle of its kings. Every house has its garden, and the mixture of buildings and foliage softens the scene. The valley of the gulf is prolonged by green lawns and dreamy groves; while opposite, the bold outline of the Bithynian Olympus, now called the Gök Tagh (Cerulean or Heavenly Mountains), starts out in high relief, above the water and valley scenery.

This city was founded by Nicomedes Zypoetas, who died B.C. 281. It was twice besieged by the Osmanlis before it was taken from the Greeks. On the last occasion, the Greek governor fled to a place, called probably in derision from that event, "Lamb's Castle," whither he was pursued, and being slain, his head was held up to the affrighted inhabitants, who capitulated at once.

In its present condition Ismid is still a large town, and has a population of about 30,000 inhabitants, a port frequented by small craft for trade, and first-class frigates come here for timber for government. There is a dock-yard and building-slip west of the town. The Christian residents are numerous, and the Greek Church has still its apostolical representative at this ancient see. The remains of antiquity consist chiefly of fragments, there being no perfect buildings extant. The traces of the castle, and of an aqueduct, are still evident on the hill, and monuments of antiquity are daily converted in the artisan's yard into tomb-stones for Mohammedans. A small steamer might ply between Ismid and Constantinople with great probabilities of profit.

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*September 22nd.* We rode this day to Sabanjah, a small post-town on the lake of the same name. The country at the head of the gulf of Astacus, and between the Gök Tagh and the northern hilly districts, is at first low and level, watered by the Kizil Irmak, and cultivated with rice and melons. Further inland, are pastures diversified by hedges covered with wild vines, hops, and virgin's bower, the luxuriant creepers of these climates. On approaching the lake of Sabanjah, the northern and southern hills prolong their rocky declivities into the plain, which is thus raised above its ordinary level, and is covered at first with a low and shrubby vegetation of evergreen oaks, &c., which soon, however, attain the growth and magnitude of forest trees. Pliny the Younger, in one of his letters to Trajan, proposed to convey a canal along this line, from the lake of Sabanjah to the gulf of Astacus, where he said there were already indications of a previous attempt to dig one, and I have, since my first report to the Royal Geographical Society, and on a subsequent journey, ascertained the actual existence of an old canal bed, which in some places still contains water. Plans for the same purpose have been formed by the Osmanlis, one in 1490, as noticed by Rennell (vol. ii., p. 104); others in 1505 and 1563, are noticed by Von Hammer (*Reise Nach Bressa*, s. 171). Pliny reports that the difference of the levels between the lake Sophon (Sabanjah) and the gulf of Nicomedia was 40 cubits, or about 58 feet; and the Turkish account is 30 liras, also about 60 feet. The lake is reported as being 35 feet above the Sangarius. Such a communication would still be of very high value, for the facilities which it would afford of conveying timber

to Ismid, and from thence to the Constantinopolitan market.

Sabanjah, the Sophon of the Greeks, is a mere traveling station, full of coffee-houses and stables, of which the inhabitants vary every day, and has about 500 houses, a jami and a mesjid. We came in contact here with a young Nubian, who was in want of a place. Mr. Pulsford had a servant, a Greek of the Morea, but our party had none, and as this youth appeared willing and active, we took him into our service.

This small town is situated on a most beautiful site, adorned with plane-trees of gigantic dimensions, and surrounded by most inviting lake and forest scenery. There are many remnants of the Byzantine era. Fragments of columns, cornices, and architraves, highly wrought and profusely ornamented, are scattered about in the streets and the adjoining groves.

In the evening, we went and sat on the shady borders of the lake, which is upwards of eight miles in length by four in width, and of an oval form. At some seasons of the year, it is said to overflow, and pour its waters into the gulf of Astacus; but there is a constant communication between it and the Sangarius by a rivulet called Kilis. The lake has but few pretensions to beauty; the hills to the north are low; on which side there is also little woodland and few villages, nor even any rocky scenery, to give relief to the shores; but to the south, woods of noble growth and extent rise from the water's edge to at least 1000 feet above its level. The sides and summits of these hills are covered with a noble expanse of forest trees, of different tints and varied forms and foliage.

*September 23rd.* We travelled at first along the banks of the lake, and thence across plains, in part cultivated. About twelve miles from Sabanjah we came to the almost perfect remains of a handsome bridge of seven arches, 1087 feet in length, and carried over an old bed of the Sangarius, from which a small stream still finds its way along the valley to the north. The Sangarius, or Sakkariyeh, as it is now called, which flows in the neighbourhood, appears to have had its ancient bed here, and this to have been the bridge over it. The traditions of the natives favour this idea, which is substantiated by physical appearances, as well as by the remains of the bridge, now called Mahamah, and of a causeway contiguous to it.

Mr. Rassam obtained from the natives a tradition in verse, which relates that a dervish coming to the bridge was required to pay toll, which he refused to do, on the principle that he was by the rules of his order forbidden to carry money about him. The collector was, however, like most of his race, inexorable, and the dervish, incapable of proceeding on his journey, prayed that God would change the bed of the river, that taxes might no longer be collected at the bridge. His prayers were heard, and since then, the Sakkariyeh deserted its old bed.

While examining the environs of the old bridge, I lost my way, and following one too much to the east, got some distance beyond the present bridge on the Sakkariyeh, before I found out my error. I had then to retrace my steps, and succeeded in finding the remainder of the party there, who had been detained by my non-appearance. The present bridge is a wooden structure. The river is here 372 feet wide, with an average depth of

two feet, and a rate of about three miles an hour. It is liable, however, to considerable rises.

From the river the road is carried through luxuriant orchards, which terminate in a marshy land, with a sluggish stream; and, although there is a wooden causeway, of nearly a mile in length, this place is scarcely passable at some seasons of the year. I have seen bullocks drawing timber-waggons through this marsh, up to their middle in mire, and the efforts by which they extricated the waggons were almost incredible. There is a great deal of fever in such a spot. At a guard-house, situated on the confines of the marsh, all the inmates were labouring under malaria. I prescribed for them at the time, little expecting to visit them again the next year. Such, however, was my fate, when I found them labouring under the same persistent malady. They said on this occasion that they scarcely knew any relief from it.

A little beyond the country improves, and low hills lead the way to the wooded heights of Khandak, which place we reached the same evening, and were lodged in an empty room over the entrance of a kerwanseraï.

Khandak (a Foss or Ditch) is not improperly so called, as a little rivulet of clear water flows down the principal and only street in the place. It is a mere posting village in the forest, containing about 200 houses, and a jami. There are few remains of antiquity, but occasional fragments of columns and antique hewn stones are to be seen, sufficient to attest a former station. In the evening, we took a walk in the forest, in search of game, but did not find any. At night we fixed our instruments in an open space, near the jami, and were

soon surrounded by a crowd of persons, curious to know why we were looking at the stars and taking time. They were, however, respectful, and put us to no inconvenience.

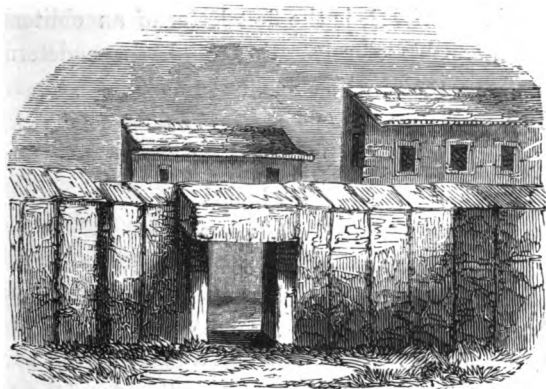
*September 25th.* We left Khandak by a circuitous route through forests of oak and beech, and after a ride of nearly four hours, came to the plain of Duseprum, now Duz-cha, about twelve miles in length by six in width. This place surpasses all the others in Bithynia, or perhaps in Asia Minor, in beauty. It is shut up on all sides, and completely surrounded by hills, which are clad from foot to summit with forest trees of various foliage. Below, it is also everywhere verdant with green sward, ferns, shrubs, or trees: not an inch of the plain but what is fertile, and yet but few spots are cultivated. Indeed no portion of this neglected country suggests such painful regrets as this place, so favoured by nature, and so disregarded by man.

The posting village of Duz-cha contains hardly more than twenty houses: numbers of columns, and other fragments of Byzantine architecture, are met with around: the capital of a column, which forms the head of a well, near the menzil-khan, is ornamented with well-sculptured doves, encircled by wreaths. Duseprum, like many others, is a site without a history.

A ridiculous circumstance occurred here, which, however trivial in appearance, had nigh been productive of serious consequences to us. Mr. Russell and myself had gone, while the horses were loading in the morning, to measure a base, in order to determine the height of the surrounding hills, when we were alarmed by a violent altercation. It appeared that while loading the horses,

an unfortunate ham had fallen to the ground, and so scandalized were the Osmanlis at this appropriation of their steeds, to carry desecrated food, that they positively refused to let them go with us, and the seruji, or driver, to stir a step. It was only with great difficulty that they were pacified, and we hastened to get rid, as quick as possible, of the abhorred pig's flesh.

*September 26th.* We travelled across the plain by a circuitous road, fording the Milan Su, to Eski Bagh, or Uskub, about four miles from Duseprum. We found this place to have been once the site of a considerable town, part of which is still contained within a strong circular wall, round the hill, and in tolerable preservation, while the remainder was *extra muros*: to the south, and upon the hill, was also an aqueduct, but of modern construction. The modern village is for the most part within the old walls, and many of the streets are approached by narrow gateways, evidently belonging to a style of building which is generally designated as



Pelasgic Gateway.

Pelasgian, or Cyclopean. The slab over one of these massive gateways was twelve feet long, and eight and three in thickness.

Excavations had been carried on in some sort of out-work or temple, where was an inscription, on a stone which appeared to have been the basis of a statue. All that was legible was

ANTINO  
ΘΑΛΛΩ  
ΚΛΑΡΙΣΗ  
ΑΝΕΣΤΗ

It is only a sepulchral monument to some obscure individual, but possesses an interest in determining the former inhabitants of this site. The Reverend Dr. Wait on reading this inscription, remarked truly that it may be classed among the *monumenta sequioris ævi*. From many examples, he says, "I know Antony to be intended. And the occurrence of Clarissa with one sigma betrays a modern date. The Lambda, which follows the Omega in ΘΑΛΛΩ, is the first letter of an obliteration, which, if capable of restoration, might have determined whose daughter or wife this Clarissa was.

The words are

To Antony  
Thallus  
Clarissa  
Erected:

On leaving Prusa ad Hypium we found further ruins in a very dilapidated state, about a mile up the banks of a rivulet, which flowed from the south side of the Chileh Tagh or Yaila Tagh (Hills of Summer Pasture).

The ascent and passage of these forest-clad hills was rendered difficult from late severe rains. The mud was very deep, the labour to the horses excessive. We soon met two kawasses who had crossed the hills, but both the steeds and their riders had been thrown in the mud, and presented an uninviting appearance. This did not promise well for us who had baggage horses, but we ultimately, and after several hours' toil, got over without any accident, and only a few tumbles.

It was interesting to us to observe in these forests, in practice in the present day, the very same usages as were noticed by Xenophon centuries ago: trees being still, as then, fired at their base and then felled; while small waggons, yoked with male buffaloes, came from the shore to carry away the timber. There are no huts in the forest, and the driver sleeps in his cloak till his work is done; and the carts are so constructed that, although the roads are almost as bad as roads can be, the slope may become excessive without causing the vehicle to fall over. The forest trees were chiefly beech and oak.

So difficult was our ride that it had been dark some time ere we began to ford the Uskubli Su, which we did several times, as we rode along its course, before we reached the port designated as Chuvalli Iskeleh-si (Baystairs), and which consisted of a long range of wooden houses, with a beach upon which small coasting vessels are drawn up. A mile beyond this we came to Akchah Shehr (Money Town), the residence of an ayyan, and with slips for repairing or building small craft. We were lodged here in a tolerable house on the sea-shore, which was fortunate, as it came on to rain hard with a strong north wind for the next two days, by



which we were detained in this solitary place without the chance of removal. They were building a small brig at the time of our visit, and there was also a Greek boat from Varna, loaded with dried beef, drawn up on shore. The journey from Uskub to Akchah Shehr occupied us nine hours.

*September 29th.* We took advantage of a momentary cessation of rain after mid-day, to start along the coast, passing the river of Uskubli, now much swollen. We then ascended a wooded hill by a narrow pathway, our horses slipping, and our heads striking against the trees, which also formed at times so great an obstacle to the baggage horses that we were obliged to unload and load them again. We descended to the valley of Ak Su (White Water), also much swollen; and turned up this, to where we gained a village called Ak Kaya Keuy (Village of the White Rock). The inhabitants of the place spoke Turkish, but had nothing of the Osmanli character about them, and appeared to be descended from a different race of people, probably some of the older tenants of the country.

*September 30th.* We started early in the morning, the day cloudy, with rain, and a strong wind from the north, bringing in the sea very high upon the coast. We first ascended a forest-clad hill, with steep and slippery clayey road, much obstructed by branches of trees, and climbing plants. The number of goat-suckers in these woods is very great; we disturbed one at almost every step. We afterwards forded the Kojaman Su (Old Man's River); we then crossed another small stream, and, a little beyond this, the road continuing along the sea-shore, we had to ascend the side of a clayey cliff, by a path so narrow that the first loaded horse that attempted

it rolled over, but was saved without hurt. We were thus obliged to unload and all lend a hand in carrying the baggage on our backs, for some distance; this delayed us about two hours. Shortly afterwards we again descended to the foot of the cliffs, where the heavy swell of the sea rendered our progress very insecure. At length, in attempting to get round a rocky point, two baggage horses, one belonging to Mr. Pulsford, which we made always go first so as to be at hand to give assistance, and Mr. P.'s servant and horse, were overthrown by the sea. Mr. Russell and myself, disembarassing ourselves of our coats, took to the water, and, after much trouble, succeeded in rescuing horses and baggage. The man got out himself. We were all, however, tumbled and thrown with great violence, sometimes upon the horses and the horses sometimes upon us.

As it was impossible to double the point in the present state of the sea, we were forced to put back again, but the horses being now fatigued and broken-spirited, did not effect their return so well as they started, and Mr. Pulsford's baggage horse, in fording the Kojaman Su, was carried away by the stream, and only saved from going out to sea by stranding upon the bar, at the mouth of the river. Mr. P. was, during these occurrences, looking on with great apparent indifference, and, as Mr. Russell's and my clothes were already well saturated, and we were very cold, we did not feel inclined to venture to the rescue again. At length the poor beast was delivered from its perilous situation, by two hardy countrymen, who came to our assistance.

We afterwards repaired to the kind Aborigines, of the village of the white rock, and found no want of wood

to dry ourselves and our baggage. But our poor Nubian, whose constitution nor clothing were neither of them adapted to such exposure and such severe weather, fell very ill with malaria, and after stopping all next day vainly attempting to bring him round, so far as to give him strength even to get to Heraclea, where we intended staying a few days, we were obliged to leave him behind, with sufficient money to keep him till his recovery, and find his way back. The second day of our detention a messenger came from the ayyan of Akchah Shehr, who had heard of our misfortunes, requesting us to return to that place, but we were determined to persevere, as indeed there was no other road, except by recrossing the Yaila Tagh.

*October 2nd.* The weather had cleared up and the wind fell during the night, and we started with the early morning. The Kojaman Su had fallen half a foot since the preceding day, and we got, without difficulty, round the prominent cliff, which had discomfited us on the previous journey. Beyond this we came to a large river called Kokalah, and we were a long time before we could find a spot at which it could be forded. The river flowed through a beautiful well-wooded vale, but without habitations.

Our road throughout lay over a country of similar character, hilly and covered with wood. The trees were beech, chestnut, oak, and pistachio, with a beautiful undergrowth of rhododendrons, oleander, myrtle, daphne, box, cistus, &c. Nearer to the sea were more naked valleys of heath and fern. Goat-suckers continued to flit from beneath the shadowy glades, quails sprang from the heaths and grass. We feasted ourselves upon abundant

chestnuts. In fine weather these luxuriant forests must be very agreeable.

As we approached the valley of the Alabli Su, the country opened and the prospect became more extensive; to the south the lofty and wooded mountains of the Yaila Tagh terminate the view, to the east a succession of hills rise up with the course of the Lycus, as far as to the pine-clad and trachytic summits of the Kara Tagh, while, to the north-east, the peninsula of Posideum with its light-house, and the walls and towers of Hera-clea, lying in the shore of a calm and well-protected bay, shade off well, the wide landscape of forest and mountain, into an equally far-stretching expanse of sea.

We descended to the Alabli Su, the ancient Elæus, a small river which is crossed by a wooden bridge in so bad a state of repair that the horses had to be forded, and we then entered into Alabli, a fishing village, and port for small coasters, with not more than fifty houses, but with a residence of an ayyan of much greater pretensions. In this we were at once hospitably and kindly received for the night, the old ayyan himself paying us a visit in the evening to see that all was comfortable, and to smoke a pipe of peace.

*October 3rd.* The ayyan could not provide us with horses, so that, although I was anxious not to lose any distance, whether by travelling by night or by water, which would cause an hiatus in the geological recognition of the country that we travelled over, we had on the present occasion no alternative left but to get on in a boat. Starting early in the morning, before the wind got up, we soon doubled the headland called Chingal Burnu (Hook Point), and passing the mouth of the

Kilij (Sword River, the ancient Lycus), we brought to beneath the walls of Harakli before mid-day, but it was evening before, after waiting upon the governor, the researches of the kawasses had obtained for us a domicile in the Christian quarter of the town.

Heraclea, surnamed Pontica, if not the greatest, has always been one of the most remarkable, cities of Bithynia. It was one of those antique colonies, founded by the Ante-Hellenic Greeks, which were destined to bring a new order of things into the primitive countries in which they were established. It certainly was a curious spectacle, at the first breaking up of the great nations, then only first assembled in the land which was to be for a time mistress of the world, to see the Dorians allied to the Etolians, and led only by the Heraclides, take possession of the Peloponnesus, and found colonies all along the coasts of Lesser Asia, the Propontis, and the Black Sea, without regard to the original possessors of the soil—in independence and in firm reliance on their own strength—and bring them to a degree of power and prosperity which was unknown to any of the towns or cities belonging to the native chieftains.

We spent four days at this place, engaged in astronomical observations, in making a plan of the city, and in examining the ruins.

The present town occupies only the south-west corner of the extent of the former city, and contains 250 houses of Mohammedans, and 40 houses of Greek Christians, who have a church and attached school. According to Mr. Rassam, who took great pains to ascertain its present name, it is called Harakli, which is corrupted by ignorant boatmen and serujis (muleteers) into Eregli,

as the port or harbour is generally designated Bend Eregli.

The walls of the town extend along the sea shore, then ascend a hill which they about divide in half, up to its highest point, where they encircle the ruins of an acropolis, having a Greek inscription of the Byzantine era in front. The wall then returns along the side of the valley called Tabanah Derehsi, which has a small rivulet in its centre, flowing into the sea immediately beyond their south-west extremity. These walls are in a ruinous condition, and constructed chiefly from the remains of older ramparts. There occur in them numerous fragments of columns, hewn stones with crosses, cornices, and tablets, with Greek inscriptions, showing that they were erected since the Byzantine era.

In that part of the wall which fronts the sea there are the remains of another and outer wall, which is chiefly composed of vast irregular masses of basalt and limestone, cemented by mortar. This wall contains no fragments of Byzantine architecture. It probably, therefore, defended the city anterior to that period, and the encroachment of the sea necessitated that when rebuilt, it should be built further inland. Connected with the outer wall are the remains of a long and rude mole, which advances from its northern end into the sea.

The present wall only extends, we have previously observed, half the length of the hill, which is bounded to the south by the Tabanah Derehsi, and to the north by the valley of the Gawur Irmak (Infidel River). But there are traces of a double wall, which was prolonged to the northern extremity of the same hill as far as to the borders of the valley of Gawur Irmak.

In the space included within this more ancient portion of Heraclea are more particularly to be observed, what appear to be the remains of a Roman temple; and several beautiful tessellated pavements are also to be seen.

The valley of the Gawur Irmak, a mere brook, appears once to have been filled by the waters of the sea, and the harbour for galleys so formed, was defended by towers of very strong construction.

As this is the most ancient part of Heraclea, we have probably here, the key to one of the poetically described labours of Hercules, who, if he wrought at the improvement of this ancient city, could not have done a more serviceable act than to dig a place of refuge for the galleys of those periods of early navigation. Such an operation may not without justice, be described as digging Cerberus from the depths below. Xenophon, who notices this as the locality of the tradition, writes it as if Hercules had reduced or subjected the animal, which would give the idea of rendering the port safe by the construction of another, but most of the ancients view it in the other light. Pomponius Mela says, "And there he extracted or drew forth Cerberus." Eustathius also, "He extracted or drew out Cerberus from the infernal regions." It is probable, in this and in other cases, if such is a correct view of this mythological tradition, that the early progress of civilization, as obscured in the fabulous history of the Greeks, would admit of gradual elucidation, by the extension of topographical knowledge more than by unassisted classical studies.

Beyond this antique harbour, which may thus be traced back to the times of Hercules, is a hill and promontory, now called Chase Teppeh, formerly the Acheru-

sian peninsula. It rises immediately above the valley of the Gawur Irmak, and hence Hercules' labours were said to be on that peninsula itself. At its foot, and on the inner side, is a modern gun battery, and on its summit an insufficient light-house, around which are a few cottagers' houses, whose inhabitants are exempted from taxes upon the condition of keeping a lamp burning before mirrors which they suffer to be darkened with accumulated soot.

On the south side of Heraclea, beyond the valley called Tabanah Derehsi, and between it and the valley of the Kilij Irmak, is a low rounded hill, now almost covered with the grave-stones of Mohammedans; in the centre of which are traces of a former edifice which appears to have been the temple of Diospolin, noticed by old writers as occupying such a situation.

Beyond this, and at the bottom of the bay of Heraclea, is the embouchure of the Lycus,

Huc Lycus, huc Sagaria.

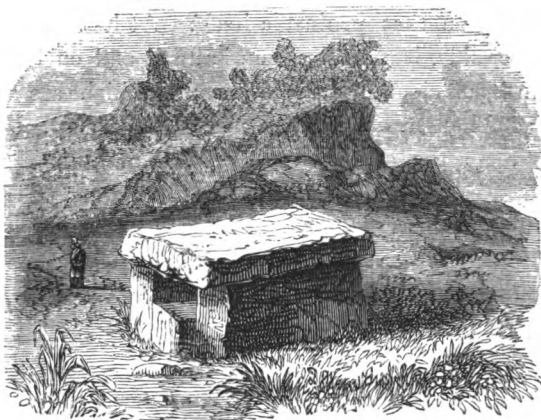
OVID, Lib. iv., Epist. x., vers. 47.

The name of Wolf river was, as in other cases, given to this stream from its sudden risings and impetuosity. The modern name, Kilij Irmak (Sword River), has reference to the same character.

It is recorded by Apollodorus that the Argonauts were kindly received at Heraclea by a King Lycus, which probably means that their galleys were sheltered in this river, for it is not likely that Lycus was the name of a king, afterwards given to the river, especially as the modern name has a somewhat similar signification, and both have an origin in the long-enduring features of nature.



### CHAPTER III.



The Hero's Stone.

**The Hero's Stone. Pass of Blessings. Aspect of Country. Ascent of the Kara Tagh (Black Mountains). Valley of the Filiyas, or Billæus. Endemic Character of the Plague. Ruins of Stations and Guard-houses. Roman Road. Great Plane-tree. Ruins of Tium. Rivers of Bartan. Inscription and Sculptures. Tomb of Queen Amastria. Description of the Town, and origin of Amaserah, the ancient Amastrius.**

ON the afternoon of October 8th we started up the valley of the Lycus, our road lying at first along a causeway paved with slabs of sandstone, from two to eight feet in length and from one to two in width; this evidently was a work of olden times.

About five and a-half miles from Heraclea, we fell in on the road side with a monument of large hewn stones of an oblong form and hollow within. It was situated upon an eminence, near which was a small

grove of pine-trees; beyond to the right a village; and farther to the left, higher hills. It had all the characters of a sepulchral monument, and from its extreme massiveness and great simplicity of structure, appeared to us all to belong to a very remote era. In the present day it is known by tradition only, as the Kochak Tash (the Hero's Stone or Monument).

Three miles beyond this, we came to where the river forced its way through rocks of sandstone, rising with nearly vertical precipices, over which numerous streamlets of water poured from the hills above. This pass is called Barakatlar (the Pass of Blessings), it being a duty with the Mohammedan to bless difficulties, which too many of our countrymen would curse.

Immediately beyond the pass, a large mass of rock ninety feet high and overgrown with wood, except in its most precipitous sides, has become islanded in the centre of the stream, and constitutes a singular and picturesque object. It rained hard all the afternoon, and we were not able to get farther than the village of Yal-chilar (of Masons), about twelve miles from Harakli, not far from which, in the forest to the north, are some cliffs with hewn sepulchral caverns, and now called Bal Kayasi (the Cliff of the Rock).

*October 9th.* It rained in torrents all night, and the Lycus rose nearly four feet, overflowing great part of the plain, which had now assumed the appearance of a lake covered with trunks of trees and drifted wood. It is, evidently, from these sudden and rapid rises, that this river obtained its ancient and modern names. The Pass of Blessings was no longer practicable.

We started near mid-day, during a momentary

cessation of rain, and were soon turned out of our path by the river side, and obliged to ascend the hills. After an hour's journey through a picturesque country, we arrived at a point where the river made a considerable bend, beyond which we crossed by a wooden bridge, and arrived at the foot of hills, which we ascended till we came to a small village, called Yaila (Summer-Quarters), from whence we had a commanding view of the Lycus, flowing at first through a rocky country, and then through a fertile valley backed by the hills of Ovah Tagh (Mount of the Plain), which were partly wooded and partly composed of white rocky cliffs.

To the south, the country consisted of alternate valleys and rounded hills, on one of which a spot was pointed out, said to contain an old iron mine. We continued along its crest for some time, then skirted round another hill, descending gradually again to the valley of the Lycus, on the banks of which we found a village of only four houses, one of which was luckily empty, and this we took possession of as a refuge from the rain that poured all night.

The next day our road still lay up the valley of the Lycus, which we again crossed by a wooden bridge, above which are the remains of an older construction in stone; we were now again on the right bank. The path we followed was carried along the acclivities of wooded hills.

After a journey of eleven miles up the same valley, during which the horses suffered much from the slippery state of the pathway, we began the ascent of the Kara Tagh (Black Mountains), at a point where two tributaries effected their junction, and near an untenanted

khan situated in the midst of an orchard, and where we fed *ad libitum* on fruit that appeared to have no owner.

The ascent lasted nearly an hour, when we attained the crest of the hills, near the village of Kara-bunar (the Black Spring). The barometer indicated an elevation of 1500 feet, and the mountains around did not rise more than 500 feet above this point. The view from the summit was varied and extensive, and carried the eye down the Kara Dereh (Black Valley), and over the hilly country of Pershembah, to the valleys of the Filiyas and Bartan rivers, with the intervening district of Kol Bazar, and was only limited by the lofty and bold alpine summits of the Kaya Dibbah and the mountains and wooded outline of the Ich-el-ler and Yaila mountains.

We descended the so-called Black Valley, and then turned out of the road to the south, to the village of Bash Boghaz (Head of the Pass), situated at the foot of the Ipsili Tagh, probably from the Greek Hypsile, a spur of the Kara Tagh, and where there are said to be ruins of a castle. We were received, in the ayyan's absence, in his house; but he made his appearance in the evening, and came to smoke the usual pipe of introduction and acquaintanceship.

*October 11th.* Having procured, this morning, change of horses, which had to be collected from the pastures and distant farms, we started again down the Black Valley, which we left before mid-day, at an assemblage of uninhabited buildings used as a market once a week, and called Beg Jumah-si (Bey's Friday Market). Hence we ascended by a gentle acclivity to the residence of the ayyan of the district of Penj-shenbeh (Four days' Market). This was rather a showy place at a dis-

tance, from its white-washed jami, and large agha's mansion, but scarcely contained thirty dwelling-houses.

We did not stop here, but travelled onwards over low hills covered with underwood of deciduous oak and juniper, stopping a short time, as it was fine, to get a meridian altitude of the sun. We then descended into a deep valley, where we refreshed ourselves with wild grapes, which grew luxuriantly, supported by the aged trees around. We ascended again through a wood, and passing two or three small villages, came to the open valley of Abd Allah Pasha Derehsi, so called from a tomb with sepulchral chapel bearing that name, and which is at the point where the Black Valley terminates in that of the Filiyas.

After about an hour's ride along the vale, we came to this latter river, which we found to be a noble stream divided at this point into five different channels, separated by islands of pebbles, in some places covered with plane, sycamore, tamarisk, and oleander, but in others stony and naked. The occasional floods of the river, to judge from its bed, upwards of half a mile in width, must be very great\*, but it is soon confined in one channel; and at Tium, where it empties itself into the sea, although deep, is only about a hundred yards in width.

The beautiful valley of the Filiyas, the ancient Billæus, was crowded with villages, and the views on every side varied and extensive. The river is seen flowing in nearly a straight line from where it issues from

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\* It was not known previous to this journey, that this important river was the receptacle of the rivers of Tcherkesh, of Hamamlı or Bayandır, of Araj, and of Zafaran Boli, as well as of that of Boli, a comparatively insignificant stream.

the gloomy forests that stretch along the foot of the Yaila or Boli Tagh. To the east is a hilly country, either cultivated or covered with wood, and interspersed with villages belonging to a second Pershembah district, where the plague was at this time raging. Our road lay down the left bank of the river, to Charshembah (Wednesday Market), the chief place of another kazilik, or jurisdiction, and surrounded by well-cultivated fields of alluvial soil. Several persons, and among others, the son of the ayyan, who visited us in the course of the afternoon, were just recovering from the effects of the plague, and were in dismally low spirits.

The local origin and circumscribed developement of this malady, among the villages of Asia Minor, tend to show that it has become endemic in the country. As typhus fever and Asiatic cholera came to Western Europe—as travelling and epidemic, if not contagious disorders—and have remained there ever since, exhibiting themselves in sporadic or endemic forms, so the plague is now in Egypt, Syria, and Lesser Asia, a disease which often springs up from local causes, more especially, as may be often seen from epidemics among cattle, when the afflicted villages are full of carcases that are never removed by the peasants. We had many examples of the local prevalence of this disorder in the course of our travels; as here, in the Haimaneh, at Samsun, and in Armenia. It appears also to dwell with great pertinacity along the course and in the deep valleys of rivers, as in this case, where the disease lasted so long as actually to awaken the attention of the Osmanli authorities at Zafaran Boli, and an European medical officer was sent to ascertain the extent of the

malady. Mr. Thomson, of the British legation of Persia, found the same disease raging locally in a journey he made along the banks of the river of Batum.

*October 12th.* We changed horses at Charshembah, and proceeded down the valley of the Filiyas, cultivated, or covered with sycamore or tamarisk. On both sides of this beautiful vale rose up hills of limestone, to a height of from 600 to 700 feet, densely clad with forest trees of various foliage, with cottages seen peeping here and there from among the trees.

Hemp is much cultivated both on the islands and on the banks of the river.

At a point where the river, after making a long bend, approaches the hills on its left bank, we found a small village called Chaye Keny, which was built in part upon a mound of ruins, and there were also many large hewn stones, which make it likely that this was formerly a station on the great Roman road which followed the line of the valley of the Billæus.

At Golmekchi-ler (the Village of Potters), with about thirty houses, built upon an ancient site and artificial mound by the river side, we also found many fragments of large hewn stones and marble columns, and our road continued over what was evidently the remains of an ancient causeway.

A short way from the latter place, a dyke of basaltic rocks advances from the hills to the left, to the border of the river, narrowing its bed considerably, and thus forming a kind of defile. Here are the remains of a former gateway, and close to it a mound of ruins, overgrown with underwood, which may have been an attached guard-house.

The great road, the indication of which is thus preserved, by means of stations or villages, and of gateways and guard-houses, extended from Tium by Claudianopolis, in the valley of the Parthenius, as far as to Ancyra; and the details of this road have been preserved in the Antonine Itinerary. It is curious that this great road lies through what has been hitherto a very unfrequented and quite misunderstood part of the Asiatic peninsula, but which presents great advantages to the movements of an army in its natural facilities, its population and fertility, and its long hoarded resources\*.

Not far from the gateway previously described was a noble plane-tree which measured eight yards round its trunk, in a perfectly healthy condition, and still more remarkable for its loftiness, and symmetrical form, than even for its dimensions.

The river winding round about two miles, turns suddenly to the west before reaching the sea, washing the foot of a hill, which bears a castellated structure of considerable size, and various architecture, and which

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\* Mr. Russell, in a *Memoir on the Defences of Asia Minor*, published in the *United Service Journal*, very properly notices the north-east end of the Bosphorus and the mouth of the Biliæus as almost the only two points which offer comparatively easy access to the interior, in that portion of Asia Minor. It is true, as Mr. R. remarks, that Heraclea has been the scene of invasion and conquest, and it still remains a point of ingress, but the natural obstacles of bog, woodland, and hills, and the want of roads, render that line a very difficult one. Indeed, Mr. R. himself admits—"the importance of Heraclea, or *Harakli*, was, and has doubtless been, owing to the excellence of its harbour,—that of Tium; or, to speak in the phrase of modern geography, the mouth of the Filiyas,—and to the easy access afforded from thence to the interior."



announces itself as the castle of Tium. Below this, and close to the river, is the little village and harbour called Jaferji Oghlu. There were here several vessels of small burthen.

Crossing over the hill, we passed by an ancient gateway and entered upon the picturesque ruins of Tium, beyond which, after passing a large village (Beglarun Keuy), we came to a second, called Hisar Anlu (the Village attached to the Castle), and the residence of an ayyan, who assigned us a house for the night, and soon afterwards paid us a visit, the sole object of which was to obtain the common spirit of the country (araki) from us; nor did he attempt to hide his vexation and disappointment when he found that we had none.

We walked the same evening to the site of Tium, by an ancient causeway, hedged in on both sides by bay-trees, probably sprung from older roots, as such plantations are rarely, if ever, to be met with among the Mohammedans, but occur on ancient roads, as on that from Antioch to Daphne.

Passing over the walls, we found everything covered with a dense and almost impenetrable shrubbery, out of which every footstep turned up something curious and interesting, while above all rose here and there fragments of pillars, pilasters and buildings, and at wider intervals massive piles of greater pretensions.

This ancient city occupied a splendid situation, stretching along the coast, and rising in successive terraces, backed by low but picturesque heights, in the wooded recesses of which are the numerous mansions of the dead; while the castle is perched upon a promontory that juts out into the sea, towering over the depths of

the Billæus on the one side, and encircling in its embrace the sculptured beauties of the city on the other.

The most remarkable remains still existing are an ancient temple of pleasing form and proportions, but now an ivy and shrub-clad ruin. An extensive palace occupied the high ground, and had an open platform and terrace in front of it, which descended in steps to the city.

We found a small but nearly perfect amphitheatre in the south-east part of the ruins, buried under a profusion of shrubs and trees. A few arches of an aqueduct also remain upright. The walls can be distinctly traced, as well as several gateways, portions of which, composed of massive hewn stones, still remain erect. Fragments of more common edifices rise up everywhere, amidst the dense and variegated foliage.

The castle is a vast, irregular pile of building, belonging to various ages, and possessing neither the simplicity nor effective beauty of the Greek monuments below. The tombs at Tium are curious, as being only hemi-sarcophagi; the lid is perfect, and has a Byzantine character, being very large, with raised corners, while the body is made *in situ*, not of hewn stone, but merely of pieces of pink-coloured and slaty limestone.

We spent the evening and the next morning in examining these ruins, and laying down a plan of the place, and we left it with regret, for it is a spot, where not only the antiquarian or archæologist, but the simple lover of natural beauty, would delight to spend a month.

The history of this little gem of the Euxine is almost unknown. It was originally an Ionian colony, one of the Greek families, who appear to have carried the taste

for the fine arts into their smallest possessions. Philotærus, from whom sprang the race of Attalian kings, was born here. It was also much favoured by the Romans, and it was made to contribute to the embellishment of Amastrius.

About mid-day we were ferried over the Filiyas. Our road lay over the delta of alluvium deposited by the river. It was, as usual, full of lagoons and marshes, amid which we lost our way; some of the horses got bogged, and we had much trouble to extricate them.

We at length reached the borders of a forest, and began to ascend. We were now in the district of Kol Bazar, but there were few villages; and in the evening, after travelling about sixteen and a half miles, the latter part always over a hilly, thickly wooded country, we arrived at Kizil Elmah (Red Apple), a village prettily situated in a valley, which extended northward about three miles, as far as the sea shore. We were as usual accommodated at the house of the ayyan, who had formerly been the skipper of a coasting vessel, and was more intelligent and entertaining than the generality of these smoke-enveloped and rustic governors. The next day we continued our journey over a similar country, low, hilly, and wooded, for about nine miles, when we came to the crest of some chalk hills, from the summit of which, the valley of the Parthenius, and the town of Bartan, burst upon our view in inviting beauty. We had still a marshy plain, impassable on foot, to ride over, before we got to the town, and on our arrival there, we waited on the governor, who assigned to us quarters in the khan.

Bartan is a town little visited by Europeans, and,

till our visit, was always marked on the maps as being situated upon a single large river. It is, however, at the junction of two rivers, which, when they unite, are called Su Chati, and this is the same as the Parthenius which separated Bithynia from Paphlagonia, and was said by Strabo to be so called, from the cheerful meadows through which it flows.

And where Parthenius rolled through banks of flowers.

POPE's *Homer's Iliad*, book ii. 1041.

There is one stone bridge over the Kojahnas, or westerly river, and a wooden one replaces another that existed formerly on the same river at the north-west end of the town.\* The communication over the other river, or Ordeiri, is kept up by the ferry. There were several vessels building at Bartan, some of which were upwards of one hundred tons burthen; but the port is two miles below the town, which is four hours or fifteen miles from the sea, by the river, and three hours by land.

The town of Bartan, which is the ancient Claudianopolis, also called Bithynium, has 650 houses, out of which there are eight houses of Christians, who have no church. The Mohammedans have five mosques. The houses, on account of the marshy character of the surrounding country, are all built of two stories, the upper one alone of which is inhabited. For the same reason the town is carefully paved with large limestone slabs, better so than any Turkish town I have seen. The streets extend over two low hills, and into the valley between these hills, stretching from the banks of the Kojahnas on the one side, to those of the Ordeiri on the other, and rising up the hill side again to the north of the river.

After staying a day at Bartan, we hired horses to take us to Amaserah, a distance of twelve miles, and back again the same day, leaving the luggage and servant in the khan. At starting, we crossed the Ordeiri, and then turned up a narrow valley, with a rivulet designated as the Kara Chai (Black River). The valley soon narrowed, and was nearly blocked up by cliffs, which presented a rude rocky outline with fantastic forms, and in one place a rocking stone was curiously perched upon an isolated pinnacle.

We now began to ascend wooded hills, and continued along these till we came within view of the sea, when we turned to the east, by a steep descent, with steps hewn out of the solid rock. This is the only approach to Amaserah from the land side, and a remarkably difficult one, and it would have required little sagacity in a country where public spirit in the way of internal improvement is so exceedingly rare as in Turkey, to determine that this road hewn out of the rock, had been executed by another nation of workmen; but it was not long before we came to a small niche in the rock, destined apparently to hold a figure, and beyond was a tablet bearing an inscription in Latin, of which we could make out a few words, as follows :—

PROTAGE NORENTI CLAUDI GERMANICI\*.

A little beyond this is a tablet basement, supporting an arched frame-work, with the upright figure of a Roman

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\* Evidently referring to the Emperor Claudius Cæsar, who assumed the title of Germanicus, and who was thus apparently engaged in works of public utility, in opening a road between the seat of his colony, Claudianopolis, and the adjoining port of Amastris.

in his toga, much mutilated, and his head broken off; but the attitude is graceful, and the details good.

Close by was a column and pedestal, cut in solid rock, and supporting a colossal eagle, of which also the head had been struck off. There were two other tablets, of which the inscriptions were quite illegible. The column was twelve feet high, and the statue of natural size. The base of the frame was seven feet wide, the height twelve. The eagle was four feet six inches in height.

Further on the road side was a semicircular arch, formed of one ring of solid masonry, fourteen feet by seven high, and running back fifteen feet; and half a mile beyond, upon an elevated site, and commanding the sea, were the remains of a handsome mausoleum, an oblong monument of massive structure, and apparently of great antiquity. It appeared to have contained a sarcophagus, as the lid of one, and which was not of the middle ages, was lying near. We were now approaching the city of Queen Amastris, the Semiramis of Asia Minor; might not this be her tomb? Justinian describes it as being on a hill, overlooking the city and bay: nothing could answer this description of its situation more correctly. A slope of richly verdant foliage, interspersed with tall ruins of aqueducts and other buildings stretched from the tomb down to the city, lofty trees bowed their graceful branches around and above, while the restless sea spread its wide expanse below.

This queen, who so long gave her name to this sweet spot, was a Persian by birth, and daughter of a brother of Darius, called by the Byzantines Oxyathres. She was given in marriage by Alexander to Craterus,

who divorced her, and she was afterwards married to— or, according to Strabo, who is very ungallant upon the occasion, only tolerated by—Dionysius, tyrant or king of Heraclea. Again divorced by Lysimachus, she repaired to the present site, which she embellished at the expense of three other cities, Tium, Cyturus, and Cromna, and established as the seat of her power, calling it after her name, and styling herself queen, for Spanheimus refers to a coin with the inscription *ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ*, “Queen of Amastris.”

The fate of this woman of various fortunes was melancholy. She is said to have been miserably drowned by her own sons.

Amastris has, however, a more ancient history than that of the epoch which has for a moment arrested our attention. It is noticed by Homer, under the name of Sesamus, as existing in the time of the Trojan war, or 1200 years before Christ. Scylax called it a Greek city, and it was probably, like the neighbouring colony of Sinope, founded by the Milesians.

The modern history of Amaserah is involved in obscurity. It occupies no place in the Byzantine or Turkish annals. The character of its ruins attests that it belonged to the Genoese, and that, like Sinope and Trebizond, it was once one of their active and prosperous commercial entrepôts.

The modern town consists of only 145 houses, and has a population of about 900 souls. From its difficulty of access it is used by the Turks as a place of detention for deposed beys and governors. It is built upon a rocky peninsula that has two necks, the first formed

by a lesser and greater bay of the sea ; the second by a small inlet, over which a narrow causeway leads to what was formerly the castellated or military portion of the town.

The cape called Diwan Burnu (Point of the Divan), is formed of rude and nearly perpendicular rocks, which rise above the little bay to the south-west, the whole of which was formerly built in with large hewn stones, like a well kept harbour.

The bay to the east is wide and capacious, and beyond the town there is a rocky mass, which forms an untenanted island ; and to the east a lesser rock is connected with the mainland, by a wall, which is now in a ruinous and dilapidated condition.

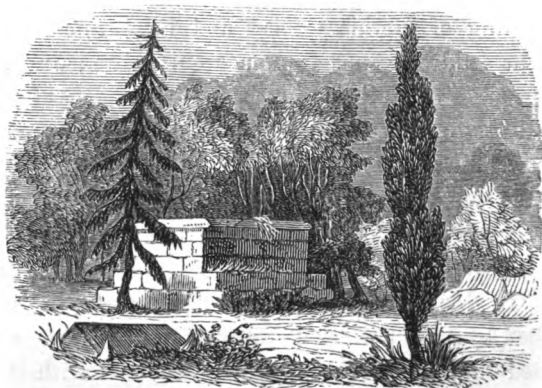
The whole of that part of the ancient and modern town which occupies the peninsula is surrounded by a wall, defended by towers, which appear to have been renewed at various times, but to have received their chief regeneration from the Genoese, whose escutcheons are over the gateways, and whose preference of utility to ornament is well exhibited by their irreverent intermingling of Gothic tracery and Byzantine wreaths amid the solid blocks of Roman architecture ; and even eagles, carefully sculptured in bas-relief on slabs of white marble, are to be seen prostrate at the angles or corners of the walls which they once adorned.

The town fronts the sea to the north, in its whole extent, but owing to the advance of the bays previously described, it is joined to the mainland only by a neck of land. In this direction, or that of the coast, it is approached by a well wooded and most picturesque valley, bounded on all sides by lofty hills, covered with dense forests.



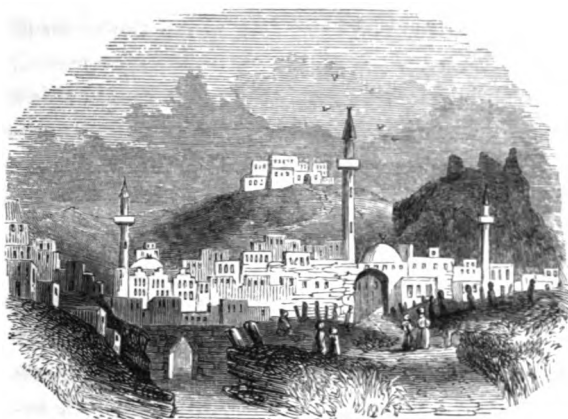
This vale is replete with ruins of various character. One of the most extensive of these is a large building of red tiles, supporting, in an unscientific manner, huge blocks of stone, and cut up by numerous irregularly disposed and irregularly formed arches. This place is called Badistan by the natives : it was approached by a handsome gateway with a semicircular arch, and appears to have been a monastery.

At the foot of the mountains, to the west, is a fragment of wall, with two tiers of arches, which belonged to an aqueduct. On the hill side are other ruins, overgrown with shrubbery, amid which they were just discernible, while the massive mausoleum, before described, stands prominent, high up on the hill side, and assists in filling up a picture such as Asia Minor is almost unrivalled in producing, and in which monuments of bygone times, belonging to varied epochs and people, are gathered together in the same little centre of unchanging beauty.



Tomb of Amastria.

## CHAPTER IV.



Zafaran Boli—Flaviopolis.

The Hollow Rock. Mountain Pass. Mesjid in the Forest.  
Baggage in Arrear. Turkish Hospitality. Ascent of the Ormini-  
nius. Slavonian Mountaineers. Town of Zafaran Boli. Church  
of St. Stephen. Empress Theodora. Environs of Zafaran Boli.  
Injustice to a Greek Boy. Osmanli misrule.

We quitted Bartan on the 18th of October, and pursued our journey, travelling up the course of the Ordeiri in a south-easterly direction. A rugged and mountainous district, that of the Kaya Dibbah (Hollow Rock), lay to our left; in this little alpine and picturesque group of hills a total difference is observed, from the generally tame outline of the Bithynian Olympus.

The same craggy steeps extend by the Kara Kaya (Black Rock), another lofty precipice, as far as to the Durnah Yailasi, in a south-easterly direction, while they are united to the Orminius to the south, by a lofty range with rounded outline, and wooded acclivities, named

I'ch-il-ler Tagh, and which attained, by our admeasurements, an elevation of 1966 feet above the plain of the river.

The Ordeiri forces its way through a pass in this latter range, which we reached after a ride of four hours and a half. The mountains were clad on each side to the summit, with a dense vegetation of forest-trees of varied and beautiful verdure, while the river, now a mountain torrent, rolled over a stony bed below.

This pass opened into a pretty uninhabited plain, embosomed in the forest, then narrowed again, being filled up with huge masses of fallen rock, overshadowed by a profusion of shrubs, among which laurel, myrtle, ivy, and box, were most conspicuous. Beyond, we came to a forest of birch, and then forded the river, amid plane-trees, sycamore, and some pines, the seeds of which had been brought down by the torrents, from the mountain heights.

A short time afterwards we reached a poor hamlet called Sarnish, which is situated in the kazilik of Oluz. We were obliged to put up with sorry accommodation, while we dispatched a kawass, who had been sent so far with us by the governor of Bartan, to the residence of the ayyan, to procure horses for the next morning.

*October 19th.* After waiting a long time, no horses making their appearance, we mounted the few wretched animals that could be procured, and put the baggage into waggons drawn by buffaloes.

After about an hour's ride we came to a mesjid in the forest without a single house near it, but, as this was the Mohammedan Sabbath, the woodmen and hutsmen had collected from around, and two large sheep were

roasting in the burial-ground, to be feasted upon, after divine service.

Crossing the river at this point we commenced an ascent through a forest, the road being made of logs of wood, laid transversely. The lofty precipice of the Black Rock lay not far from us to the left; the scenery around was very beautiful, and a tributary to the Ordeiri came tumbling through a rocky pass, near its base; while the yaila, or summer quarters of some pastoral people, occupied a patch of greensward, high above our heads.

Descending hence again into the well-wooded valley of the Ordeiri, we passed several saw-mills; and, turning up a valley to the south, reached the residence of the ayyan of Dursanli, a word corrupted from Durt Hasanli (the Four of Hasan). The name of the kazilik is, however, Ovah Kasa Si (the Kazilik of the Plain), apparently an egregious misnomer.

The ayyan was not at home, but, in his absence, the ladies sent a servant from the harem to offer their services, and with an extremely polite message that whatever we should order should be prepared for us; as we always made a rule of paying for whatever was given to us, we made no scruple of ordering the customary pilau of boiled fowls and rice.

While waiting for this, night came on apace, and we became so anxious for the fate of the baggage, in the buffalo waggon, that after a farther lapse of time, we resolved to issue forth in search of it. So we mounted our horses and began to retrace our steps; but we found it a very different thing to threading these intricate woods and steep paths in the day-time, as we were thumped against trees or the horse stumbled almost every moment.

We soon, however, came up with the tedious quadrupeds; no one had disturbed their progress, and we now assisted in driving them into their quarters for the night.

On our return supper was served up, but the pilau was represented by four eggs, swimming in butter. An egg a-piece, after a long day's work, was a very unsatisfactory affair; so we went forth in search of fowls, of which we soon captured two, and these were already transfixing upon a long stick, and Mr. Pulsford was very ably turning them before a noble expanse of flame, when the ayyan and his brother made their appearance; we accordingly took the opportunity of thanking them for their hospitality, and they were delighted that we were satisfied; we could help not feeling, however, that our expressions of gratitude, and theirs of satisfaction, were somewhat hyperbolic.

*October 20th.* Our road the next day still lay up the head waters of the Ordeiri, and, after a short ride through woods of plane and cork oak, with underwood and coarse grapes, we arrived at the mesjid and village of Bagh Javis (Walnut Garden).

Everything now was upon a large scale, and truly alpine: at the head of the valley was the mountain of Durnah Yailasi, the ancient Orminius, with a forest of pine fringing its rude acclivities, but with a bald summit rising above all. To the south were wild crags and precipices, the home of the mountain antelope and the ibex. These alternated with dark wooded recesses, that appeared almost inaccessible.

There was here and there a village in the bottom of the valley, and a few houses (more indeed than could have been expected in so secluded a spot,) were scattered

along the acclivities of the hills. But what most interested us and excited our curiosity was, that these hamlets were tenanted by a race of people who, excepting in their language, (which was a very corrupt Turkish,) had not a feature in common with that race. They were dark and swarthy, their hair long, their forehead indented, their features sharp and distinct, and altogether different from the round Turkish physiognomy. They appeared to belong to aboriginal races, driven from the coast into the mountains, and there degenerated; for their hair was uncombed, and their fierce and harsh features looked as if smoke-dried.

It is well known that there was a Sclavonian race in these parts. They are noticed by Homer, as the *'Everot* or Heneti, and were a family of the same Sclavonians called *Venetæ* by the Romans, and *Winden*, or *Wenden*, by the Germans. They were described by Strabo, as living beyond the Parthenius, and as occupying a considerable portion of maritime Paphlagonia.

This is the only case that I know of, of the existence, on the Asiatic peninsula, of a nation, which, under the name of Servians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, &c., &c., constitute so large a portion of the population of Turkey in Europe.

It took us exactly four hours and forty minutes from the time we left Dursanli, to gain the crest of the Orminius. The two barometers indicated for this point an elevation of 3200 feet, but, although we had been continuously ascending since we left Bartan, it was very different with the country now before us, which, named by Rennell, after an Oriental authority, "the stony Iflani," extended to the east, as an elevated upland of pine

forests, stony plains, and continuous moorlands. On our descent, and at an elevation of upwards of 3000 feet above the sea, we met with beds of large fossil oysters, and in the limestones below, cones and spiral univalves, generally of a gigantic size.

In the evening we arrived at the town of Zafaran Boli. We were at first received in the khan attached to the post-house, but being exposed to much disturbance there, from travelling and boisterous tatars and kawasses, Mr. Rassam went personally to request from the governor that lodgings might be given to us in the Christian quarter, a suburb which is called Kuran Keuy (the King's Village). This was acceded to, and we were glad to enjoy the repose which the next day, being the Sabbath, offered to us among these remnants of the Paphlagonian Greeks, confining our researches to visiting their church and perambulating the town.

Zafaran Boli, a place hitherto little known to Europeans, is situated at the junction of two small streams, the united waters of which flow under the lofty arch of an ivy-clad bridge, and thence down deep rocky dells.

The upland above terminates over the town, in several distinct tongues of land, having rock terraces at the summit, and steep acclivities descending into the town. The most easterly of these headlands is occupied by a new barrack, and its attached jami; the next bears the ruinous walls of an ancient fortress; the third is the seat of the governor's house, and on the fourth and last is Kuran Keuy, the Christian quarter; while the lower town itself, with its numerous menarehs, khans, colleges, and hammams, stretches along the foot of the hills and up the valleys between them.

The town contains about 3000 houses of Mohammedans and 250 houses of Christians. It has a good market, four handsome jamia, several mesjids, colleges, tekiiyyehs (monasteries of dervishes), two large khans, and four public baths.

The chief trade is in saffron, the large production of which has rendered the place so flourishing, and gave to it its ancient name of Flaviopolis, and its modern one of Zafaran Boli.

At the Greek church, consecrated to St. Stephen, we were shown a limb of the martyr, preserved as a most invaluable relic, said to have been brought from Syria, and presented to that church by Theodora, wife of Justinian.

It is related that this empress—the frail object of Gibbon's just but unsparing sarcasm, dreamed her first visions of future greatness in Paphlagonia, which she is said to have last left with the pleasing assurance, that she was destined to be the wife of a potent monarch. The memory of such an event led her, in after periods of devotion, as is recorded by her historians, to distribute liberal alms and benefactions to many churches both of Paphlagonia and Bithynia.

*October 22nd.* We made an excursion to Kara Bunar (the Black Spring), a spot in the stony upland, seven miles from the town, where we had been led to believe were some curious remnants of antiquity. We passed, on this excursion, a remarkably narrow and deep ravine, which cut the upland across for several miles. Beyond this we fell in with a party of travelling Zinganis, or Gipsies, who, in total violation of Oriental decency, sent their women to beg of us. We then turned off to



an isolated grove of dark pines, where amidst numerous Mohammedan tombs, we found fragments and capitals of columns of the Byzantine era, and among them a slab of limestone, which bore the rude effigy of a female figure with wings, probably an angel. This appeared to be the site of some early Christian church or monastery.

The ensuing day, we started early in the morning to visit the junction of the Soghanli Su (Onion River) with the Filiyas—a question of hydrography which it was important to settle. Our road lay along the Bulak Dereh, a ravine as picturesque as the others, and then by the more open banks of the river, till, at about seven miles from the town, we arrived at its junction with the Filiyas, where a wooden bridge is carried over the united streams.

We returned by another route, over well-cultivated fields, many of which were now covered with flowering saffron, to the village of Bulak, from whence, crossing a rocky ridge, we entered upon a mountain-inclosed vale at the foot of Orminius, covered with vineyards, and diversified by small country houses. A mile up this valley led us to a more secluded and rocky spot, where a stream of water flowed from an open cave in the limestone rock.

The good people of Zafaran Boli make frequent pleasure parties to this place, where are stated to have been, in former times, two monasteries, one consecrated to St. John, the other to Theodora. We returned to the town by the suburb of Boghazlu, so that we had now encompassed it in every direction, and certainly we never expected to find anything so tasteful and comfortable as the country mansions are, which constitute

these suburbs, and which belong chiefly to the native Greek merchants.

While we were at Zafaran Boli, a Greek boy came to offer his services to us to replace our lost Nubian servant. He was then in the service of a Frank doctor attached to the regiment at that time quartered in the town; he could obtain no pay, and though a long arrear was due to him, preferred sacrificing the past, to continuing in such unproductive employment. The day of our departure, however, his master reported his desertion to the governor, and got a kawass sent to our house to claim him. We exerted ourselves to our utmost to free the lad from such slavery, but without effect. We waited upon the governor and represented how inconsistent it was with justice, that the boy should be forced to remain in a service which he did not like, more especially when long arrears of wages were due and insufficient food was given to him; that the lad had a right to choose his own master, and that being a Greek, and not a Rayah, and having voluntarily entered into our service, he had placed himself under our protection, which we were resolved to extend to him as far as in our power. The governor, however, gave it against us, and persisted in attributing to the master a right over all the actions of his servant, and we had the pain, at the end of the discussion, of seeing the boy led forcibly away by the kawasses, when he was by his master's inhuman order, whipped in his prison cell. Emancipation was not, however, long in coming, for on our arrival at Angora we immediately represented the whole transaction to Izzet Mehemet Pasha, who sent for the lad, and he remained in our service till we returned to Constantinople.

We lost the company of Mr. Pulsford at this place. He proceeded by the direct road to Angora, while we continued down the valley of the Gök Irmak (Sky-blue River), with the intention of exploring the lower part of Halys, up to the parallel of the same city, a labour which we hoped to accomplish before the winter set in.

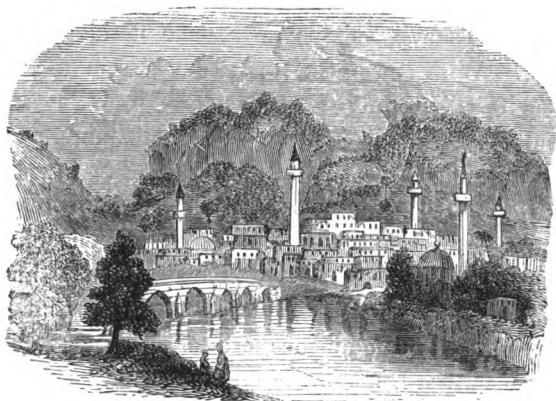
Zafaran Boli, it may be remarked, is one of the very few towns in Lesser Asia that has preserved its ancient prosperity under the Mohammedan rule. Almost universally the opposite is the case. Iconium, Cæsarea, Angora, Sebaste, Tigranocerta, Edessa, and a host of places rendered illustrious by their former prosperity and greatness, are now in the most prostrate and fallen condition, while others also of celebrity, as Nisibin, Anazarba, Issus, Amorium, &c., are mere heaps of ruins. In Paphlagonia, as in Bithynia, we find a brighter period, even in its half-savage condition, and at the remote epoch of the Greek colonies, than in modern times. The history of wars with the kings of Pontus is relieved by the account of the founding and embellishment of cities; its bishops were seated at the councils of the Church; its towns were the homes of the noblest Asiatic Greeks. It remained to be prostrated, with the other fair provinces of the peninsula, under Mohammedan misrule and lethargy.

It is a curious fact that the Osmanli conquerors of Lesser Asia cannot claim the foundation of a single town or city. For four centuries they have neither established new ports, nor formed new roads, nor have they originated any new branches of industry or of commercial intercommunication. Even the Saracens did more by

their inroads. The Turkomans of the Seljukiyan dynasty constructed a road from Koniye eastward; but, beyond a few bridges and causeways, and numerous religious edifices, the Osmanli sultans have done nothing for the interior. With one of the finest countries in the world to pour its tribute into the coffers of the Sublime Porte, the sultans have built jamis, a fleet, tombs innumerable, and have adorned the shore of the Thracian Bosphorus with wooden palaces, while agriculture, commerce, and industry, have sunk to the very lowest ebb, in a climate and country favourable to each; and at the same time all the intellectual and tasteful pursuits of mankind have been banished by the hideous form of a baneful religion, from the earliest home of literature and science, of music and the fine arts.

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## CHAPTER V.



Tash Kupri—Pompeiopolis.

**Upland of Iflani. The Black Forest. Muleteer runs away. New mode of procuring Horses. Trouble with the Muleteers. Visit to the Copper Mines. Cupidity of a Turkish Governor. City of Kastamuni. Evils of farmed Governments. Trade of Kastamuni. Its Castle. Persecutions of Christians. Town of Tash Kupri—Pompeiopolis. Antiquities. Splendid Sarcophagus. Greek Metropolis.**

*October 25th.* RETRACING our steps towards the upland of Iflani, we found ourselves on gaining those high levels in the midst of winter, and our road lay through a pine forest where the snow tumbled upon us from the overladen branches. Beyond this the moorland was nearly continuous and little diversified: when cultivated, there were a few villages; when not, it was a continuous waste or forest land.

It was late in the evening before we arrived at an

isolated house, where the ayyan of that portion of Iflani which is under the jurisdiction of Zafaran Boli resides. There were several robbers stalking about the house in chains. We had an apartment assigned to ourselves, the ayyan as usual visiting us with his suite in the evening.

*October 26th.* There was a great delay in procuring horses this morning, and it was late before we started. Crossing over some low hills, we came to the valley of Bedil, with five villages, and then another which expanded into a plain, cultivated in almost every part, and studded with villages, in the midst of which, as is common in cultivated and populous districts of this character, was the market village, a series of untenanted shops, open only one day in the week, and that generally the Mohammedan Sabbath, the day on which business is transacted.

After a short journey of four hours we came to a stony spot, where was the residence of the ayyan of Iflani under the jurisdiction of Kastamuni; hence the two Iflanis are always distinguished as Iflani of Zafaran Boli, and Iflani of Kastamuni. We were to obtain a relay of horses at this place, but experienced so much delay, that we were forced to remain all night. When night came on, as it was clear and frosty, Mr. Russell and myself went out to shoot wild duck, which abound in the rivulets of the moorlands, on which excursion we rambled a long distance from the village and enjoyed considerable sport. Near to the village is a mound and some ruins, where, according to the tradition of the natives, a great battle was once fought.

On the upland of Iflani, at a mean elevation of

2800 feet, the cultivation consists almost entirely of wheat and barley; indeed it may be considered among the most productive wheat countries of Anatolia; besides this, the natives also cultivate a species of polygonum in the fields, and a chenopodium in their gardens, principally to feed fowls, the eggs of which form a large item in their diet; but these seeds are also ground and used in making bread. The gardens also furnish a little maize in sunny exposures, and plenty of cabbages and pumpkins. The climate and soil are well adapted for potatoes. The appearance of the fields, with their short stubble, the marshy spots covered with their sedges, and the greensward with its long festucas, is very similar to those of many parts of Ireland. The land is both manured and regularly top-dressed. As a general average, 80 okahs, or 220 pounds, of wheat, fetch 25 piastres, or five shillings, the same measure of barley three shillings.

*October 27th.* Crossing the limestone rocks of Iflani, we came upon the cultivated valley of Sighir (Ox), beyond which was a small plain with five villages, under one court (divan), held at Tekiyyeh Keuy (the Village of the Dervishes' Monastery). Beyond this, the character of the country completely changed, from a continuous upland, intersected by nearly circular plains and valleys, with gentle slopes, to a mountainous district and wooded heights with conical and sharpened summits, rapid but not abrupt acclivities, and deep and narrow valleys, clothed at the base with forests of fir, which on the acclivities and at the summits alternated with, or were replaced by, equally prolific but now leafless woods of birch.

One of these narrow valleys now opened before us, having only small patches of cultivation and corresponding groups of hamlets like eyries on its side, while a dark-looking forest spread out below. This district is called the Kara Aghaj (Black Forest). It is in the ayyanlik of Chilani, where we arrived after about half an hour's farther ride. Our muleteers, who were two in number, wanted to obtain a relay of horses here, but the ayyan was absent, and as none were to be obtained, we obliged them after much altercation to go on with us.

An hour's journey from Chilani brought us to the foot of the mountains of Uzún Burun, on entering the forests of which, one of our muleteers decamped; in another hour we reached the summit-level or mean of crest, for which the barometer indicated an elevation of 3600 feet. This mountain chain extends nearly north-east and south-west, and is formed of rounded mountains with gentle acclivities, covered with wood from the base to the summit.

The descent was more rapid than the ascent, yet night overtook us before we reached the plain of Dadahi, and we had still to travel some distance before we arrived at the ayyan's house, making in all four hours from the crest of the Uzún Burun. The ayyan was not at home, but we were received in his house and treated to a large fire, and the next morning at an early hour the notables of the place came to see us.

The ayyanlik of Dadahi has under its jurisdiction about twenty-four villages. The cultivation is nearly the same, at an elevation of 2500 feet, as that of the Iflani district, but maize, tobacco, and French beans are added to their productions; vines do not succeed.

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The plain of Dadahi is extensive and studded with villages, with the market as usual apart from the rest. This district corresponds to the episcopate of Dadybra under the Byzantine empire.

*October 28th.* The next day we started over the Gerish Tagh, a range of hills covered with forests of oak and fir, and descended by a lovely vale sheltered by cranberry trees, upon the ripe berries of which, numerous jays, blackbirds, and fieldfares were feasting. From hence we gained the more open valley of the Daurikhan Irmak, up which we travelled but a short distance to the village of Jurimaran, where we were again to change horses, and beyond which we in vain attempted to get the muleteers to proceed. Their orders were not to go beyond the jurisdiction of the ayyan of Dadahi. The customary observations and labours of the day over, we spent the evening fishing in the river of Daurikhan, and so little experience in hooks had the poor fish of this remote district, and so plentiful were they, that they allowed themselves to be caught by the fins, when not captured by the mouth.

*October 29th.* It was in vain next day that we looked out for horses coming. There was not an attempt made to bring us one. The ayyan, who was a young man, had not power to enforce our firman; so after bringing our baggage out of our house, Messrs. Russell and Rassam went into the pastures to secure horses, while I remained in charge of them, as they were brought in, and of the arms and baggage. This detained us nearly all the morning, and was only accomplished amidst the shouts and vilification of the peasants, more especially the female portion, who exclaimed loudly against mares

with foal and unshod colts being pressed into the service, but we had difficulty enough to secure these, without being particular in our choice. Had we had a tatar or kawass with us, probably these inconveniences would not have been met with, but still, when off the great road, the supply of horses is always very uncertain and attended with great delays.

At length the steeds were loaded and ourselves mounted, when the reluctant villagers found themselves obliged to provide two of their number to accompany us and bring them back from the next change. Our road lay up the valley of the river, till we came to Dereh Keuy the Village in the Valley, a small village prettily situated in a deep glen surrounded by precipices, and where, as in several villages around, the peasants were engaged in the manufacture of gun-flints.

Hence we travelled over the upland of Salmanli, having hills to the north, on one of which were the remains of a castellated building, and to the south the extensive, level, and cultivated district of Daurikhan, abounding in villages. Our muleteers, forced upon the service against their will, would give us no information, nor even name a village for us; so that we were obliged at the next houses we came to, to seek for some more communicative guide, and we were lucky enough to obtain as such a willing and good-tempered youth, who was of infinite service to us at night.

Entering a forest shortly before night-fall, we met with some armed and travelling Turks, whom our muleteers endeavoured to enlist in their cause, by false representations of our being Gawurs who had illegally forced them and their horses into our service: we kept driving

them on, however, in spite of their hostile epithets, and the boy showed us the way. At length night overtook us, and, under other circumstances, we would have bivouacked, to spare the poor beasts; but we had no option now, for had we unloaded, the peasants would certainly have stolen away in the darkness, and left us with our baggage in the forest, as it would have been impossible to have kept guard upon all the horses when turned out to grass.

Our road lay over a mountain forest, the track scarcely distinguishable, and very steep, the mud deep and slippery. As the men would lend no assistance to the laden horses, the toil of the ascent was increased for all of us; but we persevered in our efforts, and gained the crest of the hills, where we found a guard-house. We were too fatigued and cross to pay attention to the summons made as to our *personnel* and purport, so rode on, and soon afterwards, but late at night, arrived at the mountain-inclosed town of Bakir Kurehsi (Copper Furnaces), where a comfortable room and fire were assigned us, and we rewarded our faithful young guide.

*October 30th.* This morning we waited upon the governor, and exhibited our firman, which authorized us to explore and examine into the state of the mines in the Osmanli empire. This did not appear to be at all agreeable to him, but finding that we were bent upon immediate proceedings, he proposed to accompany us, and we accordingly issued forth with a train of kavasses, &c., to examine in the first place the furnaces, which are sixteen in number, small, and the bellows worked by water-wheels, which themselves are turned by a small stream that flows along the centre of the

valley. We then went to the piles of scorïæ and refuse of former years, which were being turned over and sifted, so that every bit of any promise whatsoever might be now turned to account. The persons employed in this labour were chiefly convicts, or forced labourers. None of the veins of metal are now wrought, nor could we even obtain a specimen of the original ore in the town; but this no doubt was owing to orders from the governor to that effect, for he all along showed much anxious jealousy at our explorations.

We next proceeded to the shafts; they were mostly either fallen in, or full of water. One of them Mr. Russell and myself explored to a considerable depth, but without reaching the vein of metal. This accomplished, we requested Mr. Rassam to accompany the governor home, while Mr. Russell and myself examined the acclivities of the mountain, and ascended to its summit, where was a tomb, called Bakir Sultan (Copper Sultan), and the residence of an attached dervish, who must have a rather singular home.

The view from this point was very grand, and presented in every direction a continuous succession of mountains, rounded, but with steep acclivities to the west and east, broken into bold rocky cliffs to the north, and overtopped by the more distant snowy summits of the Alkas Tagh to the south-east, while a vast accumulation of cloud lay over the Black Sea, like a great white shroud spread at our feet.

The town of Bakir Kurehsi is pleasingly situated in the hollow, but is now in a state of great poverty and general dilapidation. It contains a handsome jami, and upwards of 200 houses, half of which are untenanted.

That these mines were formerly very productive, may be inferred from the fact mentioned by Gibbon, that in the time of Mohammed II., Ismael Bey, the Turkoman prince of Sinope, yielded to the conqueror of Constantinople, on his summons, a city, and a revenue of 200,000 ducats, derived, it is said, chiefly from the copper mines; an amount which the historian remarks appears enormous. The author of the *Jehan Numa* has said after Strabo that the people employed in these mines emit a horrible stench from their bodies when they come to the surface. We did not, however, perceive anything of the kind in the old galleries.

In the evening, the governor being upon a visit to us, Mr. Rassam excited his wonder by the exhibition of so finished a piece of workmanship as a gold chronometer of Molyneux's, which had been presented to him by the Honourable the Board of Directors of the East India Company, whereupon Mr. Russell told the Turk, whose eyes and looks were beaming with cupidity, that it was meant as a present for him. This had nearly been more than a joke, for it was afterwards with great difficulty that he was made to relinquish his claim to it, and that only by the loss of his good graces,—no great loss after our business with him was over,—and he retired in high dudgeon.

*November 1st.* We left Bakir Kurehsi by a gap in the mountain, called Kirnak Taghi, and continued to travel for three hours along a rocky mountain and forest country, at times by the rude banks of a stony torrent, at others over the muddy and branch-strewn pathway of the forest glades. It rained hard all the morning. Beyond this the country opened, and a few miles farther

we entered upon the extensive plain of Daurikhan, covered with villages.

On our arrival at the head village of the district, we found the ayyan absent, and no one, after our long ride in a pitiless rain, would afford us shelter, or give us a resting-place, so that we were ultimately obliged to take possession of the furnished house of a respectable Mohammedan, who happened to be from home. This determination on our part, to help ourselves, had a good effect, for the next morning we obtained horses and a seruji, without more than the usual trouble.

*November 2nd.* We continued our route over woodless hills, crossing two different ranges, with their intervening valleys, both belonging to the Yerala Goz chains, when we came to a low, wooded crest, with a ravine, where was a guard-house, and a little beyond this the valley of the Gök Irmak burst upon our view, stretching far away beneath our feet, dotted with villages and plantations, and backed by the city of Kastamuni, over which towered the patrimonial castle of the Comneni, and of the Isfindaberg princes of the Turkomans.

From Zafaran Boli to this place, except in the low valley of the Daurikhan river, our elevation had never been much less than 2000 feet above the sea, at Bakir Kurehs 2800 feet, and on the high uplands of the Yerala Goz 3240 feet. This fact, which had hitherto only been rendered apparent by the indications of the barometer, and by climate and vegetation, became now actually visible, for, without having made any ascent from the general level of our road, the valley of the Blue River, which stream had still to flow some distance before it joined the Halys, was many hundred feet below us.

We arrived, early in the afternoon, at the crowded and bustling city of Kastamuni. Our Daurikhan mule-teen was so afraid of being detained as a soldier, that he would not go to the Serai, or governor's house; so Mr. Rassam had to go on first, and as we were to follow, we missed him, and had to wander about the town nearly two hours, till, directed by some Christians in the market-place, we luckily found him in the Greek quarter, where he had secured a comfortable apartment in the house of a member of that persuasion.

The next day we visited the governor, who was in ill health. I prescribed for him, and sent him the medicines in the evening, visiting him frequently afterwards during our short stay, so that we had many opportunities for conversation upon the state of the mines, as well as of the adjacent country. He agreed with us in the necessity of new works to carry on the former, and of the introduction of a new system; but he said, who will advance the money? In the present system of things, where local governments are farmed out, the governors often changed, and only making use of their time to realize as much money as possible, it can never be expected that any labour will be undertaken that requires the outlay of capital, and time for remuneration.

During our stay, besides our observations astronomical and magnetic, we explored the city, which is of considerable magnitude, and examined and laid down a plan of its castle, an ancient ruin of much historical interest.

The present name of the town is a corruption of *Castra Comneni*, of which family this place was a patrimonial estate, if not an independent kingdom, before it attained the power and eminence which arrested for

awhile the fate of a sinking empire. It became, at the fall of the Comneni, the residence of an independent race of Turkoman princes. Among these was Kutrum Bayazid, who, about A.D. 1393, laid waste the Turkish provinces, although himself paralytic and disabled. His son Isfindaberg became one of the most powerful and most persevering enemies of the then rising Osmanlis. He was succeeded by a race of princes who bore the same name.

In the intestine broils which followed the defeat and death of Bayazid I., and the conquests of Tamerlane, Musa Chelebi, one of the sons of Bayazid, flying before his more successful brother Suleiman, took refuge in this castle, and at the court of the prince of Kastamuni.

In the time of Mohammed I. the then representative of the Isfindaberg family allied himself to Karaman Oghlu (the patronymic of the princes of Koniye), and they marched together against the Sultan of the Osmanlis; but the latter was victorious, and Bakir Kurehsi and Tosiye, but not Kastamuni, are noticed by Oriental historians as among the places that fell into the hands of the Osmanlis, while Isfindaberg, like the former kings of Paphlagonia, when driven before the Romans, took refuge at Changri.

Sinope and the adjacent country being reduced by Mohammed II., conqueror of Constantinople, the whole of the principality fell into the hands of the Osmanlis; and in the time of Murad III. (A.D. 1585), we find his vizir, Osman, wintering his forces at the castle and town of Kastamuni.

Under Osmanli government, Kastamuni has always



been the capital of a province or sanjak, and the residence of a pasha (mushir), till under the economical reforms of the late Sultan, it was made the seat of a mutesellim, or governor, under the mushir of Angora.

Kastamuni is situated in a valley, from one-half to three-fourths of a mile in width, and this it completely fills up; a break in the hills that bound the city to the west gives origin to another valley, which is filled up by the suburb, called Hisar Ardi, while upon the rocky cliff which separates the two valleys, stand the ruins of the castle.

The total number of houses is said to amount to 12,000, giving a population of 48,000 persons. The Greeks have out of this only 160 houses, and the Armenians 20. The former have a small church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The Armenians meet for prayers in a khan. In the Mohammedan city we counted thirty-six menarehs, and there are twenty-four public baths. There are also in the city four monasteries of resident or stationary, and two of itinerant, dervishes.

The principal trade of Kastamuni is in wool; that produced in the neighbourhood is said to be nearly as good as that of Angora. The men also work largely in copper, and the women in cotton brought from Adanah, and of which sails for shipping are made, and sent to Constantinople: they also print cottons, and tan leather, but in the latter article Tash Kupri excels them. There are said to be thirty-two printing houses, having from four to eight presses each, also twenty-two dyeing houses, of which six are for red and sixteen for blue dyes. Thus this city, like many others in Lesser Asia, owes its existence to the demands and necessities of a large,

fertile, and populous neighbourhood; wherever such exists, there must be one point where the products of art and industry are to be found, to supply the wants of villagers and peasants. This will create a population, which will again have its own wants, and cities of such origin are propagated through an indefinite period of time, and are always available, although too often neglected, outlets for the products (cutlery wares, cottons, prints, &c.,) of more favoured manufacturing countries, and which can always undersell the tradesman in localities where not only the arts are at their very lowest ebb, but where also, from want of capital and enterprise, the transport of goods from other places is almost totally neglected.

The castle of Kastamuni is a rude structure, built of the same coarse sandstone as the rock on which it stands. The mortar is a mixture of lime and pebbles. Some of the towers, three of which are round, are nearly fifty feet in height: one is partly built of tiles, and some square ones, more especially such as flank the outer wall, are of better construction than the rest, and formed of large stones; they probably belong to a more remote era. A plan was made, from which it appears that the castle is of an oblong form, 414 feet long by 60 wide.

Little more than a century ago the Christian inhabitants of Kastamuni were expelled from the city, and forced to take up their residence in a village on the Gök Irmak, which is still designated as Gawur Keuy (Infidel Village). When re-admitted to live and trade within the precincts of the town, they had no church, and only their old burial-ground, till under the late Sultan a firman was granted, allowing them to build a church,

and to bury their dead, near the abodes of their forefathers.

Although the commerce of Kastamuni is inconsiderable, its population and extent claim for it some attention. Some of the jamis and the new barracks rise above surrounding buildings; but the houses generally, although of two stories, are ill built; the streets are also narrow and dirty, and the centre of the town, washed by the river of Kastamuni, is but a deep kennel, into which the filth of the whole place is collected. There are no open quays to enliven the scene, and only here and there a wooden bridge, across which the Mohammedan has to pick his way, lest he should wake the sleeping dogs, and be defiled by touching them.

Kastamuni is not unfrequently visited by the plague, and is always liable to bad fevers, more particularly malaria, which is said often to assume a very fatal type. At an altitude of 2350 feet above the sea, the snow is said to lie two months upon the ground, and the summer to be very hot.

*November 6th.* This day we continued our journey, proceeding along the valley of the Gök Irmak, five miles and a half, to where it makes a bend to the eastward, and flows along a pleasant valley, full of villages, plantations, and gardens.

After a ride of seven miles along this vale, we came to a point where the river enters into a rocky ravine, and we at the same time crossed over some low hills, beyond which was the basin-like hollow in which stands town of Tash Kupri, in a most beautiful situation, surrounded by low wooded hills, and crowded with grove-embosomed villages.

We entered the town, which stands on the right bank of the river, by a bridge seventy-five yards long, and which formerly consisted of four arches, two of which now remain, but the two others, which were carried away, are replaced by three low and badly-constructed modern arches. We then rode to the governor's house, where a divan had just been held, and the governor himself was standing under the porch with a number of respectable-looking old Turks, inhabitants of the place. After the preliminary salutes and inquiries, our firman was produced, and it became evident to the governor and the old gentlemen who also stood by to hear it perused, that we were, in virtue of said document, entitled to a lodging for the night in the good town of Tash Kupri. The governor, however, seemed puzzled to know what to do with us, and turned round inquiringly to his friends; but each and all shook their heads, and slunk quietly away, when the governor good-humouredly ushered us into his own house, and assigned to us an apartment, in which we had not been long installed before he and his brother came in search of araki, with which, had we permitted him, he would at once have drank himself into a senseless condition.

Early next morning, while Mr. Rassam was getting the horses and baggage ready, Mr. Russell and myself went to explore the antiquities of the town. We first visited a small building, used as a madreseh, or college, and which is one entire collection of hewn stones and remains of antiquity, put together in the form of a parallelogram, with an open space in the centre, and two rows of ancient pillars, no two of which had capitals of the same order.

Near this building was a magnificent sarcophagus, of white marble, which was seven feet nine inches long, four feet wide, and three feet six inches high, and ornamented at the sides with exquisitely-wrought wreaths encircling a human face that was unfortunately mutilated. Sculptured bulls' heads also adorned the side, and rams' heads the corners, with bunches of grapes beneath.

We copied several Greek inscriptions in various parts of the town, one from the gateway of the college, one from a fountain, and another in the interior of a tanner's house, near the bridge. One of these inscriptions was decisive as to the identity of Tash Kupri with the ancient Pompeiopolis: it ran as follows: "*To Good Fortune; Caius Claudius Gallitianus, the son of Pallicus, the kind administrator of the country, the senate and people of Pompeiopolis, the metropolis, have dedicated on account of his courage.*"

The modern town of Tash Kupri contains 1500 houses, all inhabited by Mohammedans. We counted ten menarehs, two khans, and two public baths. Tan-ners and blacksmiths form a large portion of the community. It was formerly, not only a Christian town, but, as we see by the inscription above, a metropolis, and its episcopal representative at the council of Ephesus subscribed himself Arginus.

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## CHAPTER VI.



Pass of the Black Valley.

Virgin's Castle. Gate of Flints. Pine Forest. Jackalls. Town of Boiabad. Castle of the Sipahis. Valley of the Blue River. The Black Valley. Guard-house in the Defile. Town of Vizir Kupri. Greek Sepulchral Monument. Hare Mountains. Charcoal Burners. Attempt at Robbery. Practical Justice.

ON our return to the Serai we found the horses ready, and, although it rained hard, we mounted, and, bidding adieu to our imprudent but good-tempered host, we started over cultivated lands, leaving the river, which a little below the town is lost in a ravine, to the left.

After ascending a short distance, we observed before us the dismantled walls and crumbling fragments of a castle, which occupied the summit of a nearly insulated rock. This place is known to the natives by the name of Kíz Kalehsi (the Virgin's Castle), a name not uncommon in the East, and significative of "unconquered."

The weather had cleared up, and Mr. Russell and myself cantered over the fields towards the castle, so as to examine the ruins, and not delay the loaded horses, but, after a ride of upwards of a mile, we found ourselves separated by a deep and almost inaccessible ravine from the object of our wishes, and had to return as quick as we came in order to obtain the sun's meridian altitude, which was done within a few seconds of the time.

We afterwards descended into a ravine, with a rivulet, where we found fragments apparently of arches, now called Chekmak Kapusi (Gate of Flints); and it certainly does appear more like a gate or defence of the pass, than a bridge over the rivulet.

Our ascent of the Ilik Tak, renowned for its pine timber, commenced at this point. The road was rocky and steep, and the horses which had been collected at Tash Kupri turned out very bad indeed, and toiled up with difficulty. We had not reached the crest of the hills before Mr. Russell's horse, which had unfortunately had a sharp ride over heavy ground, gave up entirely, and could not be prevailed upon to move a step in advance. In this dilemma we observed a Turk coming down the same road with a horse, carrying a load of wood. Our seruji assured us, that he had left the town early that morning, under pretence of getting a load of wood, but, in reality, to avoid his horse being pressed into our service; so, waiting quietly till he came up, we appropriated to ourselves his horse, leaving him Mr. R.'s, which was willing to go back, although obstinate as to proceeding further, to carry his fuel to the town, and promising to send him his horse back by the seruji.

As we gained the tops of the hills we entered upon

extensive pine forests. The chief species, and the one most remarkable for its growth, was the *Pinus pinea*. Some trees, which we measured, were upwards of 100 feet high, and 3 feet 4 inches in diameter, cutting into timber 1 foot 9 inches square. The mean elevation of this upland forest was 4000 feet above the level of the sea.

We had a long ride through this dark and monotonous forest, and it became after sunset dreary and difficult; the roads being uneven and strewn with logs of wood, or blocked up by fallen trees. During the latter part of the journey we were followed by a troop of jackalls, who ever and anon burst from the covert, as if to attack us, and then went running and howling away, chasing one another as if in play.

At length we arrived at a village in the forest, called Kavvashah Tekiyyeh, being, as its name indicates, a place for retired dervishes, of whom there are four out of the inhabitants of about fifteen cottages. A room in an empty log-house was given to us, after we had with some difficulty roused the inhabitants, and we soon forgot our fatigues, sleeping before a roasting fire.

We started early the next morning, and, after travelling two hours, partly through forest and partly through open country, we came upon the valley of the Blue River, which here presented a very picturesque appearance, from the acclivities of the surrounding hills being deeply furrowed by ravines, which presented a curious succession of different-coloured indentations. The vale below, immediately after the river left the mountains, became as crowded with villages, as it was above the pass.



A little more than an hour's ride over hills, clad with juniper and prickly oak, brought us to a steep descent, leading to the small town of Boiabad, between which and us was a rivulet, issuing from a rocky ravine, on the opposite side of which, and on a lofty and nearly isolated rock, were the remains of a rather extensive castle.

The town itself, like the generality in Asia Minor, presented from without a cleanly and inviting appearance, and its situation was eminently picturesque. The governor assigned us an apartment which had no windows, so that we were obliged to write our notes by candle-light, but we had the compensatory advantage of being left to ourselves, and were not intruded upon by any visitors.

The next day was spent, the greater part in astronomical observations, as we wanted to regulate the chronometers; the remainder in exploring the town and castle, and laying down a plan of the latter.

Boiabad contains about 300 houses, in which the population is said to consist of 1000 females, and 800 males. There are many jamis and mesjids, three khans, and two baths. The houses are rather scattered, and stretch up the valley called Kaz Derehsi, or that of Geese; this valley to its junction with that of the Blue River, is occupied by luxuriant gardens, full of fine fruit-trees overrun by vines.

The castle contains within its walls about thirty dwelling houses, which are said to have been deserted only about eight years ago, when its lord was a certain Hussein, who is called by the natives the last of the Sipahis. When we visited this feudal castle there was not a human being within its walls, and the houses, still

good, although built of wood, looked as if deserted only a few days before; the path was overgrown with viper's bugloss, and the whole had an almost painful aspect of sudden desolation, but the inhabitants below spoke of the thing in a manner highly characteristic of the utilitarian feeling now gaining ground throughout Asiatic Turkey: "Of what use is it to live secluded in yonder mountain? Is it not better to dwell among gardens and vineyards?"

*November 10th.* This day we continued our journey along the valley of the Blue River; a greyhound, of the Turkoman breed, followed us out of the town, and was immediately admitted of the party as a general favourite. We travelled four hours by the banks of the river, passing villages almost every mile and a half, when we turned to the right about a mile to the village of Ali Pasha Shali, and where, for want of accommodation on the road, we had to pass the night, and that in a room, similar to what we had in Boiabad, without a window, and dark as a dungeon.

The valley of the Blue River averaged to-day a width of from one-half to one mile; and from its numerous windings, wooded hills, and rocks, its general luxuriance of vegetation, and its corn and rice fields, furnished a continuous succession of picturesque and varied landscape.

*November 11th.* Quitting the valley of Ali Pasha Shali, we again entered upon that of the Blue River, and passing Tahiran, formerly a small Mohammedan town, but now a poor village, we found the valley to be narrowed and nearly shut up by dykes of volcanic rocks, which advanced in wooded precipices or rocky promontories upon the bed of the river.

A little farther we came to the junction of Gök Irmak, with the Halys, which occurs at a more open spot, but where there are no habitations.

It was our intention to have proceeded hence up the banks of the Kizil Irmak to Hajji Hamsa, and notwithstanding the many representations made to us of the impracticability of that route, which were set down as Oriental exaggerations, we determined to judge by our own eyes. We therefore travelled up the banks of the river till we came to a village called Beg Keuy, beyond which were perpendicular rocks hemming in the stream, and allowing no further passage. So we were obliged to retrace our steps.

We forded the river near its junction with the Halys; the greyhound, disliking water, was carried over, and we then advanced through the pass called the Kara Dereh (Black Valley). The river here ran through a narrow gorge in the mountains, having on the south side a pillar of rock nearly two hundred feet high, islanded in the waters, while the cliffs rose as a bold and rugged rampart, nearly a thousand feet above the stream: the acclivities were strewn with huge masses of stone, amid which, here and there, a rude pine or cypress spread its dark fronds, while the summits terminated in steep terraces and cliffs, or broke into fantastic pinnacles.

This pass, which constitutes the sole entrance into Paphlagonia from the west, if we except that of Hajji Hamsa, which does not lead into Paphlagonia proper, is undoubtedly the same as that described by Hecatonymus, one of the ambassadors from Sinope to Xenophon, and who said that Paphlagonia must of necessity be entered

by one pass, and that lay between two points of a rock exceedingly high.

The same defile has, in modern times, obtained notoriety from the frequency of the robberies committed in a neighbourhood so well adapted for such exploits, and under so weak a government; but a guard-house has at length been built for its safety, and we found it tenanted by two worn-out veterans, who, however, kindly gave us shelter for the night; and so warm was it in this low and secluded vale, that we slept most agreeably on an open platform in front of the house, surrounded by wild and beautiful scenery.

Travelling the next day along the pleasant banks of the Halys, we were ferried across that river, at a distance of nine miles from the guard-house. Our greyhound was nearly worried here by some dogs belonging to travelling Turkomans, while we were measuring the width of the river.

We now entered Pontus, by what Strabo calls the fertile Gadilonitide, but which at first was uncultivated and covered with low shrubs, but became productive and tilled as we approached the town of Vizir Kupri, which we did not reach till night set in, when we had much difficulty in obtaining quarters; these, however, were ultimately assigned to us in the house of a Moham-medan.

The next day we explored the town, which contains 1000 Mohammedan families, 50 Armenian, and 20 Greek, each of which latter persuasions has a place of worship. The town is divided into quarters, which are in some places separated by walls, and the market is partitioned in the same manner, each portion having gates

for its protection. There is also a bezestan, or covered market, for silks and fine goods, which is a good-looking and well-kept edifice, and has four domes of tiles.

At each of the two gateways of this latter building, a tombstone is dovetailed into the wall. One of these contains a mutilated inscription, and the sculptured insignia of a Greek priest; the other bears the following inscription, turned upside down: "*Honourably, and having lived respectably forty years, Cyrilla, daughter of Syrtus, who bore children to him. In memory*" [of him, erected this monument]. The name of the deceased was wanting.

We did not remark any ancient buildings of importance in the precincts of the present town, but remnants of such are common. Fragments of columns are not infrequent, and many hewn stones are met with belonging to ancient days. Although now called the "Vizir's Bridge," the town was, till within a short time back, designated by the Turks as Ghedakara, which was a mere corruption of its old name, Gadilon.

At an altitude of 800 feet above the sea, mulberry trees are cultivated in the neighbourhood, and storks' nests abound in the chimnies.

*November 15th.* Quitting Vizir Kupri, we travelled over a well-cultivated country, with occasional villages, for fifteen miles, when we arrived at the foot of the Tavshan Tagh (Hare Mountains). There were the ruins of an ancient castle, upon a rocky peak belonging to this chain, which advanced upon the plain several miles to the eastward of our road. It also was called Tavshan Kalehsi (Hare's Castle).

We commenced our ascent amidst forests of shrubby

and deciduous oak, gradually becoming trees, and towards the summit of the hills, interspersed with beech and pine. On the crest, the trees grew so close together, that most were unhealthy, and covered with lichens and mosses, while the intervals between were almost filled up with fallen timber. The elevation was here 3690 feet above the sea, and the ascent took us two hours and a half.

We did not descend far on the opposite side of the hill, before we came to a village in a ravine called Kosajah, inhabited by charcoal burners attached to the mines of Hajji Keuy. Our arrival here was not the less agreeable, as night was coming on, and the road was very bad. Our accommodations here were, however, of the worst description; the only room we could get was full of chopped straw and vermin, and at this elevation it was too cold to sleep out of doors. There were no cooking utensils to be found (which was not so great a loss, as there was nothing to cook); and these charcoal burners received us with most malicious grins, and more than suspicious looks. They crowded, in the most unpleasant manner, into our small apartment, and laid their hands upon everything, so that we had enough to do to keep a sharp look-out; at length our temper could brook it no longer, and we turned them all out by positive pushing.

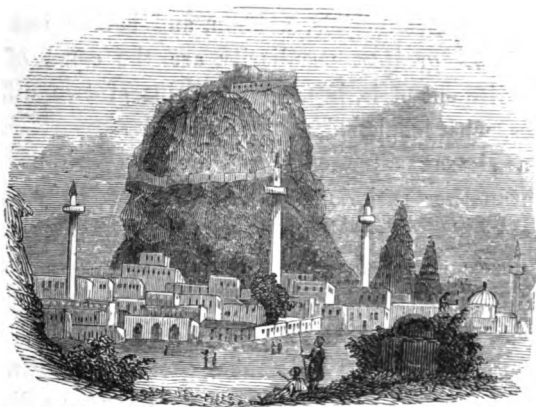
Next morning, on packing up, we found that a pistol, a shot-belt, and several small things had been taken away, which, however, we did not claim, or say anything about, till the mules were loaded and ourselves mounted and prepared for any emergency. We then requested to see the sheik of the village, who had also been with us

the preceding evening. He came out with only one or two attendants, when Mr. Rassam immediately told him that he must consider himself our prisoner, and must go along with us to Osmanjik, there to be handed over to the *mutesellim*, unless the lost things were given up. At first an attempt was made to deny positively any knowledge of the theft, but finding that we were resolute, and even began driving their chief before us, the missing objects were produced, and we rode away, leaving the charcoal burners to their cogitations upon the folly of robbing *gawur* travellers.

We kept descending all the early part of our journey, and about nine miles from Kosajah we fell into the great Constantinopolitan road at a place called Hajji Hasan (Pilgrim Hasan). From this to Osmanjik was a further ride of four hours, by a road which two of the party had travelled on a former journey, when they lodged at the governor's house. On this occasion we were happy in obtaining an untenanted house for our repose, and were thus less disturbed by visitors.

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## CHAPTER VII.



Town of Osmanjik.

Town of Osmanjik. Thermal Spring. Monument of Icesius. Town and Castle of Churum. Passage of the Halys. Town of Eskilub. Reception by the Governor. Sepulchral Monuments. Castle of Blucium. Celtic Fort. Baptismal Font. Interior of a Cottage. Salt Mine. Arrival at Changri.

OSMANJIK is a small town, but a place of interest on several accounts. It is the only town in Asiatic Turkey that bears the name of an Osmanli sultan; originally the Otresia of the Greeks, it received its present appellation from the founder of the Osmanli dynasty. It was garrisoned and fortified with an additional castle in the time of Bajazet, in order to keep in check Kutrum, the paralytic and yet rebellious Prince of Kastamuni. The same sultan also constructed the noble bridge which still affords a passage over the Halys at this



place. It consists of 13 arches, and is 283 yards long, and 8 wide.

The modern town is a bustling little post town, with 300 houses, five mesjids, a khan, and baths; but what gives it its greatest peculiarity are the cones of rock which rise out of it, bearing the ruins of two different castles, with loopholed and casemated ramparts following a zig-zag direction along their precipitous sides, while another rock is caverned with variously formed recesses and sepulchral grotts, and there are other smaller and more pointed obelisk-like summits, which are distinguished by bearing on their peaks the great nests of storks.

*November 17th.* We left the great road at Osmanjik, and proceeded along the banks of the river for a distance of ten miles, when we were turned aside by ranges of wooded mountains, through which the river forced its way by a narrow and pathless gorge.

The Kizil Irmak is in every respect a fine river here, as well as at Ada Teppéh, and preserves its character as such above the pass, even as far south as the district of Sivas; but it does not equal what would *à priori* be expected from a river of such a long course. An exaggerated idea of its magnitude has obtained credit in Europe, from the vague reports of travellers, who have not adopted the test of actual measurement. It is certainly hardly navigable, except by steam vessels, and that only at intervals.

We turned from the river into the valley of Hammam Gozi (Warm Bath's Eye), so called from thermal springs situated at its head, in the Karchak Tagh, and not far from the mines of Hajji Keuy.

This valley contained two villages of Turkomans, at one of which, called Mujteli, we stopped for the night, as we wished to explore the environs. Mr. Rassam was much annoyed in his search for quarters, by the gratuitous insults of a showily dressed young Turkoman, whose spear we afterwards found in the apartment assigned to us; this explained the cause of his ill-humour, and we refused to give up the weapon to him till he had made an ample apology for the barbarian language which he had used.

It appears that these baths were formerly much frequented, for we found in the neighbourhood many fragments of Byzantine buildings, columns, hewn stones, &c. At the side of a fountain there was a tombstone, with scallop-shell, pilgrim's crook, and a deacon's badge, such as are still used in the Greek church. There is still this neighbourhood a Greek village called Rum Keuy.

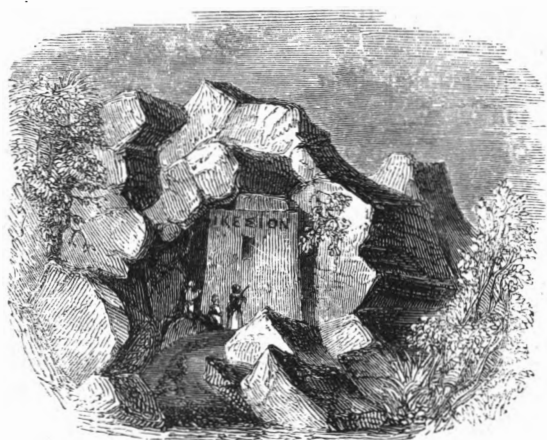
*November 18th.* We approached the Kirk Delim hills by a narrow pass, flanked by nearly perpendicular cliffs, wooded at the base and the summits, the naked sides of which displayed occasionally small sepulchral grotts, but on entering a narrow part of the pass, we were struck with the appearance of a tomb, of much more than ordinary dimensions, and reminding us at once, in style and appearance, of the tombs of the kings of Pontus at Amasiyeh.

This huge relic of human labour was at a height of about a hundred feet above the valley, and cut into the side of a precipice. It consisted of a hollow stone mass, hewn out of the solid rock, with which it was still connected at top and bottom, but separated at the sides by a passage four feet nine inches in width, and thirty-one

feet deep. The total height was thirty-two feet, and the total width forty-four feet nine inches.

The tomb was ornamented with two lateral pilasters in bas-relief, and could only be entered by a small aperture, about four feet high, and fifteen feet from the ground. Above the aperture was inscribed in colossal letters,

### IKESION,



“of Icesius.” Besides this, there were some rudely painted letters and a red cross, evidently the work of later hands, and for which the monument may be indebted to some modern Greeks,

Our ascent of the Kirk Delim took us exactly an hour, when we attained an elevation of 3090 feet, and from this point the country extended as a bare, elevated upland, with a small lake in the centre, otherwise generally cultivated,—a different space each year, and not different crops in rotation. In other respects, without

wood, village, or house, the aspect of the upland was dreary.

In the evening we arrived at Churum, situated on the same upland, at a rather lower elevation, and had to wait some time in the streets before the governor, who was at his siesta, could be seen, to order us accommodation. This was ultimately given to us in a Mohammedan's house.

The next day we explored the town, in which the number of houses amounts to 1800, but as they are generally of one story, the population can scarcely be estimated at more than 7600. There are four khans, and as many baths, and we counted sixteen menarehs. There are but few Christian families, and these not resident, but engaged as tile-makers and potters. Much wheat is sold in the market.

The castle, which is a modern building constructed of ancient materials, is nearly square, walled round, with towers at the angles, and two square towers between these on each side. The interior is occupied by dwelling-houses; the walls are of various dates, and have often been rebuilt, the original plan of the building having probably been preserved. A number of white marble columns have been worked into the walls, besides many Greek tombstones, with crosses, and sculptures, and numerous inscriptions. What we copied did not, however, throw any light upon the history of the place.

If Churum is not Tavium, with which its name has certainly a remote relation, it is difficult to decide upon its ancient appellation. According to Strabo, there were in Trocmian Galatia two other castles besides

Tavium, one called Mithridatium, the other Danala. The latter is the place where Pompey and Lucullus met together, and where, according to Plutarch, they addressed each other with much politeness and mutual compliments on their great success. It is, however, described as a mere village.

Mr. Hamilton, in his travels in this region, in 1836, heard that the Greek Christian remains came from other places, but this did not agree with what we learned from the natives. On the contrary, we heard of a large stone with inscriptions having been carried away from hence by the Christians. Mr. H. errs also in supposing himself the first Frank who had visited this town, as Colonel Chesney had been there before him. There is no doubt, however, that there is a very strong Moham-medan feeling in it. It is indeed chiefly a Turkoman city, and the unconcealed scowls and frowns which the traveller has to put up with, on visiting any little frequented Asiatic town or village, were not wanting on the occasion of our visit any more than on his.

On leaving Churum we crossed the plain and passed over the range called Koseh Tagh, which separates the watershed of the Halys from that of the Iris. On our descent, which was deep and very abrupt, we passed a guard-house, and then entered upon a low undulating country with wide grassy plains, occupied by nomadic tribes of Turkomans, who in summer time lead their flocks to the heights of the neighbouring mountains.

On arriving at the banks of the Halys, we found several parties waiting to be ferried over, as there was but one small raft on skins that could only take two persons, or one and his luggage, at a time; so to avoid a

lengthened delay, we were obliged to bribe the boatman to carry us over first, each with his saddle, and the horse swimming behind.

We travelled some distance over marshy and grassy lands before we reached the foot of the hills of Eskilub. We here entered a small valley, the acclivities of which were covered with vineyards. Advancing by a winding road we came to where a vegetation of trees and shrubs, and richly productive gardens, gave promise of the neighbourhood of human habitations, when suddenly on turning an angle of the road, a city and a castle burst upon our view; the latter was perched upon a singularly bold and naked-looking rock, in front of which was an almost perfectly conical hill with a smooth and slippery surface. Below, menareh after menareh, and houses crowding from the deep valley up the rocky sides of the hills, gradually opened upon us, till they were seen sweeping circularly round the castle as far as the eye could reach.

The governor of this secluded town gave us but a sorry welcome, perusing our firman, and then inquiring what brought us thither; our answer "motives of curiosity, and to visit the antiquities of the place" only made matters worse and the Turks more suspicious, "And of what use," he added, pointing to a cavalry sword which Mr. Rassam wore, almost as long as himself, "do you think those arms would be to you, did we wish you any harm?" curling his lip in contempt. The worthy Chaldean was non-plussed, while encouraged by his master's rudeness, another added, "Eh! and still less use I think on the mountains, if we chose."

We were at length led to a room in the house of a

poor Mohammedan, who was nearly blinded by a chronic complaint in his eyes. The inhospitality of the authorities did not prevent us doing all in our power for the old man, and the remedial measures pursued succeeded so well, that we afterwards left the town with blessings which we had entered under scarcely suppressed curses.

I think I am not wrong in saying, that we certainly were the first Europeans who have, in modern times, visited the ancient town of Eskilub, formerly Blucium. At all events, the inhabitants had no memory of a Frank's visit. Rayahs or Christian subjects were allowed to trade in the town, and dwell in the Kerwan-serai, but none were privileged to make it their place of residence, or bring their wives and families there.

The next day we commenced our explorations, and found the town to contain 1500 houses in round numbers, chiefly of two stories with tiled roofs. The number of menarehs was considerable, and the khans, good commodious buildings. At the foot of the castle hill, we visited, in some private gardens, several sepulchral caverns of greater beauty and elegance than are generally met with. Two of these are particularly remarkable for their pillars of handsome proportions, although indistinct order, and were ornamented with sculptures much mutilated. The subject of one of these bas reliefs was two angels advancing towards each other, the one bearing a cup in her hand, the other a branch.

The castle, or hill-fort, was an old structure of irregular form and very much dilapidated. The remains of towers at the different angles, is now almost all that is

to be seen. The gateway and most of the walls have, however, been repaired within half a century, but not in more modern times. There are about thirty houses in the interior of the castle, and the female portion of the community hooted us sadly while we were taking a few admeasurements. They seemed to consider it as one great harem.

The castle of Blucium is mentioned by Strabo as being one of the royal castles of Deiotarus, the last of the Paphlagonian kings. The country around is all volcanic, and this, which gives their peculiar conical form and dark rugged aspect to the hills around, at the same time imparts to the soil of the valley an exuberant fertility.

*November 22nd.* We quitted Eskilub in a dense fog, and soon leaving the hills entered upon the cold upland of gypsum, having the river in a deep hollow to our left, and a hilly range to our right, the inner portions of which were thinly clad with pine trees.

After a journey of about eighteen miles, we came to the valley of Bayad, in which there were four villages, in one of which, called Nahadan, we obtained quarters for the night in the house of the mollah, who, strange to say, was a liberal-minded man, conversational, and even hospitable.

On the summit of a hill, close to the village, and commanding the valley below, are the ruins of a rude rock fort, the foundations of which were formed of huge stones irregularly piled one upon another. This ruin certainly appeared to be of Celtic origin, and I never met with any other like it, except in Galatia, near the Ishik Tagh.



There was also close to the mesjid of Nahadan a large and handsome Christian baptismal font hewn out of a mass of pitchstone porphyry; and the bridge over the rivulet of Bayad had also the appearance of great antiquity.

*November 23rd.* Our route lay over a country nearly similar to that of the previous day. In the valleys to the right we observed, occasionally, villages of pastoral Turkomans. A little beyond this, we passed a guard-house, which, by a very common process of transformation, had become also a coffee-house, and the "water of life," as they designate it on their doorways, was handed to us without our dismounting, when the customary small bakshish was contributed.

This vale was succeeded by dreary uplands, which at length terminated at the village of Olajúk, round which there was some cultivation. Here we found a resting-place for the night in a cottage, which, in the style of most Anatolian cottages, had loop-holes for windows, a fire-place in the rear, and the two sides of the room, the floor of which was of clay, raised about two inches to put the divan or mattress and cushions on; the mattress was composed of a bed of hay, with a carpet on it, and cotton prints stuffed with the same cheap material served for cushions, the whole well replete with vermin. A small space that has no raised portion is railed off at the lower portion of the room, for the attendants to stand in, and here in a recess in the wall is generally a copper basin with a sieve that supports the soap, also a ewer to pour the water out of, so that as a person washes himself the water that is used flows through the sieve out of sight.

In this case, as in many others, when hay was the foundation of the divan, we set the villagers to work to carry it all out of the room, a little water was then thrown down, the place swept out, and we then spread our carpets upon the bare ground. This was our only chance of procuring sleep, but it did not always answer the purpose, as the fleas came out of the mud walls in myriads.

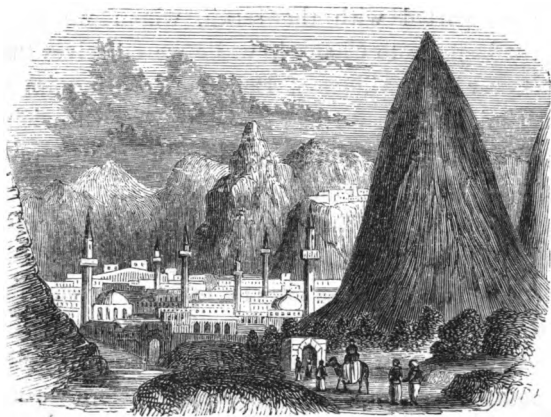
*November 24th.* Our road to-day lay still over these same continuous uplands, with scarcely a shrub or a stone upon them for a bird to rest on; when such does occur—a single stone in the traveller's pathway—it was sure to be occupied by a hawk or some other raptorial bird, and if examined would be found whitened with dung, so long had it been that bird's customary point of repose.

After a ride of about two hours we came to a spring, where we parted with the seruji, whom we sent on with the baggage to Changri, while we ourselves turned down towards the village of Beli Bagh, to inquire after the salt mine which we had heard was in the vicinity. The direction was pointed out, but as it was raining hard, and had been doing so all the morning, we could not get one of the peasants to accompany us as a guide, so that we were a long time in finding out the mine, the entrance to which was small, and up a cross valley.

On entering, the aperture soon began to widen, and we became aware of the presence of lights, and of business going on. We had not gone far before we met a loaded mule, and a little further on, the passage still widening, we came to a kind of hall, where a number of men were at work, stripped, although it was quite cold

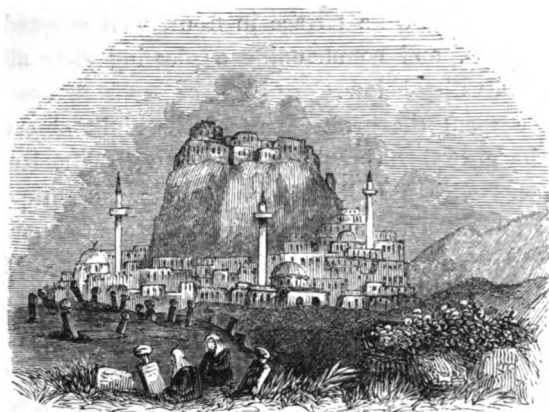
in the open air, and labouring away at a solid bed of salt, with small hammers having thin flexible handles. The people who come for salt have to dig for themselves, and there is a superintendent who receives from one to one and a-half piastres per load, or sixpence for every 250 pounds of salt.

Quitting the mines, a couple of hours' ride, over the same upland, brought us in sight of the castle of Changri, situated on a barren-looking promontory, which advances between two fertile valleys, each watered by its rivulet, while the great mass of variously formed buildings, houses, khans, and jamis with their tall whitewashed menarehs, stretch far away round the promontory, up the acclivities, and into the most southerly of the two valleys, where it extends to both sides of the rivulet, which is crossed by decent bridges.



Eskilub—Blucium.

## CHAPTER VIII.



Kalahjik—Peium.

**Town of Changri. Its Christian Inhabitants. Politics of the old Families of Turks. Guard-house of Tunai. Continuous Fog. Kalahjik (the Little Castle). Local Rebellion. Shock of an Earthquake. Are joined by suspicious Characters. Impaled Kurd. Ruins at Hasan Oghlan.**

CHANGRI being a large town, with a Christian quarter, we were handed over, on application at the Serai for lodgings, to the kyaya of the Christians, who led us by narrow streets and steep ascents, till at length he came to a house which he pointed out as fitting for us. We were quite agreeable to any arrangement, but the inmates not at all so, for they carefully barred the doors, and heeded not the reiterated knocks and repeated threats of their nominal chief. At length some among the crowd that collected, mentioned that there was a small house belonging to an absent tailor, in the neigh-

bourhood; thither accordingly we proceeded, and the key having been found, took tranquil possession of a tolerable room with a terrace in front, well adapted for observations, and commanding a pleasing view of the town and valley below.

We spent the greater part of the night observing, and the next day, I being rather unwell, Mr. Russell proceeded with Mr. Rassam to explore the antiquities of the town. They first directed their steps to a curious Mohammedan monument, designated as the Mejid Tash (the Glorious Stone). There were several tombs and open coffins within this building, which was also tenanted by some of those dervishes who are always found near tombs that are objects of pilgrimage, or of donations, or to which are attached some lucrative foundation. These dervishes pointed out the tombs as those of Mohammedan saints, but a Christian who accompanied the party, kept whispering, "Don't believe a word he says: they are Christian relics, stolen from us by the Mohammedans." The same dervishes asserted that this tubbeh, or ornamental tomb, was built in the time of Harun al Rashid, while an Arabic inscription on the porch dated its erection about the time of John Lascaris at Constantinople, and not long before the overthrow of the Khalifate by the Moghuls.

The castle is a mere ruin, the vestiges only of the ancient walls existing; there are some curious passages like slanting wells, the purposes of which we could not even guess at, and the interior is as usual filled with habitations.

The town itself contains about 3000 houses, and a population of 18,000 or 20,000 souls. Out of these there

are thirty-three Greek families and sixteen Armenian. The Greeks have a church dedicated to St. Obadiah; the Armenians have no place of worship. The Moham-medans, who are chiefly Turkomans, have eight jamis and several mesjids; there are six khans and four public baths. The chief trade is in salt and wool; yellow berries are an article of export, and the Christians bring European manufactured goods. Like Kastamuni, it is a place the trade of which is completely neglected by Europeans.

During our short stay here, we became very friendly with many Christians, from whom we received and returned visits; but we did not obtain any thing very new from our conversations. On religious subjects their ignorance was so great as to debar us even from any discussions on the matter; they scarcely knew the difference between the Greek and Armenian churches, and they were equally void of all traditionary lore or local reminiscences.

Strabo remarks of Gangra, that it was the residence of Deiotarus, the son of Castor and surnamed Philadelphus, who reigned over the kingdom of Morzes, (king of Paphlagonia in the time of Antiochus the Great).

Under the Byzantine empire, Gangra, or Gangaris, was an episcopate, and it ranks in the ecclesiastical notices, in the first place, as a metropolis. Bosphorius, bishop of Gangra, attended the council of Ephesus, and, according to a passage in Sozomenes, (lib. iv., cap. 14,) there was also a synod held in Gangra itself.

The site chosen for the retirement of the ancient kings of Paphlagonia, as the advance of the successors of Alexander drove them out of their legitimate country,

and comprising the three royal castles of Blucium (Eskilub), Gangra (Changri), and Peium (Kalahjik), is an open country, having few or no pretensions to beauty, being almost totally void of wood, and the soil generally saline, parched, and dry, but it is quite a secluded district, a portion of the valley of the Halys that is hemmed in all sides, and shut up at both extremities, by ranges of mountains and narrow and impassable ravines.

At the earlier period of the Osmanli history, Gangra held out for a long time under the first families of Turks against the encroaching power of the family of Osman. The Isfindabergs, being driven out of Kastamuni, sought refuge here; and to the present day, this district has little adhesion to the sultan of the Osmanlis, and what little did ever exist, has been still farther weakened by the favour shewn by the Sultan to reforms, which the older families of Turks look upon as inconsistent with the supremacy of Islamism and the all-conquering character of the nation.

The eventful life of Chapwan Oghlu shews how strong is still the feeling of clanship among the old Turkoman families, and if, as may be one day anticipated, (unless the Hatti Scheriff is rescinded at the Porte itself,) a revolt against reform should declare itself, all the great pashaliks of Peninsular Asia would be opposed to the present unfortunate vicegerent of the Prophet, who is forced to reform by the pressure from without, at the same time in dread of the rising supremacy of his numerous intelligent and industrious Christian subjects at home, and yet impeded and threatened by the prejudices of his own Mohammedan followers. It would

really appear, that the last chance of the Sultan, if not delayed too long, when Armenia shall be restored to its kings, and St. Sophia be again a Greek church, would be to establish a truly Turkish empire in central Anatolia, which might vie in barbarous splendour and oriental pageantry, jealousy and abstraction, with the court of the Khalifs, or that of the chief of Ghiznee or Grenada.

*December 3rd.* We quitted the city by the new barracks, goodly edifices, but built in low marshy ground, and much exposed to malaria, and after following the valley of the river of Changri, about six miles, we turned over the same continuous uplands, alternating with occasional valleys with their brackish rivulets.

We were much hurt, on passing a village called Akghoran, at seeing some travelling Rayahs scoffed at and assailed with the most contemptuous language, by a parcel of boys and children, whom, however, we soon dispersed.

A little beyond this we came to the valley of the Tunai river, which flows from the hills of Yaprakli, where an annual fair is held which is celebrated all over Asia Minor; it begins on the 17th of September, and lasts seven days, and is generally attended by the Pasha of Angora. The Christians say, that there is a tomb of the Prophet Elias at this spot.

Travelling about two hours up the valley, we came to the village of Tunai, inhabited by guards, who are required for the protection of travellers in the time of the fair, and who received us hospitably. One of these men, who had the marks of several sabre cuts on his face, said he had killed six Kurd robbers in his lifetime.

During the whole of this day's journey we had



travelled in a dense fog. At times, when on the high uplands, we rose above it, and it was seen to occupy chiefly the valley of the Halys. As we approached Tunai, near sunset, the sun's beams partly penetrated the mist, and there was a decomposition of the least refrangible rays, which gave to the cliffs above the village a beautiful and remarkable appearance. At day-break next morning, the sky was clear, the ground covered with hoar frost, and the summits of the neighbouring hills tinged with the first rays of the rising sun; but a dense bank of mist lay along the valley, and in a few minutes the diffusion of vapour became general, and every thing was again wrapped in fog, which continued more or less all day, clearing up at intervals, but never leaving the sky cloudless.

Our progress the same morning through the fog, was cheerless enough, and it lay over the same kind of upland as before, till we came to a country broken up by volcanic rocks, where was cultivation and a large village called Chandur, while in one of the valleys lay a herd of camels, ruminating with their heads, by an unfailing instinct, turned to where the sun ought to have been.

From hence we crossed a more level country, having the high rock with the castle of Kalahjik upon its summit always in view, although the town itself was hid. On our arrival at this small town we had to wait some time in the Bazar till the kyaya of the Christians was found, but we were afterwards kindly received in the house that was assigned to us.

The town itself is built around the base of an isolated and nearly conical hill, upon the summit of which is the proud-looking castle filled with dwelling-houses,

which in some places, assist in forming part of the walls. From the precipitous character of the rocks on all sides, and its own strength, Peium, which was the Gazophylacium, or place where the royal rolls and treasure were kept, must have been, in ancient warfare, a redoubtable stronghold.

Kalahjik was sacked at the time that Ibrahim Pasha came to Angora, in 1832, and is now in a state of great poverty and partial ruin. It contains 800 houses of Mohammedans, and 60 houses of Armenians, but the Christian population is very crowded. The Armenians have a well-kept church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and there are the remains of an old monastery in the neighbourhood. The circumstance which led to its partial destruction in 1832, was a local rebellion against the governor, Hajji Ahmed Bey, on the occasion of his levying an oppressive tax. The governor was besieged in his own house, and an old rusty gun was brought down from the castle, but nobody was found who could persuade it to go off; at length—a great resource among rebels of all countries—the serai was set on fire, and the governor was ultimately killed by the populace, who appear to have had no regard for his sanctity as a pilgrim. The Kalahjikiyans then placed themselves under the protection of Ibrahim Pasha, who sent thither troops under a certain Yardachi, but the brother of the late governor ruled at Changri, and, having raised a body of men sufficiently strong to overthrow the Egyptians, he re-captured the town, and exercised the most severe retribution upon its unfortunate inhabitants.

The morning after our arrival, at a little after two

o'clock, we were roused by a severe shock of an earthquake, which threatened to tumble the house about our ears. The movement was in undulations, and not irregular, and the house rolled like a ship at sea. The sensation was anything but agreeable, and the mortar falling from the rafters, and the loosened dirt down the chimney, added to the strain which the building underwent, gave a momentary feeling of alarm, but nothing fell near us, and there were only two houses thrown down in the whole town.

When we got up to examine the state of the barometer, the scene on the terrace was rather picturesque. Dogs barking, lights moving from window to window, and persons rushing upon the terraces with very incomplete toilettes. The first shock was followed shortly afterwards by a second, but which was very feeble. At half past two, P.M., we had another shock, rather circularly undulatory. At eight and ten o'clock the next day, we had other irregular rumbling shocks. At mid-day the weather cleared up a little, and we could distinguish the castle over our heads, the first time since we had been at the town.

Mr. Rassam, although a native of the East, was much affected by these repeated shocks. We were boiling some eggs for breakfast when the first shock occurred on the second morning at eight o'clock. Mr. Russell and myself ran to watch the indications of a basin of treacle, left on the terrace for that purpose, requesting Mr. Rassam to be so kind as to mind the eggs: "You know, Rassam, how long they take to boil." "Yes, yes," was the answer, "half an hour, half an hour, I know."

The morning of the 7th, at 35 minutes past 2,

we had another sharp shock. The fog had continued, with slight intermissions, pretty nearly the same during the continuance of the shocks; there was no wind, and there was only upon one occasion a distant rumbling noise that accompanied the shock. The effect upon the soil was imperceptible, nor could we hear of it affecting any of the springs. The electrical condition of the atmosphere must have been, from the previously described state of the weather, subjected to great tension and great extremes. The direction of the undulations coincided with the direction in which the igneous rocks of the country have extended the line of their upheaving force, and is the same as the direction (not the dip) of the beds or strata of the superincumbent sedimentary formations. The castle hill of Kalahjik is trachytic.

*December 7th.* However interesting it might be to watch the phenomena of earthquakes, we were not at all sorry at leaving this unstable and rocking place, on which, at the morning of our departure the fog still lay as thick as ever; but when we ascended the hills, we found that it only occupied the valley of the Halys, and spread from thence over the adjacent cold uplands of gypsum.

On our left we had a mountain range (Edris Tagh), the summits of which were now clad with snow. As this part of the country had been described to us at Kalahjik as very unsafe and infested with robbers, we were not at all pleased, when about twelve miles from the town, at the appearance of two well-armed Kurds, who came down upon us from the hills, and who, after indulging in a series of scrutinizing scowls, trudged on, as if belonging to our party.

As we were the strongest in numbers, being three, besides an unarmed seruji, we consulted in a few brief words, and then positively insisted upon our new companions either dropping behind or passing on before, as the odds of numbers might at any moment have been rendered null by a surprise; besides which, the constant attention requisite to the movements of such persons was extremely irksome.

Our wishes, although communicated in the most decided manner, were only received with disdainful sneers, whereupon we stopped short to enforce them. The Kurds then dismounted, while we proceeded on our journey.

Scarcely a mile beyond where we parted from our visitors, we met with a cause for the turn for brigandage in this district, in an example of severe justice, which, in a country so constituted, serves rather to keep up than to allay evil propensities, by inoculating predatory habits with a spirit of revengeful retribution. This was the impaled body of a Kurd, suspended by iron spikes, one of which passed through both legs, another through the abdomen, and the third was passed through the head, immediately below the ears. He had been a fine tall man; one arm lay upon his bosom, the other hung pendant below, and the body was wrapt in a cloth bound round the waist by a band.

Our attention was soon diverted from this sad sight by the presence of numerous partridges, which we proceeded to chase, as we descended a rocky ravine, at the head of which was a village where the Kurds who rendered the district so insecure were said to dwell.

The country after this began to improve, some culti-

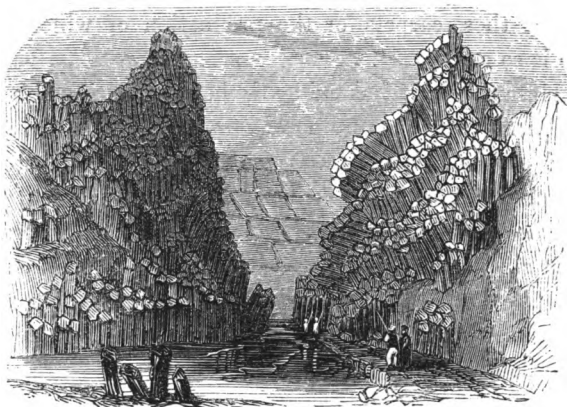
vation showed itself, and we arrived towards sunset at the large village of Hasan Oghlan, inhabited by peaceful Turkomans, whose women were busily employed in making those carpets for the production of which their race is so celebrated.

Hasan Oghlan has evidently been an antique site or station, for we found numerous fragments of ruins scattered all over the village, including wrought stones, columns, and capitals, but no inscriptions.

The distance from Hasan Oghlan to Angora is about sixteen miles, and we arrived at that city the next day, (*December 8th*,) after a pleasant ride of three hours and a half, over low cultivated hills, feeding here and there flocks of the beautiful Angora goat.

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## CHAPTER IX.



Basaltic Pass.

**A French Instructor of Cavalry. Visit to Izzet Mehemet Pasha. A Swiss Renegade. Severity of Winter. Start for the Mines of Ishik Tagh. Fort of the Galatians. Mule buried in the Snow. Thermal Baths. Remarkable Basaltic Pass. Pine Forest in Winter. The Mines of Ishik Tagh. A Sacrifice to Pluto. Quit the Mines. City of Angora. Its Ruins. Temple of Jupiter. Christian Churches. Angora Goats. Trade and Commerce.**

OUR arrival at Angora was characterised by a ridiculous circumstance, the mention of which, however, may serve to put travellers on their guard. Among the resident Europeans, who came to visit us, was a certain Captain Müller, a Frenchman, in the service of Izzet Mehemet Pasha, then mushir, or governor of the sanjâk of Angora, and with whom Mr. Pulsford had left, on his passage through the town, a letter for us. This person earnestly

requested our company to dinner the next day, when we were introduced to his lady. When the cloth was removed, the gallant captain asked, with an air of much earnestness, if we had heard the news? upon our acknowledging what was very true, a profound ignorance of all political movements for some time back, he informed us, with anxious condolence, that war had broken out between England and the Sublime Porte, and that it was the pasha's intention not to allow us to leave Angora; or, if we did, that he certainly would have us destroyed, his resolution and cruelty being both equally familiar to every one. He then asked if we had yet waited upon the pasha, a point of etiquette which we were forced to allow, we had as yet neglected to perform. He then proposed that this should be done instantly, and that he would introduce us, in order to propitiate his Excellency. Such hasty movements, accompanied by such improbable statements, had not failed, however, by this time, to awaken our suspicions that all was not right, so I positively declined his proffered service, and declared my intention of waiting upon the pasha next morning, when I should be accompanied by Mr. Rassam, who was all I could possibly want on the occasion. The Cavalry Instructor had, however, buckled on his sword, and lifted up his stock in martial trim, and it was a difficult matter to get rid of him; but bowing away, we gradually got out of the yard, and felicitated ourselves on our escape.

The ensuing day we waited on this mushir, so renowned for his inflexible wrath and savage cruelties, and his appearance did not belie his reputation. He was winding up a number of watches at the moment of our



introduction, and only looked up after the lapse of a few moments, and, when he did so, it was with the look of a very intelligent tiger—a mixture of sagacity and cruelty, for the time being lit up by a willingness to be civil.

In a short time, after the usual compliments on our part and inquiries on his, the conversation became more general. He asked for our firman, and when he observed among the reasons why we had insisted in that document for post horses and accommodations off the great road, and in every part of the Sultan's dominions, that we intended exploring the mines of the country, he said he had already heard of us; that we had been to the mines of Bakir Kurehsi; and he then proceeded to detail our journey, step by step, in his province, taking pride in showing us how well-informed he had been, with regard to our movements. He next asked us if we would examine certain mines situate in the Ishik Tagh, also in his sanjak; when, as we wished to propitiate him, in order to obtain his assistance in visiting the Kurdish and central district of Haimaneh, we proffered our services. We then mentioned the result of our meeting with his cavalry instructor the previous evening, and insisted in gentle but plain words that if our lives were not in danger under his protection,—and it was quite ridiculous to suppose the contrary—that the man who had ventured to surmise such a thing of his Excellency, should be dismissed his service. The Pasha, after a moment's silence, reflected upon the captain's conduct in language that has become an apophthegm in the Turkish, but is not fit for ears polite, although it may be represented by the saying, "He has eat his words." We left the pasha, with a promise to dine with him the next day, and in

a short time afterwards Captain Müller was dismissed to Constantinople.

He did not, however, cease his hostility to our party. Soon after our arrival at Angora a Swiss renegade one morning made his appearance in our room, for whom I at first entertained a great abhorrence, on account of his apostasy, but when I upbraided him for the fact, he answered so piteously, that it was *une affaire de cœur*, that I could not help commiserating the man. He was a medical man, attached to the person of the pasha, and the object of his visit was (for, as a renegade, he was denied the privilege of corresponding with his Christian friends,) to get me to forward a letter for him, as we intended sending a parcel hence, for Constantinople, by private hands, and not by the pasha's tatars, which might have been fatal to its safety. This I consented to do, and, in gratitude, he brought me, some time afterwards, a letter from M. Müller, from Constantinople, again denouncing us as spies to the pasha, from what he said was the very best authority.

A few days after our arrival at Angora a heavy fall of snow came on, and continued without intermission for six days. This was followed by a sharp clear frost, which gradually increased in intensity, till it attained a severity quite unknown in these climates, and not to be expected in such southerly parallels as Asia Minor, if we did not take into consideration the elevation of the great central uplands, only broken up by groups and ranges of mountains, which constitute all save the extreme littoral portions of that peninsula, and are seldom below 3000 feet in elevation; the plain of Angora, which is among the lowest, averaging exactly 3000 feet, and in the month

of January the thermometer frequently fell to  $+ 5^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit, or  $27^{\circ}$  below freezing point.

In such a severe frost the swiftest rivers were sheeted with ice, and the mountain torrents seemed as if arrested in their fall. The bazaar dogs perished in numbers in the markets, and many were the sad tales of benighted travellers, or of whole caravans, lost in the snow, that reached the town.

Under such circumstances, it was an absurdity to think of continuing our journey. Could we have traversed the central plateau of the Haimaneh or trudged along the valley of the Halys, our observations could have been of no use to physical geography or to geology. A few points might have been brought to bear upon one another, some might have been astronomically fixed, and there our utility would have ended. But, had we been willing to go, we should not have found a muleteer to accompany us, the post had long broken up, communication even with near villages had almost ceased, and, in this case, necessity, as well as our consciences, determined the choice, when none, in reality, remained to us.

The pasha had not, however, forgotten our promise about the mines, and he sent for us, one morning, to converse upon the subject, and inquire if we would start. We represented the impossibility of getting into the mountains while the snow was so deep; he said he would obviate this, if it required a hundred men to clear the way. We then said that if there were no physical impossibilities to overcome, we were willing and ready to start at a moment's notice. He turned round to his followers and said, with a triumphant air, "Look at

these Franks! they will travel in the frost and snow, while you sit shivering by the fire-side."

We accordingly started about mid-day of the 8th of January, accompanied by an officer of the household, who was to see us provided for on our route and at the mines, his suite, and two Greek miners.

Our road lay over the plain, which was covered with from two to three feet of snow, towards the foot of the Baulos Tagh (Hills of St. Paul's), on arriving at the outskirts of which, we fell in with a flock of the largest vultures of the country,—lammergeyers of the Taurus—that were feeding upon a poor donkey, which had starved on the road. We were quartered this night at Yuya, a village at the foot of the hills, our expenses being charged upon the peasants' taxes.

The ensuing day our road lay over the side of the hills, when our difficulties first commenced. The horses got on with great labour over the even slopes, but each time that we came to a rut or ravine we were sure to have many tumbles, and the horses, sinking deeper in the snow-drifts though their plunging efforts to release themselves, were often with difficulty extricated from their perilous situations.

During the day's ride we passed Miranos, a village where there are ruins of a castle, and the name of which, mis-pronounced by the Turks, appears to have some relation to that of Minizus of the Itineraries, but it is a few miles off the present great road from Angora to Constantinople.

On our way we observed several foxes, prowling about, the severe frost having driven them out in quest

of food. Besides these, a few snow-buntings and stone-chats were the only things visible. We passed a river coming down from the St. Paul's hills on the ice, and were quartered for the night at Al Kahun, a village in the fertile vale of the Tcher Su, where there is an abundant spring, which, from its preserving its mean annual temperature, had the appearance of smoking in the frost.

*January 10th.* We left Al Kahun at half-past six, in a dense snow-storm, so dark that we could but just distinguish the different members of the party. We only travelled up the same valley, as far as the village of Jighiler, where we stopped, as our officer, who was not accustomed to cold, had become very unwell.

Mr. Russell and I, however, started on foot, to visit a ruin about three miles off, called Kara Weran (the Black Ruin). It was a rude and primitive structure, consisting of a single wall, built of huge stones, put together without mortar, and inclosing a space of 127 feet in diameter. Not far distant, upon a neck of rock below, was a smaller fort of a similar description. As I never met with similar ruins in any other part of Asia Minor, except in Galatia, as at Bayad, I am inclined to look upon these remains as Celtic, and probably erected by the Galatians. On our return, we came through the village of Ak Weran (White Ruin), where we found another party of Greek miners, under an officer, who were coming to join us and assist at the mines, and to whom we paid a visit.

*January 11th.* We travelled, our party now much increased in numbers, over hill and vale, to Bazar Keuy, a village with a jami. It was market-day, which, not-

withstanding frost and snow, was held in open air. The objects exposed for sale were goats, sheep, corn, geese, wood, hare-skins, horse-shoes, and nails.

Our ride hence was a most dreary one, winding among low hills, occasionally slightly wooded, a few bright-coloured jays flitting about on the desolate-looking branches. On this waste we met with a poor man, whose mule had got entangled in the snow, so that he was not able to extricate it. Our Osmanli companions laughed at the traveller's predicament; but, much to their dissatisfaction, for they wanted to push on, we dismounted, and lending a hand to the work, got the mule into the right road again.

This long upland terminated in a sudden and precipitous ravine, which led us into the valley of the Beybazar River, which a little further up we passed on the ice, arriving a little beyond at the village of Upper Jighiler, where we halted for the night; the pasha's officer and attendants having one apartment, ourselves another, and the Greek miners being billeted about.

*January 12th.* We ascended the hills to our right, and, crossing over them, came to the upper valley of the Beybazar River, which opened upon us in considerable beauty, notwithstanding the cheerlessness of winter. The mountain heights on both sides were well wooded, and the dark pines were canopied in snow, till they sometimes resembled Esquimaux huts. The river flowed in some places between precipices, which remained naked from their perpendicularity, wild and fantastic needles of rock also jutted from out of the general white expanse, while the river itself appeared as if arrested in its course by the icy arm of winter. After a journey of seven miles

up this valley, we turned off, to the thermal waters of Sey Hammam, formerly visited by Pococke. We found the waters issuing in a very copious stream from a curious siliceous rock. The water was pure and colourless, but deposited iron. The temperature  $107^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit, or  $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  Cent.

The remains of an old building which adorned these waters, and which, from the few remnants yet extant, evidently possessed some claims to architectural beauty, had been used in the construction of a modern mesjid, which, with a stable for horses and a modern bath-house, constituted all the edifices in the neighbourhood. The actual baths are divided into two; one for the men, the other for the women.

The rivulet formed by the spring was not frozen for some distance below, and the intervening free space was, from its higher temperature, so sought for at this season of the year by fish, that they could be caught with the hand, and seemed to delight to swim up to where the water was quite warm.

About two miles beyond where it is joined by the rivulet of the thermal springs, the *now* rivulet of Bey-bazar flows through a pass in the mountains, which is a great natural curiosity.

The base of the hills on both sides is formed of an immense number of prisms of basalt, of great regularity of form, some vertically, others horizontally disposed, and others striking out at various angles of inclination, succeeding one another in steps, or grouped together in figures resembling those produced by a kaleidoscope. Above these, polyhedral masses of similar characters tower up in rocky pinnacles of fantastic shape, in

which the colossal prisms are variously disposed, giving origin to much contrasted effect, sometimes constituting a wall of pillars, horizontally placed one upon another, at other times sweeping round in prolonged curves, and then again standing out at various angles of inclination, but straight and unbroken. This motley distribution of basaltic prisms surpassed anything to be seen at the Causeway, Fairhead, or the Cave of Fingal, and most resembled sketches that have been published of the volcanic senery of the islands of St. Helena and Ascension.

Beyond this remarkable pass, the valley widened, and became full of villages, in one of which, called by distinction Sahlun (the Place of Taxes), we were quartered for the night.

*January 13th.* This day we again commenced the ascent of the mountains, up which we toiled above an hour before we reached the verge of the pine forests. These fine trees seemed in their native element when shrouded with snow: their strong spreading branches bearing vast accumulations, that sometimes weighed them down to the ground; while others rose above these, fringing the mountain sides with a lace of leafy white, or climbed up the mountain heights, till lost in cloud or mist; at other times they gracefully swept down the long acclivities, till suddenly stopped by some vertical cliff, from crevices in which isolated trees would still start here and there, in bold relief, amid rock, ice, and snow.

After travelling about an hour through these forests, and teasing our poor shivering Osmanlis by shaking the heavily-laden branches upon them, we came to a little open space in the forest, where were four or five wooden houses, which had a most desolate aspect. These we



found were attached to the mines, and one of them, containing a single apartment, was assigned to us, while the officer quartered himself in another.

The first few days after our arrival we spent in the examination of the shafts and galleries sunk in the neighbourhood, with a view to drawing up a general plan of the works, ascertaining the probable distribution of the metalliferous veins, and the promise held out to future labours, more especially by the present or other works. This was a work of no small toil, as the veins had often, through inadvertence, been left behind by the miner, while he followed another route, in pursuit of some vision or fancy of his own, and at other times had never been reached at all. We had thus to spend the greater part of several days, candle in hand, examining the walls, floors, and roofs of the ancient and modern galleries.

While I had been engaged in this work, Mr. Russell had been industriously making the admeasurements necessary for a plan of the district. This accomplished, he superintended certain necessary alterations in the furnaces, which being completed, enabled us to commence smelting; when, although the selection of ores which we had procured did not give us all the results anticipated from blow-pipe analysis, still they were quite satisfactory as to the general produce of the metalliferous veins.

We now prepared to take our departure; but this, from the depth to which the snow had accumulated, was found impossible, even although we set thirty men to work to clear us a passage as far as Sahlun.

The winter had been desolate enough in such a place, even when occupation robbed it of part of its

dreariness; but our labours completed, it became doubly so. During the period of our residence we had several snow storms, which increased the depth of the accumulated mass, and finally cut off all communication with the villages. Provisions, under these circumstances, became exceedingly scanty, and this increased till the treat of an onion to flavour our daily repast of bread was a great desideratum.

One morning in the midst of this scarcity, we were surprised to find a cock, newly killed, yet not eaten, in front of the houses. Upon our inquiring, the Greeks said they had killed it, in order to propitiate the genius of the mines, and a sacrifice must not be eaten. This is a remnant of a very old superstition, for cocks were sacrificed to Pluto by the ancients in a similar manner.

At length, on the 25th of January, the thermometer rose, and the weather became perceptibly milder. Crows and magpies for the first time visited us; and traces of deer were observed in the snow. The dogs now went out of the houses, and made themselves beds in the snow. On February 1 we made an attempt at departure, and had some trees cut down, to make a temporary bridge for the horses over a deep snow-drift; and the next day we succeeded in effecting the pass. The descent of the mountains was comparatively easy; and in the evening, to our infinite joy, we found ourselves at Sahlun.

As the mild weather had already influenced the lower country to a much greater degree than in the mountains, our journey next day presented no great difficulties, but we were detained a day at Jighiler, by the swelling of the Beybazar River. It was in vain that various attempts were made to ford it; we had to

stay till early the ensuing morning, when the night frost had diminished the waters, and when we all of us got over in safety.

From Lower Jighiler we struck across the mountains of St. Paul's, fording the river of Kara Bazar with some difficulty. Our Osmanli and Greek friends we had left long behind us. On arriving at the Chibuk Su (Pipe or Strait River), or River of Angora, Mr. Russell took the water at a deep place, when both rider and horse were soon carried away, and only extricated on coming to a shallower spot. With this slight mishap, we arrived the same evening at Angora, and the next day reported ourselves to the pasha, who scarcely thanked us for the labour we had been at on his account.

Before quitting Angora, we may be permitted one or two observations on this metropolitan town. The population appears to consist of 10,000 Mohammedans, 5000 Christians, and 200 Jews. A large portion of the town is built within the castle, where are some of the best houses. The streets are narrow and irregular; the houses, as usual, poor and unsubstantial. The remains of antiquity are numerous; but as these have been described by so many travellers, we will not weary the reader with reiterated details.

Pococke and Tournefort have described the remains of Roman architecture, among which stands foremost a temple in honour of Augustus, on which a separate memoir has been published in this country. It is a most valuable historical monument, and is so considered by Heeren. In later times, Mr. W. J. Hamilton has copied a portion of the inscription previously neglected.

Several massive but irregular ruins of temples, guard-

houses, or other public buildings, besides numerous inscriptions in the castle, and some rather rudely-sculptured lions, belong probably to the Roman era, if they do not also illustrate partly the state of arts among the Galatians; but of that period few, if any, well-authenticated remains appear to have been found.

Remains of Byzantine architecture are by far the most frequent: a column of little pretensions to beauty, and which tradition has dedicated to Licinius, the conqueror of Maximin, numerous sculptures in the walls of the castle and of the town, some inscriptions, and various tombs and monuments, illustrate this period.

Amid ruins of a more modern date, are the castle as it now exists, a church of doubtful antiquity, and a subterranean viaduct or aqueduct of some extent; and in a small castle which occupies the highest part of the castle rock, are some old coats of mail.

Tournefort's Temple of Jupiter presents nothing but the vestiges of an oblong building constructed of large stones, on the summit of the Khedrelez, where is a modern ziyaret. This name of the hill is, according to the Foreign Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, a colloquial corruption of Khidr Iliyas, the name of a Turkish saint and hero, confounded by the Christians with St. George and the prophet Elias. This is a tolerably extensive field for misreadings and misinterpretations.

The Armenians of Angora had formerly seven churches, of which only those of the Holy Cross and Sergius (St. George), are now used. The Schismatic or Romish Armenians have no church of their own. The Greeks have two churches, St. George and the Trinity.

During our stay here we made several excursions in the neighbourhood, more especially to the Chibuk Owahsi, traditionally the field of the combat between Tamerlane and Bajazet; to Hosein Ghazi, a volcanic mountain, with a dervishes' monastery on its summit, to which is attached a tradition that we shall relate afterwards; and to Chal Tagh, a mountain which bears indisputable evidence of having been one of those fire beacons which are described by the Byzantine historians, as crossing the whole peninsula.

Although the extreme climate of the upland of Angora, that is to say, its great summer heats and severe winters, constitutes the main cause of the peculiarity in fleece of the goats, sheep, cats, and dogs of Angora, still it cannot be the sole origin of the peculiar race of the former; or whence their local circumscription, while spots with nearly similar extremes of climate are met with on the Asiatic peninsula, yet without the breed of Angora goats? It is one of those cases of a peculiarity having in the first instance a relation to climate, yet afterwards propagated as a permanent variety that remains constant and undeviating for generations, as we see in races of dogs, and, as Dr. Pritchard has so ably shown, also in races of men.

The quantity of wool now annually exported amounts to 500,000 okahs of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  pounds each; but of this only 200,000 okahs, or about 500,000 pounds, are of the more valuable fleece. The other articles of commerce are yellow berries, of which the amount of produce is said to be 25,000 pounds. The roots of madder, gum-mastic, gum-tragacanth, wax, and honey also form articles of commerce. But the chief trade is in wool, merino twist,

and goats' hides. The demand for British goods and manufactures was generally admitted to be considerable.

The older European commerce of Angora was always great. The tombstones in the burial-ground of the monastery of St. Paul's attest how many of our countrymen must have been engaged in it\*. It is difficult to account for its decline, unless from unwillingness on the part of merchants to open communication with a place where consular protection has been abrogated for a period of now eighteen years. Abandoned by both English and French, who have now only a few native Christian agents in the place, the Armenians have had the courage to establish a house of their own in London. When the benefits to be derived from the new privileges granted to commerce and industry, by the Hatti Scheriff, and the commercial treaty, become more effectively insured (if ever they are destined to be put in force at all), there may be still some chance of the revival of commerce, and communications with the interior will undoubtedly obtain new activity as its resources become more generally known and better appreciated.

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\* A learned medicus of Angora told us he had discovered near that city the tomb of Edward the Black Prince. We went to see this great curiosity, and found it to be the tomb of one Edward Black Mercator Anglus.

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## CHAPTER X.



View at Angora.

Quit Angora. Epidemic among Cattle. Istanos and its Caves. Ascent of the Goklu Tagh. Mountain Cave. Castle and hot springs of Germesh. Robbers' Cave. Junction of two Rivers. Upland of the Haimaneh. Warm Baths of Yanina. Distrust of the Kurds. Red Castle. Plague in the Villages, Monastic Caves.

WE quitted Angora on the 19th of March, and were accompanied by a khawass bashi and two khawasses, sent by Izzet Pasha, as a guard through the Kurdish districts of Haimaneh. Frequent discharges of guns and pistols, loud shouts from the khawasses, who were galloping in every direction, testified to the satisfaction which we felt, and which reflected itself upon all the party, at our liberation from long imprisonment.

This first day we merely made a short journey, stopping at the village of Emir Yaman, about four hours, or fifteen miles, from Angora. There had been lately a severe







epidemic among the cattle at this place, and in the open space before the houses, the yards, and all around the village, bodies of dead animals were left to putrefy. I could never ascertain whether this singularly filthy and unwholesome practice originated from slothfulness solely, or from religious superstition. I am inclined to think both feelings are concerned, and that there really exists a prejudice against removing the bodies of domestic animals, from the threshold where they died; be this as it may, it is one of the common causes of the origin of endemic plague in the rural districts of Asia Minor.

The next day our ride was diversified, by endeavouring to get at some wild fowl, which were observed in great numbers on the surface of two small lakes that occurred on the road. Beyond this, we came down upon the open and fertile valley of the Tcher Su, which at this, its southerly end, is shut up by a ridge of trachytic rocks. We entered this ridge by a narrow pass, through which the river forced its way, and arrived shortly afterwards at the small town of Istanos, picturesquely situated on the banks of the river, and backed by bold and precipitous cliffs, which break off into fantastic peaks and pinnacles, the latter as well as the cliffs themselves, being burrowed by numerous caverns.

The town itself contains about 400 houses, 50 of which belong to Mohammedans and the rest to Armenians; it occupies the right bank of the river, and being confined by the rocks, forms a long narrow street well built up on the river, which has thus the aspect of a quay, and adds to the general appearance of comfort and cleanliness.

The opposite side of the river is occupied by gardens

and a new church—an edifice that redounds to the credit of the industrious Christians of the place, who are chiefly engaged in the manufacture of camlets, merinos, and twist.

A remarkable rock, almost insulated from the cliff, advances over the lower part of the town. It is crowned by ruins of former times, covered with storks' nests and burrowed by cavernous passages, which are extremely difficult to reach.

Another series of caverns, also approached with difficulty, stretched along the face of the rock in the rear. The first chamber of these was reached by a gallery, and from it another gallery ascended, partly hewn out in stairs, and a little protection given, by a rotten wooden rail. A long series of chambers are then entered, some having reservoirs for water, and most of them fire-places. The whole extent was 145 paces; the chambers seven in number, the galleries four, but many of the chambers were again divided, so as to contain two or three families. There were no monuments or inscriptions of antiquity discovered by our research, and all that can be said is that the caves appear to have been retreats for security and defence, and not improbably, places of refuge from religious persecution.

Nearly all the male part of the population of Istanos had gathered together to watch our progress, but none even of the boys, attempted to follow us up the side of the cliff.

Mr. Russell and I, accompanied by one of the kha-wasses and a seruji, rode out early the next morning to ascend the Goklu Tagh (Mount of the Sky), the culminating point of this part of the country, which towers conspicuously on every side over the plain of Angora.

After a sharp ride of two hours, over a barren, hilly country, during which we passed a ruin having somewhat of a Pelasgian character, we arrived at the village of Goklu, situated not far from the base of the hill, and where we obtained a guide.

We began our ascent under unfavourable circumstances, the wind being high and snow falling so densely, that objects could not be discerned even at a short distance. This, however, added at times to the mysterious picturesqueness of our road: we had several glaciers to pass over; and the steep depths below being filled up with mist, combined with the obscurity above and around, which prevented us seeing terra firma, conveyed the momentary impression of ourselves being buoyed up upon the bosom of a cloud.

About an hour's ride brought us to the entrance of a large cave, which is celebrated throughout the adjacent country, being visible at a great distance. It is situate on the exposed face of a cliff, which rises almost perpendicularly to the summit of the mountain. The cave was fronted with a wall of stones, and from formerly being a place of refuge and defence, had now become a retreat for cattle, when led to their summer pasturage on the mountain.

We did not ascend any further, but made the best of our way back, partly, after reaching the more level country, at a canter, and partly at a galloping pace. The fullest speed was, however, put forth on our entrance into the town, through the streets of which we rode, clatter and dash, the seruji first, the khawass second, shouting and flogging the first onward, and lastly, Russell and I,

all ungallantly throwing an enormous quantity of mud upon the Armenian ladies, who lined the streets to see the procession go by.

The next day we parted from our Angora landlord, who had accompanied us as far as Istanos, and who showed much kindly feeling on the occasion. I made a brief visit to the junction of the Angora River and the Tcher Su, which takes place among caverned cliffs with wood at their base. On my way back I met Russell shooting field-fares, and together, we soon overtook the remainder of the party.

We travelled fifteen miles through a bleak miserable country, but cultivated in some places, and not without many flocks and herds sprinkling the barren-looking hills. During our ride we passed through two or three villages in a very ruinous condition, and containing very few inhabited houses. On our left was a remarkable peninsulated hill, called Ada Teppeh.

We were quartered for the night at a farm belonging to a brother of the then pasha of Erzurum, and called Kara Koyunli (the Black Sheep), containing about twenty houses, inclosed in a square like an Arab or a Persian fort.

Russell and I rode out early next morning to visit the castle and hot springs of Germesh (Germa or Thermæ?), fording the Angora river with some difficulty, although in summer it is said to be nearly absorbed by the surrounding friable and saline soil.

The thermal waters were on the acclivity of this hill, with but a medium temperature (84° Fahr.), and covered by a semicircular dome, apparently of the

Mohammedan era, although ascribed by the natives to the former possessors of the soil, under the common designation of Genoese.

The ruins of the castle occupied the summit of the hill, which is of plutonic origin. It is most remarkable for having huge masses of stone built into its walls, and consisted of an interior portion, bounded on one side by a precipice, and defended on the other by an outer wall or curtain.

On our return, we found that Rassam had started with the baggage, but we soon overtook him, as the road lay over a level plain, till blocked up by a ridge of hills, through which the river flows by a winding and picturesque pass.

Within this, we found another abundant thermal spring, and traces of an ancient hewn road, but what most excited our curiosity was an old building, the ruins of which stood within a large natural cavern, situated high up on the side of the cliffs. The peasants knew nothing about it, "except," they said, "that it had been formerly a robbers' hold," but to our frequent inquiries, we only got the usual reply, not very civilly communicated, "Who should know any thing about it?"

Beyond the pass, we came upon an open plain bounded by low hills of gypsum, and travelling over this, still in the valley of the river, we arrived in the evening, at the large village of Sarrubas, where we were to change horses. We followed our usual plan here, of claiming a room for ourselves and quartering the khawasses in another, for the rude and boisterous manner of these irregular troopers rendered them any thing but desirable companions in a room.

In the morning we had to obtain a change of horses, which caused some delay. We then separated into two parties: Mr. Rassam to go with the baggage, guarded by two khawasses, directly across the plain, to the village of Mislû, while Russell and I, accompanied by a khawass, rode to the junction of the Angora river with the Sakkariyeh.

On this ride, we passed a flock of sheep of the Angora race, that were suffering fearfully from the epidemic; their carcasses were strewed all around, and many were lying down at that moment perishing. The shepherds had as much as they could do to separate the dead from the living, and numerous vultures had so glutted themselves as to be too lazy to move.

The point of junction of the two rivers was viewed from an eminence, on granite rocks, amidst deep defiles of which the two streams fought their way to unite a short distance below.

We had a long ride across a dreary plain to Mislû, but being unincumbered with baggage horses it was accomplished in a short time. This village, from its ruins around, was evidently once flourishing, but its old walled-in gardens are now neglected, and its houses falling to decay. As Rassam had obtained quarters, and had had dinner prepared, we finished in time to go out with our guns before dark, there being both ducks and partridges in the neighbourhood.

Mislû is in a pass of the Germesh mountains. Leaving this, next day we crossed a valley with large village, and commenced the ascent of the Shabanuse hills. The prospect from the crest of these was extensive, and embraced the undulating district of Haimaneh, the

valley of the Sakkariyeh and Angora rivers, and the Goklu mountains, with the distant chains of the Idris Tagh, the Elma Tagh, and the Sevrhisar hills.

We descended these hills by the summer quarters, called the Father of Rain, and passing some small caves with hewn arches, reached a fine cultivated plain abounding with the large partridges which build in the boundless pastures of the interior, and which we found more easily approachable when feeding on cultivated lands than on their own plains, but never to be approached within any thing like the distance of the rock, or the red-legged, or the common partridge. The natives call them *taoke*, or fowls.

We this day reached Kargah-li (Spear Town), the residence of one of the *vaivodahs* of Haimaneh. It was a large and flourishing village of agricultural Turkomans, whose antique pride still exhibited itself in their herds of camels, their gaudy dresses, their haughty manners, and numerous black slaves. There were several Christians here with long rows of mules, bartering for corn; and here we first learnt that the plague was raging in the Haimaneh, and that we should come to it after two hours' ride, the next day.

The rich agricultural land around Kargah-li does not extend far; we did not travel an hour the next day (the 26th,) before we found ourselves upon a high undulating upland, without wood or cultivation, and with but little variety of vegetation, which was, indeed, almost entirely composed of grasses and wormwood.

After travelling about sixteen miles without any thing to interest us, we came to a valley, which was



divided into two parts by a range of hills, through which the rivulet had to find its way by a narrow and precipitous pass. This valley was generally cultivated and contained several villages, at one of which, called Alif, (the first letter of the alphabet), we found numerous tombs, columns, and other fragments, evidently of Byzantine origin, and indicating an ancient site.

We halted in another and smaller vale beyond, at the village of Kadi Keuy (Judge Ville), formerly the seat of government of the whole of the Haimaneh, but now only containing about forty houses built on the acclivity of a rocky hill. We heard nothing here of the anticipated plague, and amused ourselves after our usual observations, with the children of the village, several of whom had joined us while sitting at the door of our cottage, and entered playfully and willingly into conversation, examining with great delight and wonder, every thing that was European.

The baggage horses, accompanied by Mr. Rassam and two khawasses, started early next morning for the village of Juluk, while Russell and I, with one of the khawasses, went in another direction to visit some warm baths, celebrated throughout the Haimaneh, and where there were said to be several remnants of antiquity.

After a short ride, we found a large and abundant hot spring, strangely situated upon the top of a hill, and within ruins of some interest and considerable extent. The bath itself is inclosed in the usual Moham-medan building, domed and with horse-shoe arch, separated for the different sexes, but one of these divisions has been rent in two by an earthquake. The supply of

water, which is pure, is very abundant, the temperature 125° Fahrenheit.

These baths are inclosed within a space surrounded by an old wall which was defended by bastions, the dressed stones of which may, in some cases, be more modern than the wall itself. Within the inclosure, besides the baths, there are the ruins of dwelling-houses, and a burial-ground, in which are numerous Byzantine tombstones, cornices, pillars, and other fragments. There is also a modern mesjid, constructed chiefly with the stones of a former Greek temple, but this is tumbling in ruin. Outside the inclosed space there appeared also to have been formerly gardens and good houses, but the neighbourhood is now as deserted as the interior, and not a being is to be seen at or near these silent attestations of a place of much former resort. The natives call the place Yanina, or Yapak Hammam.

We ascended hence by a flowery vale, the Ardiş Tagh (Juniper Hills), from the crest of which, at an altitude of 3590 feet, the view was extensive and monotonous. We then descended a long hour's trot to Kizil Keuy (the Red Village). Independently of the peculiarity of dress, many other points shewed to us at once that this large village was inhabited by Turkomans; such particularly were the numerous camels browsing or ruminating at the thresholds, while the women carrying on their domestic avocations with uncovered faces, and the children playing about, made the traveller feel at home; so as it was a fine day we did not go into the Sheik's, (for we had to obtain a change of horses here,) but sat down outside his door, to the great delight of the villagers who congregated around to see us.

I.

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We lost two hours before the horses were ready, when we mounted, accompanied by a guide, and proceeded at a rapid pace up a long valley, and then over naked grassy uplands to the mountain of Gokcheh Bunar (or Heaven-Gate Spring). We found that the Kurds had already arrived here, on their spring migration northward.

On turning into the recess occupied by their encampment at a canter, the men ran to arm themselves, and such as had not time to do so, picked up stones for weapons; but when they found that we paid no attention to them, nor came to exact or extort any thing from them, all symptoms of hostility ceased.

At the extremity of the upland of Heaven-Gate Spring we found ourselves above a long valley, stretching north to the foot of the Karajah Tagh, a vast cone of trachytes, now only a few miles from us. Between us and the mountain was a rude rock, with an almost equally rude stone fort on the summit. We were much disappointed to hear that this was Kuzilja Kaleh (the Red Castle), which we were in search of, and still more so, that after various efforts to that effect, the guide and khawass persisted in not venturing nearer, as the plague was raging in the village close to it.

We accordingly retrograded to a certain extent, till we reached the large Turkoman village of Chaltis, where for the first time we perceived symptoms of plague in persons lying sick in the street. This did not prevent us partaking of the hospitality of the sheik of the village, who presented us with sour milk and bread on the roof of his house, which was crowded with as many people as it could hold.

We crossed hence another range of hills, on the crest of which some graves were pointed out as belonging to rayahs, who had been killed by the Kurds. It was dark before we terminated our long ride, and arrived at Chuluk, where we found Mr. Rassam in a state of considerable agitation at the ravages which the plague was said to be making in the village.

Chuluk is a posting village, on the great road from Angora to Koniye, and although it scarcely contained twenty houses, two persons died that night and were carried to their graves before day-break, just as we were preparing to start.

The next day our road lay at first over a plain. After a short time Russell and I left the remainder of the party to enter some hills to the right, where there were said to be some monastic ruins. We first passed some hewn-out sepulchral grotts, and then a Kurd village, the inhabitants of which received us with the same open hostility as at Heaven-Gate Spring, and where there were also some grottoes; beyond this, we came to a narrow glen, on one side of which were several artificial caves arranged in tiers. The lower story contained a few large chambers, one of which was supported by square pillars and had sepulchral recesses. This was evidently the burial department.

Above this was a central chamber, nineteen yards deep, with an arch in the centre, apparently hall, refectory, and dormitory all in one; to the right was the chapel, seven yards long by five in width; and to the left, a long narrow gallery, scarcely admitting a person to walk upright, led circuitously to a lateral chamber, just large enough for one person to sit and turn himself in,

with an aperture opening to day, large enough to put the nose through. As the monastery in the rock would have held from four to six ascetics, this was evidently the spot for retirement for he whose duty it was in rotation to minister spiritual comfort and grace to the others. But what an extraordinary self-devotion must have characterized those men who could thus immolate themselves, and live and be buried, in the same rocky tomb!

We dashed from this monastic relic, glad to think that such practices were now discarded at least by our own church, first across hills and then down Kara Gedik (the Black Fissure), a narrow ravine, by which we descended upon the plain and gained a village, where we rejoined the remainder of the party. "Well," said Mr. Rassam, inquiringly, "did you see them?" "Oh! yes," was the answer. "Thirteen?" said Mr. R. "Oh! no, only two that were of any magnitude, but real tombs for the living." "Why, do you think," quoth Mr. Rassam, "that they were buried alive?" "Who?" "Why, the plague patients to be sure." It now turned out that while our thoughts were revolving upon the monastic relics, Mr. R.'s were filled with the vision of thirteen graves, which he had seen in the village mezar (burial-ground), and which had been filled up within this day or two.

We rode the same afternoon fifteen miles further over a dreary, monotonous, and uncultivated plain to Banam, a large village situated between the two mountain ranges called the Elma Tagh (Apple Mount) and the Ura Tagh (Fire Mount), and where the sound of a drum beating cadences in slow time, announced that a connubial ceremony was on the *tapis*.

## CHAPTER XI.



Mevelevi Dervishes.

**Deserted Mines and Foxes. Khawasses part from us. Bridge of the King's Taster. District of the Short-Lance Tribe. The Silver and Lead Mines of Denek. Wild-goose Chase. Independent Turkomans. Castle of the Black-Eye. Rude Turkoman. Tradition of Jemalah Castle. Hosein Ghazi. Valley of the Sword River. Town of Kirshehr. Numerous Dervishes. Artificial Mound. Thermal Spring.**

THE ensuing morning the sheik of the village, accompanied by one of his followers, rode out with us to visit the deserted mines of the Ura Tagh. We ascended the mountains, the acclivities of which were shingly, but wooded, and travelled a short distance along the crest before we came to the object of our researches. There were several shafts sunk in the mountain; and, having struck a light, Russell and I prepared to explore them; but here a new difficulty presented itself. I had not

penetrated far, with a bit of burning pine-wood in my hand, before I became aware of something running away before me, and, descending a well, and holding the light above my head, perceived a fox couched in one corner, and another in another, and the dung of the animals strewed all around. We had now to return for our arms, to drive out these four-legged tenants, which, it can be easily imagined, where there was but a narrow passage for them to pass between our legs, was not accomplished without difficulty, nor did the khawasses or any of the Turks offer to assist us.

We descended the opposite side of the mountains, amid forests of pine and oak, in which the snow still lay very deep. We arrived at the foot of the hills at Karghahli (Spear Town), a village of about forty houses, near which is the refuse of copper furnaces, formerly wrought here.

In the evening we walked out to visit an abundant spring in gypsum, near the village, and strolled about its wooded but neglected gardens. Nothing can exceed the quiet and beauty of these Asiatic villages, when the peasants will leave one alone to enjoy them.

An extensive, slightly-undulating plain was spread before us now, to the south stretching from the Ura Tagh to the Kurah Tagh, a distance of about ten miles. This plain, covered with a rich natural crop of cereal grasses and berry-bearing shrubs, abounded with bustards both of the large and smaller species, and with the heavy-winged taoke of the plains. As some of the party trudged on the beaten road, with the baggage horses, others of us traversed a large extent of plain, at one moment in the pursuit of game, at others in the vain

attempt to get to the windward of the wary flocks. Our labours were not altogether fruitless, but the peasants complained sadly of their horses being employed to hunt down bustards.

During our passage of the Kurah Tagh, in the afternoon, we were overtaken by a storm of wind and rain, through which we had yet to travel some distance. We descended amid low hills and ravines, till, as evening was coming on, we came to low cliffs that overhung, by some two hundred feet, the large village of Karagiler. Here we got a room, which was full of hay, and so crowded with vermin, that none of us found a moment's repose, even after our long day's ride and evening wetting. The weather at the same time continued so bad, that we could not sleep out of doors.

Our khawasses had a quarrel in the morning with the surly villagers of Karagiler, who had given us such despicable shelter, and who were with difficulty prevailed upon to furnish horses to go as far as Kupri Keuy (Bridge Village), distant only two miles and a half, as the territories of the Pasha of Angora terminated at the Halys.

The transport, however, having been arranged, our khawasses, after riding with us a short distance, and receiving a present for their services, bade us farewell, while we proceeded, for the fourth time, to traverse the Red River of the Turks.

The Halys is crossed here by the celebrated bridge of Chasnigir, commonly called Cheshni (the King's Taster). This bridge occurs at a remarkable spot, where the river leaves an open valley, to enter a bold rocky pass, amid granite rocks. It has one large and four



lesser arches at the water level, one high upon a rock, and some other smaller ones below. It has no parapet, and is twelve yards high, the river being thirty-one yards wide.

While the horses were collecting at Kupri Keuy we were engaged in making observations, attended by the ayyan and a crowd of the curious, attracted by the glitter of brass instruments, and equally curious to examine our European arms.

On leaving this village, we commenced the ascent of Begrek Tagh, a rude granitic mountain, on the sunny exposure of which the dwarf almond was already in flower. On the ascent one of the baggage horses got loose, and galloped back to the village, which occasioned us some delay.

The prospect from the summit presented to us an extended and remarkable granitic district, composed of low, rounded, whitish, and bare hills, which appeared like so many hillocks at our feet, but which, when we entered upon them, were found to be broken up by deep rocky ravines with rivulets, but having a very scanty covering of vegetation. This singular district was inhabited by Turkomans of the Jerid (the Short-Lance) tribe.

After a ride of about four hours, we found ourselves on the other side of this district, and on a level cultivated plain. Our usual bad luck overtook us here, and we had to terminate our ride to Denek Maden, a distance of seven miles, in a pitiless rain. Much discussion ensued on our arrival at the mines, as to where we were to be quartered. The governor of the mines was unfortunately absent, having gone to Constantinople to plead his cause

against Izzet Pasha, who was anxious to get the mines under his jurisdiction. Some Greek miners, one of whom we recognised as an old acquaintance who had wrought with us in the Ishik Tagh, wished to obtain a room in the absent governor's house for us, but this the Turks refused, and we at length got a small, but tolerably cleanly room near the furnaces.

In the evening, among the visitors, the Greek priest made his appearance. We paid every respect, as was our wont, to the sacerdotal character of the old man, a reception which he appeared so little prepared for, that, in the fulness of his heart, he produced an evidently much valued bottle of communion wine—a not unacceptable present in our drenched condition.

Under the circumstances, of the governor of the mines being at the moment under the persecution of Izzet Pasha, and that we were known to have been already engaged by that pasha in the examination of other mining districts, our arrival here occasioned many suspicions, and much personal distrust; and we found so many difficulties put in our way, and such evident disinclination not only to serve us or to give us information, but even to be seen in our company, that on the next day, April 1st, we thought it best to continue our journey.

The present produce of the mines, when in full work, is equal to a thousand okahs, of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  pounds each, weekly, of galena, which quantity yields  $2\frac{1}{2}$  okahs of silver. The village itself was in better order than any establishment of the kind I had previously seen in Turkey: the charcoal was kept in a wooden inclosure, while a handsome fountain poured its waters into the washing pond, which was further surrounded with trees.

There were fourteen roasting furnaces, two smelting furnaces, and one open one for the oxidization of lead and the reduction of silver. The mines have a large jurisdiction that includes seven kaziliks or governments, from which both men and fuel are obtained, and the produce of the taxes is also devoted to the mines. This is the usual practice in Turkey.

The bey, governor of the mines, had, like a mushir, command over the lives of these under him, and there was a scaffold for impaling culprits erected near the village. If the Hatti Scheriff was not a dead letter, such a remote and unchecked responsibility could not be in existence.

We turned southward from Denek Maden, and on reaching a village of the Jerid Turkomans, called Jinal Oghlu, our seruji wanted to obtain a change of horses, and endeavoured, without having previously warned us, to get over the peasants on his side, as an ill-treated man. He did not, however, succeed in entailing upon us this delay, which would have cost us the loss of the day, for we persisted in driving on the baggage horses, and he was ultimately obliged to follow.

In the course of our ride we passed several encampments of the Jerid Turkomans, and two rivers, one of which, issuing from a lake not far beyond, we had some difficulty in fording. On this plain, we found a flock of wild geese, which made complete April fools of Russell and I, who having descended from our horses in their pursuit, watched them down to a distant eminence, which we slowly encompassed without our hats, and in almost breathless anxiety, stealing up the long acclivity step by step, fully expecting to get upon them unawares;

when, upon gaining the summit, not a goose was to be seen, except our two selves.

We arrived in the evening at the Turkoman village of Ahmed, where they appeared to have no government nor authority. One of the leading men visited us in the evening, and proclaimed his titles, as descended from the most warlike and most noble of all the Turkoman families, than whom for war or for power there were none equal. This, to us rather interesting preamble, for we liked to see the old spirit of the Turkomans still abroad, being closed, he asked for araki, and as we had none, the illusion of friendship was broken, and he departed sulky, and without doing anything for us. Next came an old gentleman, who, in answer to demands for food for man and horse and for horses next day, said we could have some burghule (boiled wheat); but as for horses there were none. He was accordingly dismissed with some polite Turkish expressions, at which he grew very irate; but Rassam was now roused, and he and our Greek servant scoured the village in search of provisions, and we and our steeds got some supper at last.

The next morning, after much wrangling, we were obliged to put up, with arabahs or carts drawn by oxen, for the luggage, and it was with difficulty that we could obtain from these independent Turkomans, who laughed at the Sultan's firman, horses for ourselves. So while the waggons ascended leizurely the Kara Goz (Black-eyed Mountain), Russell and I made a little excursion, up one of the culminating points of the hills, to explore an old castle, but of which we only found the foundations and ruinous walls, now divided into cells for sheep and goats. As the valley of the Halys is shut up by

mountains, this castle commanded, in former times, the great road to Gadasena and Cæsarea from Tavium and Ancyra.

After waiting to see our baggage safe through the pass, for we had now no khawasses, we descended to a large village called Isa Kojahli, where we were overtaken by a Turkoman, who seized my horse by the bridle, holding at the same time his stick up in the air, and threatening to strike. This, however, was prevented by Mr. Russell, who caught hold of it in a moment, and the poor fellow only got bastinadoed for his undue excitement upon the occasion; so he was soon glad to follow on foot, till the next change of horses would release to him his much-loved steed, to obtain which he had been so willing to run the chances of war.

We crossed hence a nearly level plain, generally cultivated, till we arrived at Sighir (Buffalo Village), where we were to obtain horses, but of which there were none forthcoming, so we had to spend the evening and night there. It was, however, a pleasant, peaceful village, facts pre-eminently testified by the storks' nests, which these truly domestic birds had built on walls within the reach of every little urchin of the village, and yet in undisturbed security. The Turkoman women also came where we were observing, and looked on and chatted with us as if we had been in an European village. During the night, at an elevation of 3320 feet, we had a sharp frost. The mountains around were still covered with snow.

*April 3rd.* We crossed the plain early this morning, a most delightful day, to visit some ancient marble quarries, called Tash Kasmah. At the south-western

extremity of the plain the valley of the Kolitchi Chaye (the Sword River), and the river of Kirshehr, opened before us, but we turned aside to enter a rocky ravine, where was the large village of Jemalah, and upon an isolated mount of granite close by, the castle of the same name.

While Mr. Rassam kindly undertook to fight the battle of getting our arabahs and their slow-paced oxen changed for horses at this village, Russell and I ascended the mount to explore this castle. We found an edifice of various ages, having been in more remote times constructed of large hewn stones of granite, repaired and modified by the Mohammedans in their flourishing eras, and again put together, in a more slovenly manner, in modern days. It appears to have been battered and breached at various times, and also to have suffered from earthquakes; it is now consequently in a state of complete ruin.

I am indebted to Mr. Russell's note-book for the following tradition concerning this old castle, which derives the more interest from its being associated with the remarkable hill, with its superimposed monastery of dervishes, near Angora, and called after the hero of the tradition. Hosein Ghazi was a Mohammedan general, whose brother was serasker of Malatiyeh. Hosein besieged Ancyra, the Rum or Greek inhabitants of which made a sally, and cut off his head: whereupon he indignantly caught it up, and like St. Denis walked away with it under his arm, to a cave in the mountain that still bears his name, and where, strange to say, he died; a monastery being subsequently erected there to his memory. Shortly after, an eagle winged its way to

that cave, and there laid an egg. The Greeks, fearful that this was ominous of Hosein's resurrection, blocked up the cavern with stones.

The Prophet, however, had other ways of working good for the cause of the faithful: for Hosein had left behind him a son then eleven years of age, and who resolved to revenge his father's death. He, with his uncle's consent, took upon himself the command of the army of Malatiyeh, and marched to Ancyra, on a visit to the governor, who politely invited him to his house, and treated him, pressing the son of Hosein, whose name was Jaffa, to drink araki. Jaffa, however, declined this, but kept encouraging the Greek in his libations; after the feast he requested from the governor permission to visit the castle with him, to which the Greek having staggered acquiescence, Jaffa there stabbed him and the friends who accompanied him, in due succession, giving at the same time the signal to his followers to assault the town, which then fell into the power of the Turkomans, from whom it was taken by the Osmanlis, under Murad or Amurath I., in the year 1360.

Jaffa, after sending the heads of Christians innumerable to his uncle at Malatiyeh, marched against the castle of Jemalah, and demanded of its governor Shamas, what he did there? Shamas replied, that he held the castle for the Emperor; whereupon the brave Turkoman, who could not take the fort, challenged any of the Greeks to single combat. I am ashamed to say how many of these unfortunate Christians fell in this kind of warfare by the ruthless sword of Jaffa. Shamas himself was at length obliged to go forth and meet the antagonist, before whom, one after another, the whole garrison

was falling. Now Shamas was a mighty warrior, and Jaffa was still very young ; but though the Greek succeeded in getting at Jaffa's windpipe, he might as well have cut at a gun-barrel, for the Prophet had made his skin sword-proof, and would have made it bullet-proof, but that there were no fire-arms at that time. Soon it became Jaffa's turn to strike, which he did with a stick and that with such execution that Shamas was bastinadoed out of his religion into Mohammedanism, in which holy belief he lived and died, always in great amity with his juvenile conqueror.

From Jemalah we began to descend the valley of Kirshehr ; a pile of stones, marking the site of a castle designated as Gekchi Kalah (She-Goat Castle), occupied the summit of a bold mountain to the left. Four miles down the valley, at the village of Kizilja Keuy, the beautiful and renowned gardens of the once flourishing town of Kirshehr commence, and extend not only to the town itself, a distance of five miles, but also far beyond.

On our arrival at the town, quarters were assigned to us in a coffee-house, in the most populous part of the town, which was rather inconvenient, as we had to sit almost in public, and were obliged to make our astronomical and magnetic observations in the burial-yard of the most frequented jami of the town, and upon the tombstones, a proceeding which the faithful at first did not appear to relish much, and one or two more bigoted dervishes endeavoured to oppose, and to get up a party in the town against us, by extravagant tales of our bringing down the sun—the evil eye—and other vile necromancies ; but in this they failed signally,



and the merchants in the bazaar, to whom they chiefly addressed themselves, growing every day in intelligence, only laughed at them.

Kirshahr is a sad example of a town ruined by former religious fanaticism. It never was probably over populous or rich, but, with gardens of unbounded fertility, possessed most of the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life. Its tranquil comforts brought around it, however, a host of all the various orders of dervishes—of people who do nothing, but live upon the industry of others—in the empire; and to these, religious zeal bequeathed various edifices, while others planted themselves as guardians to the tombs of their early benefactors, and which they consecrated as holy, and holy tombs rose up one beyond the other, and the frequent houses of the dervishes around them, till in the present day there are seven quarters or suburbs of the town inhabited solely by the Mevelevi, or spinners, the Kadri, or yellers and emaciators, and the Bektashi orders, while the streets themselves are full of the Seyahs, or wandering and begging tribes.

The Mevelevi, or spinning dervishes, are to be seen here in full perfection, performing their extraordinary devotional exercises, an idea of which, and their exact costume, is to be obtained from the engraving accompanying this chapter; and as for the howling dervishes, we were rendered painfully sensible of their numbers by the hostility which they exhibit to the repose of their peaceful and somniferous neighbours.

These various orders of religious devotees have drained and exhausted the resources of the town to the very last; what houses still remain are mud hovels of the

lowest description, the only jami is ruinous, and its menareh broken in half, three khans are abandoned, and the bezestein, which is a goodly building, shut up and untenanted.

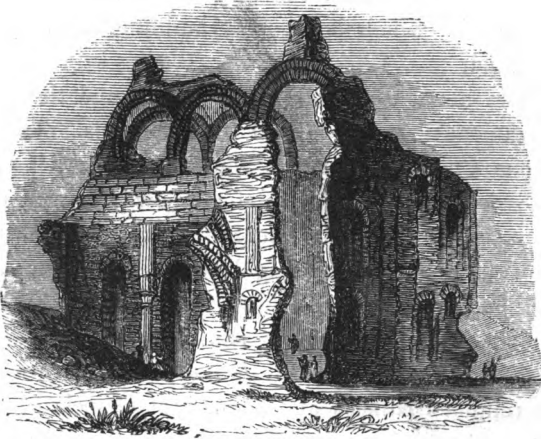
There are six mesjids in the town, and the population amounts to from 3500 to 4000 souls. There is only one Christian resident, who stated himself to be employed in the manufacture of gunpowder, but his real employment is the manufacture of araki, to which most of the howling and spinning dervishes are very partial, as well as to opium.

In the centre of the town is a high artificial mound, indicating an ancient site. On this mound are now some religious edifices and sepulchral chapels of some beauty. At a short distance west of the town, and beyond its extensive mezar, or burial-ground, there is a hot-spring, amidst some rocks of contorted appearance, which have been deposited by the hot waters of the spring, and which contain lime, iron, and other earthy matters in solution. This spring is protected by a wall, and its waters fall into a small bath; the temperature is 113° Fahr.

At this season of the year we got nothing of the produce of the gardens but dibbs, or the saccharine juice of grapes, and a few preserved pears; of vegetables, pot-herbs or salads, which we should most have relished, we found none.

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## CHAPTER XII.



Uch Ayak.

**Uch Ayak (the Three Arches). Rock Forts of Buffalo Plain. The Castle of the Lake. Mujur—Mocissus. Haji Bektash, the Founder of the Janissaries. Evils of the religious and social condition of the Turks. Noble Prospect in the Valley of the Halys. Caves of Osiana. Fantastic forms in the Rock.**

WE ascertained upon inquiry at Kirshehr, that the ruins of Uch Ayak, to which our attention had been called in our instructions, had been passed on our way. Accordingly the day after our arrival, Russell and I, having procured a guide from the governor, mounted our horses and retraced our steps up the banks of the Sword River, as far as Jemaleh, where we turned off to the right to Juhun, a large village, for the sheikh of which the governor had given us a letter, in order to procure a guide for further on.

Our road hence led over the side of a huge granite

mountain called Boz-uk, and in an hour's time we gained the crest, from whence we could perceive an extensive district stretching before us, with here and there the sombre tents of the Turkomans like moles on the face of the plain, while immediately below us, was a ruinous and rather lofty structure isolated at the foot of the hills, and without any adjacent building or ruin.

Upon closer examination, this ruin was found to be built of red tiles, with joints three inches thick, and cemented by a deep mortar bond; as many as six arches, four of which had upheld a semi-circular dome, remained entire, but this having fallen in, had left the arches to stand forth in nakedness, whence the modern name (the Three Arches or Legs), given to the place.

In these parts was situated, in olden times, a temple of Jupiter, which, according to Strabo, had an establishment that rivalled that of Commana, there being 3000 persons employed in the service of this seat of hierarchal pomp. As Haji Bektash is a holy place among the Mohammedans, Rennell was inclined to identify this temple of Gadasena with it, simply on the ground, that celebrated seats of devotion, while preserving their locality, so often change the object or the mode of worship, a fact, which is, indeed, frequently observed in the East, but Rennell was unacquainted with the existence of ecclesiastical ruins in Morimena, as is here shewn to be the case, while at Haji Bektash, besides the tomb of that celebrated man, there is only a mound, the probable site of a castle defending the road, and we found no other ruins.

It is not at all improbable, on the same grounds as those assumed by the before-mentioned able critic and

geographer, of the perpetuity of places of worship, that the temple of Jupiter was succeeded by a Christian church and monastery. To our great regret, we learnt afterwards at Nev Shehr, that, notwithstanding the assertions of the sheik of Juhun to the contrary, there existed further and extensive ruins an hour beyond these.

On our return over the mountain to Juhun, situated at the bottom of the plain of the Buffalo, we found a repast prepared for us by the hospitality of the sheik, and which we partook of in his company, that of the seruji, and of a host of visitors, whose alertness with their fingers left us but very little chance.

This Buffalo plain, as it is now called, is remarkable for the state of defence in which it appears once to have been placed. To the north is the castle of the Black-Eye; to the south, that of the She-Goat; within the mountain recesses, the stronghold of Jemaleh; while the lofty summits of the Boz-uk and Baranli mountains have also their rock forts.

We returned to Kirshehr by night fall. The Hasan Tagh, with its bold and sharp two-headed summit, reflecting the gleams of the setting sun from its perpetual snows, was an object of admiration during our ride. From the mountain of Boz-uk we could perceive both this mountain and the Arjish Tagh, the two loftiest peaks of peninsular Asia, at the same time.

As the night was clear, we repaired shortly after our arrival to the court of the jami, to observe, much to the surprise of the mollah, who was proclaiming evening prayer time from the top of two stones, piled to do duty as a menareh.

*April 7th.* We started from Kirshehr the next day. Our road lay over a mixed grassy and pebbly plain, that stretched from a low range of hills on the left, down to the valley of the Halys on our right.

Three miles from the town we passed an early circular mound of earth, which was surrounded by the ruins of a wall. The traces of six lateral towers are also to be observed; close by there is a spring, the waters of which flow into a pond covered with aquatic plants. These are, evidently, the remains of an ancient fort or guard-house which defended the road, and was situated for convenience sake near a spring. It is in the present day called Göl Hisar (the Castle of the Lake).

The plain itself abounded with golden plover, which not only afforded capital amusement, but replenished our larder considerably, for we sometimes brought down as many as seven with one shot.

After a ride of three hours from Kirshehr, and passing a valley with villages called the Dry Lake, we arrived at Mujur, the ancient Mocissus. This place is distinguished as a *cassabah*, which literally signifies a place where butchers' meat is sold, but is applied colloquially to all such places as are smaller than towns and larger than villages.

Mujur is built upon a soft rock, that is easily quarried and wrought; hence most of the houses are subterraneous, and many mere caverns. There are gardens around, and a little higher up the valley is an artificial mound, the site probably of an ancient castle.

We took the bits out of the horses' mouths and sat down on the grass, while our *seruji* and servant went in quest of sour milk and eggs, our customary breakfast.

From Mujur we had four hours' ride, partly over the same kind of dry plain, and partly by a gentle ascent, passing two villages of Troglodytes, to Haji Bektash; on approaching which by the deep hollow of a rivulet, our baggage horses stuck in the mud, and were with some difficulty extricated.

On ascending the opposite side of the hill, we learnt the way to the ayyan's house, in front of which a very fine old shaggy male camel was chained. A tolerably clean room was assigned to us, which was the more agreeable, as not being anticipated, the general aspect of the town being that of great poverty and filth.

Close to the town is the usual mound of ruins, surrounded by a moat or ditch, but in this case only semi-artificial. It is called Kara Kavuh (Black Bonnet).

The celebrated Mohammedan enthusiast, Haji Bektash, was, according to local tradition, born at this place, where he is also said to be buried, and a sepulchral chapel, or imam, is built over his remains; but the jami of Beshik Tash, near Stambol, also claims this last distinction.

Haji Bektash was the founder of the order of dervishes that bears his name, but he is still better known as the founder of the Janissaries (*yeni cheri*), who became to the Osmanli dynasty what the Prætorian guards were to the Roman Cæsars, and the Turkomans to the Khalifs of Bagdad.

When this corps had become numerous, Murad I., then Sultan of the Osmanlis, sent to Bektash, praying him to consecrate them by a name and a banner. The holy man tore off a fold of his garment, and placing it on the head of one of them, said, "Let

their name be Yeni cheri, 'the new soldiers;' their countenances noble and proud, their swords sharp, and their lances always ready to strike the head of their enemies."

Local tradition also assigns to Haji Bektash the discovery of the salt-mines of Tuz Keuy, which are hence sometimes called after his name, and pay a small annual tribute to the support of his tomb and sanctuary.

The town called after this religious enthusiast is a remarkable case, to be adduced against the constant complaints of the natives, that taxation is the sole cause of poverty, and of the present ruinous condition of villages and towns in Lesser Asia, and is a proof that this state of things is rather connected with a bad social condition and the evil influences of a false religion uniting to produce both mental and physical degradation of the people\*. Kirshehr, which, with its luxuriant soil, abundant water, and warm sheltered situation, might be made a mart for the production of silk, we have seen, is, by the fatal incubus of dervishes, but a wreck. When asked why the town was so fallen and prostrate, the ready answer of the natives was, "Excessive taxation." At Haji Bektash no one complained; on the contrary, the inhabitants boasted of their privileges and immunities. The holy memory of the dervish has saved the place from the saliyaneh, or any other tax, save a small annual

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\* Mr. Consul Brant, in his notes of a journey through part of Kurdistan, in 1838, (*Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, vol. x., part iii.) gives some remarkable examples of how low the saliyaneh, or taxes levied for the expenses of the public administration, are even under the supposed extortionate pashas.



contribution towards the support of the tomb, and of the resident dervishes connected with it; this, indeed, is merely nominal, as, besides several foundations of pious persons bequeathed for this purpose, the tax upon the salt-mines would alone cover these expenses.

Yet notwithstanding these advantages, almost every other house is a ruin. The ayyan has built himself, the only stone mansion in the place; scarcely a thing was to be obtained, a fowl was out of the question, a few eggs with great difficulty; the inhabitants having little to pay, work still less, but sit in listless groups sunning themselves, and smoking through a day's existence. The whole appearance of the place is that of unproductiveness and idleness. The tomb itself, which ought as a matter of proper appropriation of funds, to be in a good state of repair, is crumbling into ruins.

*April 8th.* Our road to-day lay over hills, one of which was remarkable for its sugar-loaf form, and of similar geological structure to its compeer in Ireland bearing that name.

The view on crossing this range of mountains was especially grand; the low, wide, tortuous valley of the Halys, backed by rugged volcanic hills, from whence dark floods of lava had descended to the river's brink; sandy cliffs, ungladdened by any vegetation and burrowed by innumerable caverns; Osmanli and Turkoman villages embosomed among trees; the Sierra-like summits of the granitic heights of Garsaura in the rear; and beyond, the snowy summits of Mount Argæus and the Hasan Tagh.

About an hour and a half from where we descended to the river's bank, we came to a ferry opposite to the

cassabah of Yarapason. We, as usual, had to cross over in detail, and swim the horses, an operation of some time, including the unloading and unsaddling, saddling and reloading. This accomplished, we rode off a short distance along the banks of the river to a grove, under the shade of which the governor was feasting a party of friends; a fact which he had sent a khawass to announce to us, and at the same time to invite us to join them. We sat down in form and accepted pipes, the conversation soon became friendly, and we found our host had been formerly kyaha, or deputy, to Izzet Pasha\*. Fragments of the repast were then laid before us, and we did honour to the good things; for we had come that morning from a higher and colder country. The ayyan at our departure pressed us to stay the night at Yarapason, an act of self-inspired hospitality and kindness, that occurred for the first time, on this journey. After many compliments, we mounted again, the baggage proceeding along the river side, Russell and I starting inland to examine the caves and grottoes of Yarapason, the ancient Osiana, which are almost innumerable.

Yarapason at present contains 300 houses, partly caverns, and all more or less subterraneous, built on the side of a cliff that stretches thence nearly a mile in distance up the river, and is burrowed throughout that extent by numerous caves and grottoes. Sometimes the

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\* The governor told us, in answer to our inquiries to that effect, that in summer time the river Halys had very little water in it, and was quite salt to the taste. We had observed that it was now brackish, and that there were frequent efflorescences of salt on its banks.

cliff is intersected by a ravine or cleft, at other times portions are broken off from the mother rock. The same repetition of caverns occurs in these, and even if only a small fragment rises, obelisk-like, from the plain, separated from all others, it has its cave, or tiers of caves. We were quite astounded and perplexed at the variety and number of those presented to our view. Our baggage horses, with Mr. Rassam, were getting on far a-head, still our enthusiasm was too much excited to be quickly contented; at one moment we clambered up to examine some design rudely carved in bas-relief; at another, lateral columns of fair proportions would arrest our attention. No doubt some of these caves had been sepulchral, while others had also evidently, from their extent and ornate character, served as places of worship, but the generality were manifestly dwelling-places.

We galloped away scarcely half satisfied, after the rest of the party, but only to be stopped by new and still more astounding curiosities. Turning up a glen which led from the river inland, we found ourselves suddenly lost in a forest of cones and pillars of rock, that rose around us in interminable confusion, like the ruins of some great and ancient city. At times these rude pinnacles of rock balanced huge unformed masses upon their pointed summits, but still more frequently the same strangely supported masses assumed fantastic shapes and forms—at one moment suggesting the idea of a lion, at another of a bird, and then again of a crocodile or a fish.

These marvels of Garsaura long ago excited the wonder of old Paul Lucas, and have also been noticed in the more subdued and polished lukewarmness of modern

travelling, and there is certainly one thing remarkable in these productions, that no two persons, as was exhibited in our own case, can agree as to whether they are natural or artificial. The fact is, that if natural they have decomposed into forms that have become rude representatives of animals; if artificial, they have been shorn, by time and the operation of the elements, of all proportion and beauty; or a middle line might be taken, that nature commenced the work, and a rude and fantastic art fashioned these forms upon it. Tradition cuts the gordian knot, and proclaims them the work of the *genii*\*.

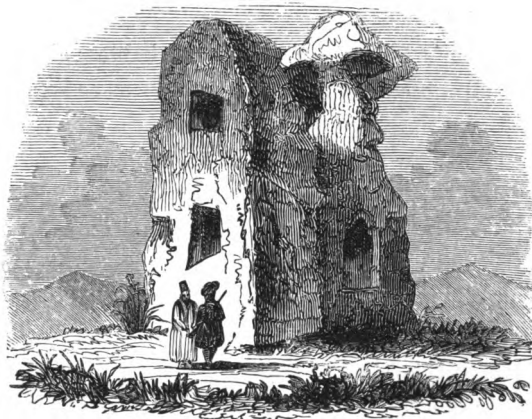
An hour's ride from this remarkable vale, over a higher and more level country, brought us to some rocky hills, at the entrance to which was the town of Nev Shehr (the New Town, *par excellence*), and which we were delighted to find was more cleanly, more promising, and altogether more substantial, than any town we had yet seen, and rivalling, in these attributes, the pleasant town of Tokat. Mr. Rassam was kind enough to go on first, to obtain quarters, and after some little delay we advanced with the baggage to the governor's serai, when a domestic was sent with us to the Christian quarter, where a room had been assigned to us, and which they attempted to prove was the cellar, but we

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\* According to Oriental mythology the *genii* governed the world long before the creation of Adam. They were famous for their architectural skill. The Koran relates that they were employed by Solomon in the erection of his Temple—(chap. xxxiv). The Pyramids of Egypt were ascribed to them, and the author of *Vathek* alludes to a fortress in Spain having a similar origin.

taught them better, and preferred a boarded room on the first floor, the more especially as Mr. Russell was unwell, and I intended stopping here a day or two to put him under medical treatment.

The master of the house, his sons and visitors, came in the evening to eat, and afterwards to sleep with us, in this small apartment, a proceeding which, with the greatest delicacy possible, we begged to object to, but, as was always the case, it required more than delicate insinuations to get rid of them.



Excavated Stones at Osiana.

## CHAPTER XIII.



Rocking Stones.

Christians of Nev Shehr. Conversation with the Priests. Attempted Deception and Extortion. Rocking Stones. Salt Mines. Tradition of Haji Bektash. Subterranean Chapel. Curious Missal. Difficulties with the Turkomans. Place of Sipahis. Vale of Parnassus. Pass of Kazi Uyk. First view of the Great Salt Lake.

THE town of Nev Shehr is built on the acclivity of a bold ravine, darkly backed by high cliffs of basalt. It contains 200 houses of Mohammedans, 800 houses of Greeks, and 60 houses of Armenians, having a population of about 15,000 souls.

The Cappadocian Greeks, who constitute so large a portion of the community, appear to have congregated into the "new city" from all the numerous troglodyte villages in the neighbourhood, which are now for the most part bereft of their original inhabitants. They

have certainly made a change for the better, and it is difficult to imagine the reason which made them once dwell in caves, as was so much the case throughout Garsaura.

In a commercial point of view, also, this town is, when compared with others in Asia Minor, in a very flourishing condition.

We were much pleased with the Christian inhabitants; we visited their church and schools, and attended divine service. We had also frequent and long conversations with the priests, who were of far less domineering dispositions than those of Angora. One of them giving reason for the faith that was in him, said confession was a divine institution, being first used by Adam, who confessed his own and Eve's transgressions to God himself. We took this opportunity of informing him that confession of that description, or spiritual confession, was much approved of and indeed insisted upon by our Church, but that this differed very much from confessing to a man. He next quoted the confession that Lot made to Abraham. The ordinary authority from James, was then quoted by ourselves and commented upon, that "one to another" did not mean privacy of confession, and we further admitted, that confession was not avoided but rather enjoined by our Church, explaining the cases and their application.

On the subject of baptism, the priests objected to the sprinkling of water, but we explained from Matthew, that the sign was the principal matter, and consecration in the Holy Spirit, true baptism; that there was no positive objection to immersion, but that it is unnecessary.

The holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper appeared

to be but imperfectly understood by them ; “ Why,” they asked us, “ do you go to that ordinance after breakfast?” to which it was answered, because the historical fulfilment would be a mere ceremony of passing the bread and wine about after supper. In spirit, the elements of the Eucharist, might be dispensed in the ordinary state of man’s habits and feelings, if his mind and spirit were prepared—but that in England, many worthy persons considered it advisable (without the injunction of priests) to take that holy sacrament fasting.

As regards the marriage of priests, they did not hesitate to acknowledge St. Paul’s injunction to Timothy (I. Tim. iii. 12) as an interdiction to a priest’s being the husband of more than one wife at a time, and not as forbidding second nuptials, after the decease of the first wife, as is maintained by many Oriental Churches.

In justification of councils and legends, they asserted that Our Lord left his religion imperfect at first, like a piece of rough wood or timber, and that the fashioning and polishing of this was reserved for the workmen—the apostles and the early patriarchs—the fathers of the Church.

The dress of these Cappadocian Greeks had much originality about it, and still more particularly so in the females, who dressed showily, and enjoyed a great degree of freedom, exhibiting themselves openly and with uncovered faces, and even at times entering into conversation.

The day after our arrival at Nev Shehr, Mr. Russell being unwell, I had intended riding myself to Uch Hisar and Urgub, to see the remarkable caves and rocks of those places, as described by Mr. Hamilton, but I was prevented by a dense storm of snow, which came on that night, and continued all day. We therefore busied our-



selves effecting a new arrangement of our baggage, by which we could send off part to Kaiseriyah, while we only took the necessary instruments, and should start as lightly equipped and as unencumbered as possible, for the Salt Lake of Koch Hisar, which it was our next object to visit.

Previous to our departure, however, we were destined to experience a draw-back to the general good impressions we had received of the intelligence and morality, and the advancing social condition of the Christians of Nev Shehr, in the misconduct of our host, who, though a respectable merchant, yet condescended to enter into a petty conspiracy with the shehr kiyasi, or deputy of the governor, in order, under the pretence that Mr. Russell was sick of the plague, to force from us the sum of 400 piastres, or four pounds sterling, for the use of our single apartment for three days, also requiring two piastres per hour for horses, the ordinary post price being then one piastre, and, what was worse than all, that horses should only be given to us for one road, viz., that of Nigdeh by Ak Serai.

Upon this we immediately started off to the governor, a strange and eccentric old man, generally designated as "Black Beard," and who to the statements which Mr. Rassam made to him, answered at the tip of his voice; but after asserting his authority, by telling us (notwithstanding the clause in our firman to that effect,) that he would not let us go which way we pleased, on account of the usual bug-bear, the Kurds, he finished by yielding all that we desired, viz., horses as far as Saramas, on the road to Koch Hisar, and leaving the remuneration of our exorbitant host to our own generosity.

*April 12th.* We started from Nev Shehr this day,

for the salt mines of Tuz Keuy, situated on the banks of Kizil Irmak. Our road lay over a plain of volcanic sand, and in a little less than an hour we came to a naked cliff of soft rock of the same description, with numerous excavations and caves, and designated as Teppeh Weran (the Hill of Ruins).

Beyond this were four different hills, a hard kind of rock at the top of which, formed cliffs with caves; while a softer material below, broke off in gentle acclivities. At other times the softer material was of sufficiently firm texture to disintegrate in cones, upon the point of which there rested huge masses of the harder rock, poised in such a manner (as shown in the engraving at the head of this chapter) as to appear at first sight, truly extraordinary; but are not so much so, when it is considered that this phenomenon is the result of gradual disintegration, and that the superincumbent mass itself at once determines, and causes to be preserved, the position of the pivot on which it rests.

An hour hence we came to a stream of lava, which it took us five minutes to ride across. We passed, after this, three other streams, having cliffs of volcanic rock to our left, at the foot of which was Agri Keuy (Poor Village). Turning hence, by Weran Burnu (the Ruined Cape), (for these oriental names serve to describe a country as well as the most minute details,) we arrived at Tuz Keuy (the Village of Salt), containing about eighty houses, part of each of which was hewn out of the solid rock, and fronted again with the same material.

We were received in one of these dens, which was soon filled with individuals curious to know the object of our visit, when, leaving Mr. Rassam to explain parti-

culars, Russell and I rode out with a guide to the salt mines, which were about a mile distant from the village.

Passing over some low hills, we found ourselves suddenly upon the borders of a great pit, which might be about five hundred feet in circumference, and two hundred feet deep; the sides formed of crumbling and sliding clay and mud, and perforated here and there by apertures, which led to as many different galleries, or descents by steps, by which the salt bed was approached. There were about seven of these now open, and one, strange to say, at the bottom of the pit. It had consequently long ago become the grand receptacle for all the water that flowed into it. Many others had also fallen in, from the extreme looseness of the clayey beds and want of support within.

The salt occurs in a powerful bed about forty feet below the surface. The galleries are carried down at high angles of inclination, and the salt is quarried and taken out in baskets, up stairs cut in the clay.

While we were examining these mines, there came on a severe thunder-storm, and torrents of water began to pour, in a few minutes, from all the adjacent heights into the pit; the soft clay gave way in masses, several slips occurred in the sides, and so great was the danger of being overwhelmed in the shafts, that we preferred ascending to the brink—which was not done without some difficulty—and remaining exposed to the rain, than to run the chance of such an insecure shelter.

The quantity of salt excavated annually is estimated at from 300 to 400 camel loads, and as part of the profits have to go to the idle villagers of Haji Bektash, and part to government, the miners say that less than 300

returns them no profit. The tradition of Haji Bektash's discovery of these mines relates, that this holy man stopped in the neighbourhood to request food, whereupon a dish of eggs was laid before him, but the hospitable hostess forgot the salt, and he did not, even after several requisitions, obtain this condiment so essential to the digestion of eggs. The dervish, reduced to perform a miracle, vowed that the village should never again be in want of salt; so, putting his staff into the ground, he opened the subterranean store which lay buried there.

Our route, the next day, lay up the valley of the Tuz Keuy rivulet. Passing Ahmid Teppéh, an artificial mound, said to be a ruin, we came to "Red Village," consisting entirely of caves, of which there are about thirty inhabited. A bit of rag swung from a pole to serve as a flag announced that there had been a troglodyte marriage. A short distance beyond we came to Tatlar (that which belongs to Tatars), a cassabah, or large village, situated in a fissure in the rock.

The houses were, as usual, caves, fronted with one or two arches of basalt, and which supported the fire-place and chimney. The cliffs above were perforated with caves, which had so weakened the mass, that in several places slips or falls had ensued, entailing, at the time of their occurrence, the destruction of the dwelling-houses below.

We breakfasted here, and rode afterwards to visit the caves noticed by Mr. W. J. Hamilton, as containing a book, and concerning which we had heard much importance attached to the tradition, that whenever it should be removed, it would find its way back again. This manuscript is preserved in a subterraneous chapel,

which has only two entrances, one by a perpendicular well, about seven feet deep, the other a narrow passage, through which the intruder must creep on all fours. It is quite evident from this, that it had been an object to perform religious rites, when these caves were inhabited, in secrecy, and this, with other considerations connected with the very nature of their dwelling-houses, tends to show that they were retreats of Cappadocian Greeks, from the persecution of the Turkomans, and afterwards of the Turks, who have, however, to a certain extent, emancipated them. The chapel itself was adorned with fresco paintings of our Saviour and his apostles, the colours of which were still bright and in good keeping. The book itself was a missal of the Greek Church, lying on the altar, and torn and thrown about. Determined to try the efficacy of the tradition, Mr. Rassam took away some of the pages, but compunctions coming over him afterwards, more especially from our quizzing him for the act, he gave them over to my charge, and as they were lost with the rest of my luggage at Nizib, they may by this time have found their way back to the cave again.

From Tatlar our route lay over undulating downs to the westward. Passing Chular, a Turkoman village situated on an obtusely conical hill, we entered a rocky pass, among sienitic hills, called Tash Tellah, and which, from their serrated, or saw-like, form of crest, had been long remarkable objects to us from the vale of the Halys. From hence we travelled over a granitic plain, with a scanty herbage fed on by many scores of camels.

A little beyond, a valley opened upon us to the left, containing the village of Dursanli, chiefly of caves, and

near to it a ziyaret, built upon other ruins, which appear to be at the site of the Nitazas of antiquity. Beyond this valley was the lofty mountain of Akajik, the central mountain district of Garsaura, and corresponding to the ancient Argustana. It is, by mistake, in the map placed to the north of Sari Karaman. This district contains several lakes, and is tenanted by Kurds.

In the evening we arrived at Sari Karaman, a large village, where we were to obtain a change of horses. It is the seat of a Turkoman vaivodeh, who rules over the surrounding district. We were shown into a dirty room full of hay and its minute inhabitants, which we had much difficulty in getting the peasants to clean out for us. The dogs of these shepherd people were extremely fierce; they absolutely deprived us of the opportunity of making the slightest observation, as they never for a moment ceased their daring hostility, and none of the villagers offered to drive them away. Mr. Rassam, having ventured out after dark, had a large portion of his coat torn off in a moment, and was glad to regain our apartment.

*April 15th.*—Descending from Sari Karaman, we crossed the rivulet of Akajuk, which must, from the number of tributary streams that flow into it, attain some size before it joins the Halys, and is the chief branch of that river in this district. We ascended hence to a rocky terrace with caves, constituting the village of Buz Khur. There was a ruined khan by the side of the road, and a fine cultivated valley beyond. We traversed this, passed Dormanli, a Turkoman village, entered upon a grassy hilly country with protruding granitic rocks, and then descended into the village and

gardens of Chamurli (the Place of Mud), where the burial-ground was ornamented with fragments of columns and other remains. Half an hour's further ride brought us to Jamli, another Turkoman village, and the seat of an ayyan.

This day, and the day before, we had a continued strong wind from the west, which brought with it a dense fog. This afternoon the wind abated, and it began to rain; the wind then veered north-west, and this was followed, at first by hail, and then by a dense continuous fall of snow which lasted all night, and by the morning these lofty uplands and cold hills had put on a most wintry and uninviting appearance.

Two of the steeds that had been contributed by the Turkomans of Sari Karaman were mares, and were accompanied by their young foals; and their owners refused, in the morning, to allow of their proceeding any further in such unfavourable weather: while the villagers of Jamli, without being willing themselves to supply two others, took part with them, and heaped all kinds of abusive and insulting epithets upon us, among which "cruel infidels" was by far the most modest. Our cruelty was, however, imposed upon us by sad necessity, as we could not willingly consent either to remain ourselves or to leave our baggage in these rude and inhospitable districts; so amidst a shower of stones and ill-words we forced the horses onwards as far as the village of Sipahiler, only eight miles distant.

It was snowing hard, as we thus left Jamli, in a double storm. Half an hour to the right were some ruins, which, under other circumstances, we would have visited, as they appear from their position to represent

the ancient Ozzala. The natives call the place Kilisa (the Church). Our road lay over an undulating granitic district, and, after a short ride, we arrived at Sipahiler (the Place of Sipahis), the ayyan of which kindly promised us a change of horses if we would stop with them that evening, so as to give him time to collect them. We accordingly accepted a room, and the visits of the villagers at the same time, who were kindly disposed,—a thing the more sensibly felt, as contrasting with the violence of the Turkomans of Jamli.

The mountain range of Kojah Tagh rose behind this village, and contained, on its summit, the ruins of no less than three rock forts, two of which we visited in the evening.

Our next morning's ride was over a beautiful country, at the head of the vale of Parnassus. The magnificent Halys extended beneath our feet, from the red rocks of Osiana up to the fastnesses of Chasnighir Kupri; and our wanderings of many days, including the towns of Kirshehr, Mujur, and Haji Bektash, lay before us like a map; backed, however, by soaring and snow-clad heights, that reared themselves up in all the reality of mountain grandeur.

Our contemplation of this splendid distant panorama, and softer but pleasing scenery closer to us, was interrupted by the arrival of some strangers, who attempted to be very enterprising till they found the odds were against them. Their spite at this was not, however, at all concealed. "Ah!" they said, "times have changed now; a short time back Gawurs could not have travelled with impunity in these districts." This, however, was only a repetition of what was cast in our teeth at Jamli.



"How proud these Gawurs are," they again repeated, as we eyed them with contempt; "it would be easy to cut them off." They knew, however, that this was a task beyond their power to perform; and we proceeded on, glad to get rid of their ferocious scowls and taunting words.

At Demir Keuy (the Place of Iron), a village we came to a few hours beyond this, was a curious globular mass of granite, which had detached itself in such regular slices as to have become an object of superstition with the villagers, who supposed that it had been cleft by the sword of a hero, as that of Roland accomplished a breach in the Pyrenees.

Beyond this we turned in a south-westerly direction to cross the Kojah Tagh, the pass over which is commanded, but at some distance, by a hill fort situated on a granite peak, and called Toklu Kaleh. Our progress now began to be much delayed by one of our baggage horses, which kept continually falling, on each of which occurrences we had the trouble of reloading him.

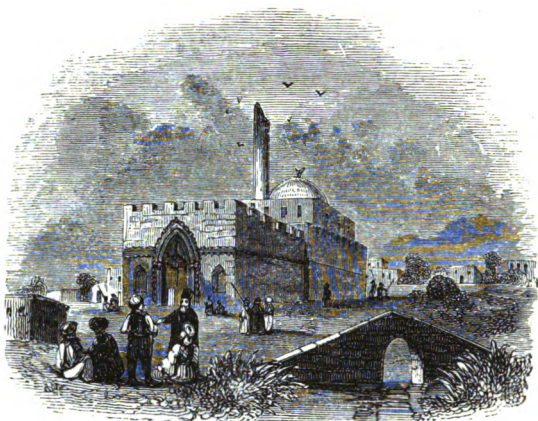
It was with difficulty, and only after several hours travelling from the mountains, that we reached the pass of Kazi Uyk, which carries the traveller through a range of low hills that border the Salt Lake to the east, nearly its whole length. At the head of this pass is a semi-artificial mound, evidently the site of a former defensive castle, and there was a curious upright stone upon a hill to the left.

At our exit from the pass, the Great Salt Lake itself opened before us in all its magnitude and splendour. The view, although perhaps wanting wood, was beautiful from its vastness. Narrow at the north, where it

was backed by low hills, the lake subsequently expanded almost beyond the reach of the eye, was then lost for a moment behind the hills which rise upon the plain beyond Koch Hisar, and re-appeared to the south as a wide expanse of water backed by lofty snow-clad mountains. The memory of our troubles of the few days past vanished before this magnificent prospect;—we felt ourselves braced for new researches, anxious to tread the circumference of this great inland lake, and grateful to the Society which had thus given us the opportunity of exploring what had possessed a just celebrity from a remote antiquity, yet which but a few years back it was hardly known where to place on the map.

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## CHAPTER XIV.



Sultan's Khan.

**Koch Hisar (Ram's Castle). Legend of a Mohammedan Girl. Kurd Migrations. Saline marshes and lakes. The Rock Pass. Peace Mount—Ruins of Congusta. Mohammedan Theological Students. Ruins of Perta. The Sultan's Khan. Seljukiyan Sultans. Broken-down Tatar. The Great Salt Lake. Extent, Characters, and Animals. Ak Serai (the White Palace). Saracenic Architecture.**

**Koch Hisar (Ram's Castle)** is a ruin which occupies the top of a hill, nearly isolated from the remainder of the range in which it occurs, and which commanded, in former times, the entrance to the pass of Kazi Uyk, and defended the town or village which is now called after the castle itself. In the present day only the foundations of the castle remain, with a few stones heaped together, as a refuge for sheep and goats.

This village contains 130 houses, and a population of

about 1800 Mohammedans, almost entirely Turkomans. The inhabitants spoke much of the visit of Mr. W. J. Hamilton to this place, and it was evidently owing to the favourable impressions left by that gentleman that we were mainly indebted for the hospitable reception we met with.

The lake is distant about three miles from Koch Hisar, between which and it is a low level grassy plain, in part covered with saline plants. A little north of the same parallel, the lake narrows considerably, forming an elbow, which stretches north a little of east. At this point are the remains of a causeway, which tradition assigns to one of the Seljukiyan sultans of Koniyyeh. It is said to be still used in the dry parts of summer.

We started hence by early dawn on the morning of April 19th, in order if possible to gain the north end of the lake before mid-day, by which we should save a day's time, as we had to fix its latitude. Our road lay along a level plain, bounded by low naked hills on one side, the silent, desert-like expanse of waters, on the other. Although we saw no birds on the lake we fell in with a flock of large bustards, which afforded us some amusement, and by riding on a few miles a-head of the baggage, we got in time to effect the wished-for observation at the head of the lake.

Passing by Arghun Keuy, a deserted village, we observed a large upright stone, sixteen feet high by four feet wide, and two in thickness, concerning which it was related to us by our Koch Hisar guide, that a jami being about to be erected in that neighbourhood many of the faithful voluntarily engaged themselves in transporting materials. Among the rest was a young girl

whose faith enabled her to carry this stone so far, when she was encountered by a young man who asked her her intentions. She had no sooner explained them than he rejoined, "Allah has accepted of your service, and is well pleased," upon which the damsel immediately gave up the ghost, and was buried beneath the same stone, which remains there to the present day in testimony of the fact.

However unworthy of credit, as a tradition, this may be, still it is not without its interest, as showing that all Mohammedans do not reject the idea of women being received among the faithful in the next world. We had been talking with a white-bearded Turkoman the very evening before upon this subject, and among other things this very tolerant Mohammedan related how a learned mollah once argued very sagely, but very savagely, against the sex, and how the Grand Vizier introduced him to a learned lady, and that this fair and witty person argued the mollah out of his favourite tenets.

We travelled hence over hills which only afforded a scanty pasture to large herds of camels, and food for flocks of bustards. We passed afterwards a lake to the left, and some Kurdish encampments to the right, then came to cultivated ground, and finally arrived, after a ride of twelve hours, at Kulu Keuy, a large village, not far from the Karajah Tagh, which we had approached a few weeks previously, on the side of the "Red Castle," in the Haimaneh district.

We had great difficulty in getting provisions here, as the village had been lately occupied by the cavalry of Haji Ali Pacha of Koniye, who had been in pursuit of Kurds, who, on their summer migration to the north,

had taken with them sheep, and cattle, and horses that belonged to other people. On occasions of this kind, when the troops overtake the tribes, they often not only secure the missing property, but also avail themselves of the opportunity of making prizes on their own account. The consequence is, that on their winter migration back the Kurds indemnify themselves by other robberies, repeating the same systematic plunder in the pashaliks of Angora and Koniye alternately, each government seeking for an opportunity for reprisals within their own province, but neither pasha ever attacking the Kurds in the other's territories; and thus a mutual system of plunder and reprisals is carried on from year to year, the strongest party being always in the right.

From Kulu Keuy we turned in a more southerly direction, keeping along the shores of the lake, and after an hour's journey we came to an artificial mound, with a moat, and evidently a station of antiquity. It is recognised as the site of a fort by the natives, who call it Ba'lchah Hisar.

The country around undulated gently, and having many springs, was covered with grass, in consequence of which the tents of the nomadic Kurds were scattered about in every direction. Out of this district arose a circumscribed hilly range, of volcanic origin, called Tavshan Tagh (Hare Mount). Beyond these we passed a small salt lake, called Kupek Göl (Dog Lake); the soil here became covered with saline plants, only intermingled with the wormwood of the plains. We passed several saline marshes of this kind, which appear to be flooded at certain seasons of the year; and in the afternoon reached In-Awi, a large village, situated at a point

where the plain is traversed by a stream of fresh water, leaving behind it a cultivated valley, about half a mile in width.

To the south of this valley the uniformity of the plain is broken up by some remarkable conical and isolated volcanic hills. One of these is called Boz Tagh (Ice Mount). Upon another, called Kara Teppeh (the Black Hill), there were said to be some ruins.

We got a change of horses at In-Awi, and continued our route next day (April 21st) down the valley of the rivulet, which was full of aquatic birds, ducks, and teal, with large flocks of herons. At a distance of about six miles from the village, we turned again over the plain till we came to a salt lake, called Murad Su Göl (Murad River Lake), a dreary expanse of water, without trees, but with slightly-elevated banks, a rare thing with the Great Salt Lake.

The plain here became more varied and covered with flowers. Animal life was, in consequence, more abundant; and we obtained during our ride two species of gerboa and a beautiful phalarope. We soon arrived at the Murad Su, which presented the peculiarity of pouring part of its waters into the Great Salt Lake, while part overflowed into the Murad Su Göl. It was, in fact, one great marsh, with a narrow tongue of land dividing the two lakes.

The same point is characterized by a ruin of olden time, which appears to have been used as an aqueduct, the masonry of which is completely hid by a thick incrustation of travertine, deposited, as on the aqueduct near Antioch, by the waters trickling down from the channel above. This pass is called by the natives, from

the existence of the ruin, the Kaya Boghaz (the Rock Mouth or Pass).

We continued from hence across an almost perfectly level plain, having always to our left an impenetrable marsh that flanked the south end of the Great Salt Lake. The extreme monotony of such a ride was only occasionally relieved by the distant reed huts and inclosures in which the wandering herdsman assembles his flock at night, to shelter them from the wolves. After a ride of nine miles, we arrived at a large artificial mound on the plain, which apparently once supported an edifice. The ruins of what appears to have been a town of some size are also circularly disposed around this mound. These ruins are, however, now, with the exception of a few upright shafts of columns, level with the ground; nothing but foundations and scattered fragments are met with; so that after riding over and among them for some time, we discovered nothing of interest, nor any inscriptions. This place is now called Tusun Uyuk (Peace Mount), and appears to be the site of the ancient Congusta.

On leaving this place, our serujis seemed to be at fault as to which way to go, so we thought it best to ride off to one of the previously described herdman's reed-huts, which was just discernible on the verge of the level horizon. This answered two good purposes; for we got indications as to our route, and at the same time a bowl of delicious goat's milk.

Our route now lay again across a marsh, the road over which was in part prolonged by an artificial causeway; but it is difficult to say which was most fatiguing to the poor worn-out and jaded horses, the rugged irregular stones of the causeway, or the slippery mud or deep bog



of the marsh. At length we arrived late in the evening, amid heavy rain, at Iskil, a large village of Turkomans, which presented the peculiarity of having wide streets, probably for the convenience of the cattle and sheep which are brought in in winter time.

The odah, or public room, of Iskil, to which we repaired to dry ourselves, was deserted by all but two young men, educating for the Mohammedan priesthood, one of whom had been a tinker at Churum, and had wandered hither on his way to Koniye, where he intended to pursue his studies at one of the madresehs, or colleges, of that place. They complained bitterly that the peasants gave them little food, sour milk and bread at mid-day, and the same diet again at night; so as we were rousting up the villagers to produce firing and food, we invited the poor students to supper with us.

The ensuing day we made but a short journey, still over the same great plain, to Sultan Khan (the Sultan's Khan), which is a posting station on the road from Ak Serai to Koniye, and where we were to obtain a change of horses.

On our road, we passed some interesting ruins, consisting of a high artificial mound, having many fragments and portions of buildings apparently belonging to the Byzantine era, with numerous grottoes around. A Mohammedan mesjid, built of the hewn stones of former edifices, had succeeded to older ruins, but was itself also now falling into decay. These ruins extended over a considerable space, and had been formerly surrounded by a wall. This place is now called Uyk Bowat, and appears to have been the ancient Perta.

Close by the town there flowed a fine stream of

water, which loses itself in marshes immediately beyond. These marshes limited the easterly range of road in ancient times as well as modern; hence the physical necessities of the soil have caused the same line to be preserved; but these marshes are said at this point to be so far dried up in summer, as to allow of a cross road nearly direct from Iskil to Ak Serai.

Sultan Khan derives its name from a splendid khan or kerwan-serai, which rises with remarkable effect from out of the uniformity of the surrounding plain, and when seen from a distance, contorted by the waving lights of the mirage, as it generally is, puzzles the traveller, by the fantastic forms that it assumes, and its apparent magnitude.

We had some difficulty in obtaining permission to examine the interior of this khan, as a poor but proud Bey lived in it with his Harem. Luckily, however, we heard that he was sick, and accordingly we sent in our compliments, that we should be happy to do anything in our power to alleviate his sufferings. We were accordingly soon admitted to an interview, which took place on a terrace on the top of the khan, and after giving the old gentleman some suitable medicine, we were allowed to roam about the ruins at our leisure, followed by the curious eyes of the Harem below.

We found the building to be divided into two parts; the most easterly not very lofty but wide, and ornamented by a gateway of rich Saracenic workmanship. The interior was also richly ornamented. The westerly part was in the best state of repair, and consisted of a large covered space, supported by lofty columns and arches. It is altogether one of the handsomest khans

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to be met with in Lesser Asia. Over the gateway was an Arabic inscription, which was thus translated by Mr. Rassam :—

“The exalted Sultan Alau-d-din, great King of Kings, Master of the necks of Nations, Lord of the Kings of Arabia and Persia, Sultan of the territories of God, Guardian of the Servants of God, Alau-dunya Wa-d-din, Abu-l-Fat-h, Commander of the Faithful, ordered the building of this blessed khan, in the month of Rejeb, in the year 662” (A.D. 1264).

This remarkable specimen of the vain glory and pompous pride of Oriental kings, appertained, as Mr. Renouard has remarked, not to one of the Khalifs, but to one of the Seljukiyan Sultans of the small kingdom of Rum, whose capital was Koniye. The princes of that dynasty probably assumed the title of Commanders of the Faithful, on the murder of Mostasim bi-Uah, by order of Hulaku, A.H. 656, A.D. 1258; so that according to the date given on the inscription above, could we trust the historian Ahmed el Dimeshki, quoted by Adler, (p. 74,) the prince here named was eldest son and successor of Ghayyathu-d-din, the tenth Sultan of Koniye, who died A.H. 654, although historians give no such successor to that sultan. Few parts of Asiatic history are, indeed, more in want of elucidation than the chronology of the Seljukiyan Sultans of Rum.

We had another claimant for medical advice this evening, in the person of a broken-down tatar, who shared the odah with us, and whose illness being the result of his professional exertions, peculiarly demanded repose as well as medical aid. The old man's spirit was not gone by, however, and when this was represented to him,

"Oh!" he said, "that was impossible." He was an Osmanli, and could not live off his horse; "on and off," he repeated, as if proud of his wild rattling occupation, although his physical capabilities were nearly all gone, and would by his malady, no doubt, have a speedy end put to them. He rode on with us next day part of the way to Ak Serai, but he made a poor attempt of it, stopping at each ruined khan to sit upon the flowery greensward, while his servant lit him a pipe; so we soon left him behind.

In pursuing our road from Sultan Khan to Ak Serai, we had at starting to go round the sources of a rivulet, that rose from six different springs, and thence continued our progress over marshy land, on which were the remains of a causeway. There were also several ruined khans by the road side, besides numerous wells, the descent to which was effected by covered steps. They were only from six to eight feet in perpendicular depth, and the water not good. Three and a half miles from Ak Serai we passed the river of Ulur Irmak, by a stone bridge; this river flows into the Bayaz Su (White River), a little beyond the town, and the fertile and shaded gardens of which we entered immediately after crossing the river.

As we here left the Great Salt Lake, which we had been so many days in encompassing, it may be as well to repeat briefly what we noticed as most interesting concerning it.

It appears when the waters are high to be about forty-five English miles in length by eighteen in extreme width. It is not deep, and is said to dry up to a very considerable extent in summer, leaving in places

nothing but a salt desert. So saturated are its waters, that even at the present season, the bottom of the lake was occupied by a deposit of salt, which, evidently, if the waters were not saturated would be re-dissolved.

It is called by those residing in the neighbourhood Tuz Goli, or the Salt Lake, sometimes also Tuz Choli, or Salt Desert; Aji Goli, Bitter Lake; Koch Hisar Goli, lake of Koch Hisar; and simply Tuzlah, or Saltern. The latter appears to be the favourite name among the Turkomans. In some maps it is marked as Memlehah and Mellalah; the first, incorrectly, as being the Arabic for salt cellar; the second corresponds to the Turkish Tuzlah, a saltern.

The eastern banks of the lake are tenanted by pastoral Turkomans of quiet habits; but the western side is rather travelled over than inhabited by Kurds, who are constantly giving trouble to government by their predatory habits. It was most likely on this account, that Mr. W. J. Hamilton could not find any one to take him to the lake on that side from Ak Shehr, Ilghun, or Koniye.

To the north, where the lake receives no large tributaries, its limits are well defined; but to the south, where it is joined by several large streams of fresh water, and the plain is low and level, these tributary waters spread themselves out, and convert the whole land into extensive marshes, so that it is difficult to determine the exact boundary of the lake, a difficulty that is increased by the fresh water giving origin to a prolific vegetation, that is not met with on the arid and salt shores of its northern extremity.

The lake is said to contain no fish, nor did we find

any molluscous or conchiferous animals; its waters and its banks are, therefore, frequented by few aquatic birds. Although constantly on the look-out, we cannot say that we ever saw a bird on its bosom, though the story of birds being unable to rise if their wings are once dipped in the water, as related by Mr. W. J. Hamilton, is evidently fabulous, as we saw many Turkomans, women, and children, lading their buffaloes in the water, upon whom the saline substances would have crystallized as soon as upon a bird, if such a state of supersaturation could have existed.

A series of barometrical observations gave, for the mean height of the lake above the sea, 2500 feet.

The revenue derived from taxes levied on those who take salt from the lake goes chiefly to the mushir or pasha of Koniye, who deposes the superintendence to the mutesellim or governor of Ak Serai. The representatives of the late Turkoman chieftain Chapwan Oghlu, claim also a portion of this revenue, so, as the whole is said to amount to only 200*l.* sterling per annum, the division leaves but a small revenue.

On our arrival at Ak Serai (the White Palace,) we found that the Christian inhabitants had all gone to celebrate a festival in a neighbouring village, so that we had to remain two hours in the streets exposed to the gaze of the Turkomans, before we could be accommodated with a room.

This town derives great interest, not only from its beautiful position at the foot of hills, watered by a clear bounding stream, and surrounded by fertile gardens, but also from its numerous remains of Mohammedan buildings, chiefly in a rich style of Saracenic architecture.

Some of these monuments are still very perfect, and of great beauty. There is every reason to believe that they belong to the same period as the causeway and its numerous khans, extending from this place to Koniye, and that the White Palace was the summer resort of the Sultans of Iconium, in the times of their greatest power and opulence.

It is also identified in more ancient times with Archelais Colonia, a colony of the Emperor Claudius, which is placed by Pliny upon the Southern Halys; yet there does not appear to be any reason to believe, that the White River had ever any outlet into the valley of the Halys.

We did not get a room till Rassam had quarrelled with the khawass, who, upon being asked to give us a Mohammedan one, generally the most cleanly, answered that, "Gawurs always went to Gawurs." Now this term Gawur was always extremely unpleasant to our companion's ear, and derogatory to his dignity, as not being a Rayah or Christian subject; so he resented the insult by belabouring the Turk with his whip, explaining to him at the same time that he was the infidel and not us.

We were abstracted from the amusement afforded by contemplating this public discussion as to infidelity in religion, by the arrival of an Armenian seraf or banker, who led us to his house and received us in a kindly and homely manner; these Eski (Old) Armenians being much more tolerant and hospitable than the Romish Armenians.

In the evening we were visited by some other Christians, among whom was a Greek, who became very

disputatious. Mr. Rassam had been mentioning the number of languages into which the New Testament had been translated and printed in England, to which the Greek vouchsafed an uncalled-for and unnecessary denial. Mr. R. retorted upon him, by asking him, why they burned the copies with which they had been supplied? "Because," he answered, "they were not correct translations, inasmuch as you had introduced things against fasting, &c." This we promptly refuted, and explained to him and to the Armenians our views on this subject, but not to the satisfaction of the Greek, who upon matters of commerce also showed the same hostility to everything that was English.

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## CHAPTER XV.



Castle of Sevri Hisar.

Iron Village. Ravines with Grottoes. Garsabora, a town of Caves. Castle of Sevri Hisar. Secluded Greek Church. Lose our Way. Monastery of St. James. Kaiser Keuy—Dio Cæsarea. Valley of Soandum. Numerous Caves. Greek Festival for the Dead. Castle of Zingibar—Nora and Cybistra. Plain of Kara Hisar. Fortified Khan. Town of Injeh Su (Narrow Water). General Conclusions. Cappadocian Greeks. Natural Features. Hasan Tagh. Contrasted Configuration. Various Rock Architecture.

As we were leaving Ak Serai, the next morning, the wife of our seruji came to beg that we would not beat him, as she acknowledged that he was rather stupid. We, however, quieted the poor woman's alarms, by saying that we hoped he was acquainted with the road, or he should get no bakshish, but that he certainly would not be beat by us.

We entered hence upon a hilly country, a great

change after our long wanderings on the level plain of Koch Hisar. The variety was also great, level uplands terminating in abrupt cliffs over deep ravines, with shingly and sandy declivities, and which were generally covered with the ruins of rocks, fallen from above.

Eleven miles from Ak Serai we came to Demirchi Keuy (Iron Village), built at the base and ascending the acclivities of a bare hill, which was overhung by rocky cliffs. So many masses of rock, and some of considerable magnitude, had fallen into the village, that it appeared as if overwhelmed, and it was difficult to distinguish rocks from houses. The White River flowed in its front.

Three miles higher up the same valley was the village of Salmadder, remarkable for its numerous grottoes. From hence our route lay over plains and uplands, till we approached the Sevri Hisar hills, when we turned to the right, and entered deep and rocky ravines, at the foot of an outlying spur of the Hasan Tagh. The first we entered contained a few grottoes and caves, which kept increasing in number as we progressed, till we came to what had evidently been a very populous site, and where, superadded to the caves, were ruins of dwelling-houses, arches of stonework, &c., still standing in the valley. This place is called by the Greeks of the present day, Belistermeh.

Ravines of the same character, almost without interruption to the succession of grottoes, many of which were rudely ornamented in front, led us to Gelvedery, where we were equally surprised and delighted to find a large colony of Greeks living in these caves, mostly built up in front, and occupying not only the acclivities of the

hills, but also the face of the precipice to its very top, and stretching up a narrow ravine, which, towards its upper part became choked with these semi-subterranean dwellings.

We had now the pleasure of contemplating what one of these cave villages or towns was when inhabited; and were all anxiety to get into one of the houses, but this anxiety on our part was not at all met by the natives, who were disinclined to receive us, or to hold communication with us. At length we got into a house, where was a caverned odah, but it was full of kha-wasses; so Mr. Rassam repaired to the house of a priest, who acted kindly, and allowed us a room for the night.

These Greeks, although thus secluded from the world, were not poor, and had a goodly stone church in the vale. From what conversation we had with the priests, it appears that they claim a high antiquity to the site of Gelvedery, which there is every reason to believe corresponds to Garsabora.

What interested us greatly, was to endeavour to trace the origin of Greek colonies, in such remote and sequestered spots, but upon this subject they could offer us no information; their fathers' fathers had lived in the same spot, but why it was chosen by them, and what advantages it had ever offered to them, appeared scarcely ever to have been a subject of a moment's thought. It is not many years since the Osmanli government, by a rather enlightened policy, dragged the Christians from the caves of Osiana, Tatlar, &c., and made them reside in the New City, and the troglodites of Gelvedery appear to have much horror of the same fate hanging over them; and thus our questions excited their suspicions,

and awakened fears which all our expressions of kindly and brotherly feeling towards them scarcely sufficed to allay.

*April 25th.* Leaving Gelvedery, we ascended, in a storm of wind and rain, the rocky path, which led us to the crest of the hills of Sevri Hisar. The ascent occupied us upwards of an hour, and at the summit we found the ruins of a castle, upon a conical rock to our left, at the base of which were some curious grottoes. This appears to be the Comitanasse of the Theodosian or Peutingerian tables.

On our descent, the rocky cliffs to our left were burrowed by numerous caves and grottoes, and in the valley below we arrived at a small village of Greek Christians, which was surrounded by culture. Mountains, which extended from the Hasan Tagh to the eastward, constituted a long and impenetrable barrier to the south, and everywhere limited this rocky region in that direction; this village is thus exceedingly confined and hemmed in on all sides by volcanic rocks, as were also all the adjacent valleys, giving to each a wild and isolated character.

The ascent over the next low range of hills brought us to another of these secluded and rocky spots, but what surprised us not a little, was a rather elegantly built Greek church standing in its centre, but with no habitations near it, and gradually falling into ruins. So regular and handsome an edifice, isolated in the midst of such savage scenery, naturally interested our feelings very much, and we could not but sympathize with a religion, which in the hour of distress or persecution, whether on the rock or the desert, still sought refuge and found consolation in the house of prayer.

Our guide did not know his way through this district of alternate rocks and vales, and we were not long in losing our track; nor did we regain it, till, after wandering several hours amidst wood, glens, and marshes, we came upon some hilly heights, from whence we obtained a view of the great plain of Mar Yakub, or of the Monastery of St. James, fertile and cultivated, with numerous villages scattered here and there, and conical mountains rising like domes from the otherwise nearly uniform level.

I descended to this plain by a narrow glen, in which were numerous caves and grottoes, and at the entrance of which was the large village of Kayali. On emerging from this, it was some time before I could find out the party who had descended from the hills by another and less steep path.

As it was raining hard, Russell and I then rode on in search of the village of Mar Yakub, but after proceeding some distance, we found that Mr. Rassam, the seruji, and baggage horses were not coming on, and accordingly retraced our steps, but sought for them in vain. In this dilemma we perceived a peasant in the fields, and galloped after him for information; as might be naturally expected, the poor fellow took to his heels and ran away as fast as he could, so that it was with some difficulty, as the ground was heavy, that we came up with him; and highly delighted he was, to find that we only wanted to know our way to Mar Yakub. This was pointed out in a direction rather different from that which we had taken, so we rode on another hour and a half, when we arrived at the place—a goodly-looking, well-built, and in many respects, interesting Christian

village. Rassam, we found, had not arrived, and we became rather anxious about him, but were fain to accept of an empty stable, without fire or food, and wait for him. At length, late in the evening, he made his appearance. He had taken refuge from the storm in a village near the entrance of the plain, and after refreshing himself, had rode on in the evening to Mar Yakub.

The houses of this village were built all upon the same plan, the frame-work being formed by three or four well-turned semicircular arches, and the interval filled up with rubble and masonry. The basement is always more or less excavated, and the building generally comprises one or two apartments that are subterraneous. This is the ancient style of building still persevered in, and the ruined arches that are to be seen in various parts of Garsaura, and also in deserted Christian towns in Syria and Mesopotamia, were built on a similar plan, and it is a style that appears to have had its origin in its adaptation to extreme climates, affording warmth in winter, and yet being cool in summer.

Mar Yakub, commonly called Malakob, is subject to great inconvenience in summer, being built upon a plain of volcanic sand, which is drifted about by the slightest breeze. In order to protect their cattle and fodder, the inhabitants have paved circular spaces in front of their houses.

There is also no running stream on the plain, and water is obtained only by considerable labour from deep wells, and these are surrounded by stone reservoirs, each family claiming its own; so that the labour of drawing may only be undergone in the cool hours of morning and evening.

There is attached to the same village, one modern church, in part built of the ruins of an older edifice, and dedicated to St. Theodore. It was embellished in the interior with the usual profusely gaudy taste of the Greek church, and, as may be imagined, the gaudiness was here unrelieved by taste or skill. Another church in ruins was dedicated to St. Michael, and there were also the ruins of a small chapel, beautifully constructed, and prettily disposed as a cross, and dedicated to All Souls.

There are also fragments of a monastery or church, where we copied from an altar-piece the only distinct and consecutive letters which had any appearance of antiquity. The inscription was from

“ The Achæan Achatob

To his good (or brave) Father.”

Mar Yakub altogether presents an appearance that reminds one of a remote antiquity, and of what one would always wish to see—a town of old times, preserving all its forms and customs. The houses of hewn stone with their lofty arches, the clean paved courts, the numerous wells with their white and massive troughs grouped around them; and, rising above all, the tall ruinous churches partook of the same primitive and antique simplicity. The dress of the inhabitants is also peculiar; we had an opportunity of seeing this to advantage, for the evening of our arrival a marriage procession paraded the streets. We could not help thinking, on contemplating such a scene, that perhaps such were the villages when St. Paul himself “went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches.”

After visiting the different ecclesiastical edifices in

the morning, we started across the plain towards a conical hill, called Chevri, on the top of which a festival is held by the Christians at Easter. Passing over a low range of rocky hills, we came to Kaiser Keuy, a small village with a ruined church and some other relics of ancient times, but now inhabited by but few Greeks. One of the most fierce and ill-looking men we had met with, for a long time, came to answer our inquiries. He examined us with a more than usual scrutinizing scowl, and it was certainly not for want of will, that he did not appropriate to himself some of our property. This place would appear by its name to connect itself with the Dio Cæsarea of antiquity, and may have be encalled Kaiser Keuy, as Cæsarea is now called Kaiseriye.

Our road now lay over a hilly country, having to the right a conical hill, bearing the ruins of a church, and called Chiring Kilisa (Bell Church). About five miles from Kaiser Keuy, we came to some ruins of a village, where, as at Mar Yakub, the houses had been arched and paved in front. There were also some grottoes and excavations around.

Immediately connected with these ruins was a narrow and deep hewn passage that led down a steep cliff into the beautiful and remarkable vale of Soandum, now called Sowanli Dereh\*.

\* This word is written by Mr. Renouard as Soghanli Dereh (Onion Valley), but Soghanli, *an onion*, is pronounced Soran, as Aghatsh, *wood*, is pronounced Aratsh; and we took particular care to obtain the correct name of the valley, which is Sowanli Dereh, and has no reference to the modern growth of onions, as far as we could learn.



The cliffs at the head of the valley were not very high, but became loftier as we proceeded downwards. Already at this extremity the vertical portions were occupied by excavations of various forms and kinds. The middle of the vale was watered by a rivulet, the banks of which soon became verdant with trees, shrubs, and gardens. As the valley widened, and the cliffs rose higher, the caves became more numerous, often ascending in tiers, one set above the other, some open, others partly closed, and sometimes continuous for a distance, with little apertures for light dotting the line of their extent, and at an elevation, and on the front of precipices which the most daring troglodyte would scarcely be expected to scale. Ruins began also now to show themselves at the foot of the acclivities, and in the valley pathway. Modern habitations were also met with.

Our usual bad weather marred the pleasure which we otherwise should have derived from inspecting this remarkable valley and its caves, and we were obliged to hurry on to Orta Keuy (Middle Village), tenanted by Greeks, and where, arriving rather hastily and unexpectedly, we frightened the inhabitants, who, in their panic, shut themselves up in their houses, and would hold no communication with us, although it was pouring torrents. At length, after toiling up rocky streets, and knocking each of us at separate doors, till the very rocks re-echoed with the clamour, we got hold of a stray being, and having informed him that we were Christians and not robbers, we obtained a further hearing, when the villagers, now heartily ashamed of their cowardice and inhospitality, made amends by ushering us into

a very cleanly and comfortable room attached to the church.

In the evening we attended divine service, previous to which a female came to us and offered for sale a manuscript, consisting of a few leaves stitched together, and containing a Greek prayer. Towards the conclusion of the service, a man entered the church with a basket containing some boiled wheat, in which a lighted candle was stuck. This was put down near the sanctuary, and the priest came out attended by two boys, one of whom carried a bundle of books, similar to that which we had been offered, and which he handed one by one to the priest, who mumbled over the contents with great industry and dispatch, and passed them to the boy on the other side; the chanters all the while hymning *Kyrie Eleison* at the top of their voices. At the conclusion of service the wheat was distributed to all present. Is this a remnant of the heathen custom of distributing lentils at funerals\*? When we questioned the priest on the subject, he gravely assured us that it was a good thing for the dead in purgatory.

We were also told a ridiculous tradition here, which is not worth relating, as to how Soandum fell into the power of the Turks, through the treachery of a young Greek girl.

The ensuing day we continued our descent of the valley; branch glens began to open on both sides, exhibiting, although in less frequency, excavations similar to those of the main valley, and which are, in fact, prolonged from its head to the hill of Zingibar, a distance of about twelve miles. As we approached the

\* See *PLUTARCH'S Life of Crassus*.

town of Devehli Kara Hisar (Black Camel Castle), the valley became filled with luxuriant gardens and shadowy groves. It was a fine clear noon, and we stopped a short time in these gardens to take a meridian observation, riding in afterwards to the town, where we were accommodated in the odah of the menzil-khan.

Immediately after our arrival, Russell and I started for the castle of Zingibar. This castle, one of the most remarkable ruins in these districts, stands on the loftiest of two cones, of a nearly isolated group of hills. It is a vast pile of building, composed of a great variety of parts, all difficult of access, from steep cliffs or artificial walls or slopes. The external castle is defended by walls and towers, and there are curtains in advance of the more exposed parts; within are numerous compartments irregularly huddled together. One portion is again inclosed within its own walls and forms a kind of capitol or castle of itself.

This castle has been identified with Cybistra, which is chiefly remarkable on account of its having been the military station of Cicero, while watching the motions of the Parthian army which threatened Cilicia and Cappadocia from the side of Syria.

The castle of Nora or Neroassus, celebrated as the stronghold of Eumenes, appears on a variety of grounds to be the same as Cybistra, and the descriptions left to us of that castle,—whether by Plutarch, who mentions the great inconvenience to the garrison, from the narrowness of the space in which they were confined, inclosed as it was with small houses, or by Diodorus,—agree very closely, both in character and in position, with the castle now called Zingibar.

The weather turned to rain in the afternoon, and it continued to pour all the time that we were making our examinations and admeasurements, a labour which occupied no small time, and as we had sent on our change of clothes from Nev Shehr to Kaiseriye, it was on our return to Kara Hisar, the fifth night in succession, that we had to sit, well drenched with wet, and without the means of changing our clothes.

28th. This morning we started over the plain of Kara Hisar, which extends from the foot of low hills to the west to the base of the Arjish Tagh (Mount Argæus) and the more southerly Ali Tagh in the east. The lower portions, especially near to Mount Argæus, were occupied by marshes and lakes, which present the remarkable phenomenon, of having, at an elevation of 3400 feet, no outlet.

The vegetation of the plain was monotonous, but the scenery, from the presence of the giant Argæus and the snow-clad Taurus, was varied and magnificent. While the pinnacle heights of these mountains rose up into the clouds, they had thrown from their acclivities long streams of lava, which advanced like dark claws of rock into the marsh and lake below.

On this plain we passed a ruinous khan, with an outer wall, having round towers at the angles, and in the interior, a quadrangular building, pierced with loopholes for defence. It is painful to think, what a state of insecurity these countries have been in from time immemorial, that a travelling caravan should have to seek even a night's rest in a fortified mansion.

Beyond this plain we came to some low cliffs of scoriaceous lava, one of the streams from Mount Argæus,

the surface of which, uninviting as it appeared, was partitioned out for cultivation of the yellow berry by the industrious Christians of Injeh Su.

Shortly afterwards we arrived at the town so called, which is most remarkably situated in a ravine, built across at its entrance by a lofty and strong wall, which fronts at once a jami and a khan, and affords a passage by a well defended gateway into the rock-inclosed town.

The ravine is traversed by the rivulet that gives its name to the town, Injeh Su (Narrow Water), and expands at its upper part where it opens into another rocky valley. Both the declivities of the hills and the hollow of the valley are all occupied by dwelling houses, the Turks and Greeks having each about 750 houses, but the Christian population exceeds the Mohammedan. The houses are for the most part substantial and cleanly; there are also many grottoes.

Injeh Su is governed by a mutesellim, who is sent from Constantinople; the produce of the taxes being devoted to the maintenance of the Selatyn, or mosque, called Mahmudiyeh, in the Osmanli capital. It was indebted to a certain vizir, by name Kara Mustapha, for its khan and attached jami, which close up the entrance of the ravine so effectually.

At this place we quitted Garsauritis, to enter the district of Cæsarea, but the first-mentioned province of Cappadocia is so interesting, and has been hitherto so little explored, that it cannot be passed over without some remarks.

This ancient province is to be viewed as eminently a rocky country, remarkable for its wild and stony districts, and its secluded glens and ravines, with their

picturesque outline; but it has also fertile plains and productive declivities: wood is generally wanting; it covers some portions of the hills, but dry dung and the roots of *Astragalus* are generally used for fuel.

Whether the Greeks of this part of Cappadocia willingly repaired to the ravines and fastnesses, with their subterranean dwellings, that belong to this singular country, by predilection for the morose seclusion and religious retirement which sprang from a young and devout, but ill-understood Christianity; whether they simply remained around the ancient abodes of their fathers, and thus escaped the dispersion and extermination that fell to the lot of the town dwellers; or whether, as is most likely, they sought refuge in those caverned fastnesses from the successive invasions of Persians, Syro-Circassians, Turkomans, and last of all Osmanlis, the present race can tell you nothing: yet certain it is, that these caverned dwellings, and chapels, and tombs, are as characteristic of the Christian Cappadocian Greeks, as stone dwellings and churches on the naked rocky plain, without culture or water, are of an early Syrian Christianity.

The present condition of the Cappadocian Greeks shews itself under a very favourable aspect. We have seen, that while in Gelvedery and Sowanli, they have remained buried in their caves, they have in other places issued from these, and congregated in now flourishing and cheerful towns, as Nev Shehr and Injeh Su. In these places there is an aspect of ease, freedom, and prosperity, which never belongs to Mohammedan towns. Children are playing about, flowers are trained up the house walls, females sit at their verandahs, and

trade is bustling in the market; add to this, that the Cappadocian Greeks are, generally speaking, pleasing and unreserved in their manners, and their conversation indicated a very high degree of intelligence and civilization, where there are so few books, and so little education, and consequently, little learning.

In the villages, the men, marrying early, repair to Constantinople and Smyrna to trade, while to the women is left the care of the house, the flock and the vineyard; an evil follows from this, that the females become masculine and full of violent passions, and when the men return to their homes, they are often very far from finding an echo to the subdued tones and more polished manners which they had learnt to appreciate in the civilized world. The priests who remain at home might be supposed to have some counteracting influence, but they are often old, have rarely above moderate capacities, and are frequently disregarded and disrespected.

But apart from these minor considerations, these Cappadocian Greeks certainly constitute a tribe themselves, distinguished by their manners, their habits, and their independent prosperity and civilization, and not so much surpassing other Greeks in Asia Minor by their progressive civilization, as excelling them in having become less changed, and less humbled and prostrated, than other Greek communities are by four centuries of Osmanli tyranny.

The province also is remarkable from its natural features, its configuration and structure, as well as from its remains of art, its caves and ruins.

The north-eastern part is characterized by its great

upland of lava, broken down into cliffs, or denuded into round-topped ranges of hills, terminating in the marshy country at the north and western foot of Mount Argæus, but even more by its volcanic tuffas and sands, rent into deep and narrow glens, studded with cones and pinnacles, also the effect of disintegration, and often presenting an infinite variety of singular forms; and lastly by rocks and precipices, excavated almost wherever such present themselves, with vast multitudes of caves that have served or serve still, for dwellings, chapels, monasteries, and tombs, exhibiting forms and styles of rock architecture which vary with the locality of each series of excavations, and present a somewhat different system in places at little geographical distance from one another.

The north-west portion of Garsauritis derives its peculiar character, which is less remarkable and of a more inhospitable nature, from a long range of granitic mountains; rocky and picturesque in the Tash Tellah; undulating in the Sari Karaman; stony and wild again at Chamurli; bold and rocky, with castellated remains, in the Kojah Tagh; with abrupt and truncated cones at Toklu Kaleh; and, lastly, grouped and mountainous in the Sambulak Tagh, where the same range advances to meet the mountains of Galatia, only separated by the Halys, which flows through a deep and narrow valley between the two. This is the district, in the rocky portions of which are the sites of Nitazas and Ozzala; Nysia, on a fertile plain; and Parnassus, on the verdant slopes of the beautiful and mountain-inclosed vale of the Halys.

Central Garsauritis is characterised by the Akajuk



mountain, of a conical or saddle-backed form, clad with greensward, but not wooded, and from its loftiness visible from a large portion of Galatia and all Morimene. Connected with this mountain are many rocky offsets, in the deep valleys of which are the lakes called Devehli, Tursufu, and others. This district, corresponding to the ancient Argustana, is now tenanted by a tribe of Kurds, who are called after the mountain, the Akajuk Ashirat.

The Tattæa Palus or Great Salt Lake, and its accompanying plain, is acknowledged to have been in ancient Phrygia, and formed part of the kingdom made up by Antony for Amyntas.

The south-west quarter of the province is pre-eminently distinguished from the others by the lofty summit of Hasan Tagh, rising upwards of 8000 feet above the level of the sea. This mountain has a nearly conical form, and is said to preserve patches of snow throughout the year. Its western and north-western base is bounded by the plain of Perta; to the south, a low undulating rocky and volcanic country stretches to Kara Bunar, while a low level plain separates it from the Karajah Tagh. To the east, it is prolonged by one or two cones, and then a chain of mountains, not rising as high as the culminating point; these shut up Garsauritis to the south, but lowering towards the district of Sarima, or Saluberrima, allowed there of the passage of the great road from Tyana, Cæna, and Andabalis, which came round the mountains to join that of Archelais to Ancyra, or of Perta to Amorium.

Hasan Tagh, from wherever viewed, is a most picturesque and striking object, and is visible in almost every

direction from a great distance. Like Arjish Tagh, it is eminently of volcanic origin, and it has spread over the whole country to the north-east, a vast deposit of effused and irrupted volcanic matters, which present great scenic as well as geological interest.

The nature of the rocks influences the configuration of the districts in which they occur, in a very material degree. The compact uniform products of effusion being spread in vast beds over the rocks of aggregation, give rise to plains and uplands, slightly undulating, with sometimes stair-like terraces; but where there is water, as along the course of rivers and rivulets, the subjacent rocks, generally of a friable nature, are carried away; while the more compact above are tumbled down, leaving vertical cliffs above and acclivities of sand below, with scattered masses of rock, with which the habitations of men are so intermingled, that it is some time before the traveller can distinguish them from the ruins of the cliff. The description of Demirchi Keuy gives but a faint idea of the profusion of this kind of scenery. The face of the rocks above, as well as the declivities of sand below, when not covered with fragments, are in many places studded with grottoes.

On approaching the foot of Hasan Tagh and the head of the waters, the tributary streams are more numerous, and the ravines, in consequence, more frequent; sometimes as many as three or four meet together within a short distance, and all crowded with excavations of the nest-like mansions of the living and the dead.

At other times, the volcanic rocks, of the sandy kind, are broken up and disrupted by basaltic lavas. The hills then become loftier and more rocky; the valleys

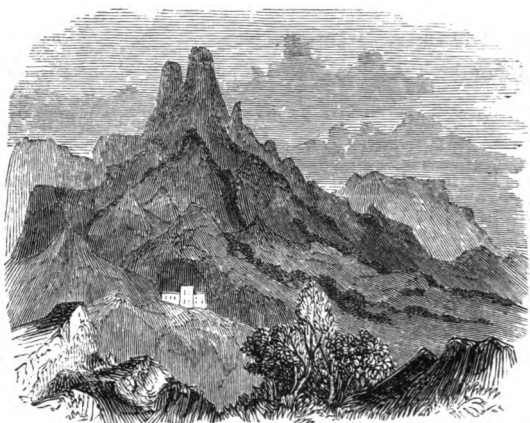
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are dark and infertile; there are few vertical cliffs or secluded ravines; but instead of these, long barren courses of black lava, and stony and pathless wildernesses. Such are the Sevri Hisar hills and the country immediately east of them, the district of Comitinasso. Isolated and fertile little basins occur in the midst of these naked districts, and here again are found the habitations of men and the ruins of stone churches built by their ancestors. The Cappadocian Greeks are not, however, confined to these wild spots, so difficult of access and so uninviting to the eye. The small town of Mar Yakub has been described as situated in the midst of a fertile plain abounding in villages, and Kaiser Keuy (Dio-Cæsarea) is at the head of the same district.

The south-east quarter of the province partakes of both features: of grassy uplands, with solitary hills, sometimes with old churches on their summits, as at Chiring Kilisa; and of cultivated plains, with little water or lakes without outlets, and out of which rise dome-shaped hills of volcanic origin, often the seat of superstition, as Chevri Tagh, or prouder and loftier summits, as the Argæus, but of similar nature. On the confines of this district we find again, at Sowanli Dereh, at Evdamasin, Injeh Su, and other places, the same deep-cut valleys, with the same repetition of cliff and cave scenery, and that variety of rock architecture which in these districts alone would supply the archæologist and the draughtsman with inexhaustible resources for his pen and pencil, and which awaken the traveller's interest and fix his attention at almost every step throughout the whole of this remarkable province of ancient Cappadocia.

## CHAPTER XVI.



Mount Argæus.

**Kaiseriye. Armenian Christians. Character of the City. Population and Antiquities. Mount Argæus—Arjish Tagh. Start from Kaiseriye. Group in a Market-Place. Armenians not Christians. Effects of the Bastinado. A fierce Ayyan. Enter Anti-Taurus.**

LEAVING Injeh Su for Kaiseriye, we turned round a great current of lava thrown out by Mount Argæus, and followed a line, between impassable marsh on the one side, and rocks on the other, the latter of which we were occasionally driven upon, by the encroachments of the water, when the path became rude, stony, and difficult. We observed, shortly after starting, a sepulchral chapel to the northward, beyond which were some more ancient ruins, now designated as Viran Shehr (the Ruined City), and probably the site of Odogâ.

The Saslik (Marsh), which is composed of alternate marsh and lakes, and occupies the plain at the northern

foot of Mount Argæus, is chiefly supplied by the numerous springs that burst out from the foot of the mountain, in the same direction.

Beyond these basaltic lavas, with frequent springs, we came to a more open valley, everywhere covered with gardens, and making a short ascent over a mountain called Ulanli, we passed by what was, apparently, a subsidence in the rock, like the hollow of a crater. Hence we descended upon the plain of Kaiseriye, passing, before we reached the town, a long peninsulated hill called Besh Teppeh (Five Hills), at the extremity of which is a ruined castellated building, and upon which is said to have been built a portion of the ancient town of Cæsarea.

We were happy enough to obtain at Kaiseriye a good cleanly apartment, attached to the chief church of the Eski (old) Armenians, generally so called, to distinguish them from the Roman Catholic Armenians, but, who are Armenians, strictly speaking. We generally found these people more kindly-disposed and more communicative than the Greeks or the Romish Armenians, although both these sects look upon the others as scarcely Christians.

There was a daily school for boys in the same yard, and we took pleasure not only in visiting it, but in receiving as many pupils as chose to come in to us during play hours. We even got some of them to assist us during our night observations, and nothing struck them so much, as the great length of the astronomical calculations.

We had also frequent and long conversations with some of the priests and the schoolmaster, and, as we

always attended divine service, this ultimately assumed a very friendly and communicative character, although they frequently alluded to the fact that several priests were at present confined in a neighbouring monastery, whither they had been removed from Smyrna and Constantinople, in consequence of their connexion with the American missionaries in those places.

The priest, whose duty it was to officiate the ensuing Sabbath, prepared himself by a week's seclusion and fasting. Thus there was always one of them, who dwelt in a lonely cell, close by the church door, and who, although he visited us sometimes, still appeared to spend the greater part of the day, as also the night, by the light of a flickering lamp, in religious contemplation or observances.

These Armenians are in the habit of practising nearly as many ceremonies as the Catholics and Greek Church, at least their mummery, in the eyes of a Protestant, appears much the same, yet the three sects mutually blame each others' rites. When we attended their service, they placed us between the railing and the altar, a place of honour, being among the priests and chanters. The officiating priest was very gaudily dressed, and bore a gilt crown on his head; the boys were also arrayed in bright coloured silks, with brocade or gilt fringes, but the other priests retained their sombre hues, and presented a strange contrast to the gaiety around; during the service the boys brought us consecrated bread to eat.

There are three Armenian monasteries in the environs of Kaiseriye, Surp Karabat, Surp Daniel, Surp Serkis (St. George), and Peri Karabat; the last, a ruin on the

conical hill called Ali Tagh, between the city and Mount Argæus. The Greeks have two monasteries, Yamar Tash and Sinjah Dereh.

It is curious that, while within the city the Armenian population quadruples the Greek, the reverse is the case in the surrounding villages. In the jurisdiction of Kaiseriye, not including the city, the Greek population amounts to 5730 souls, the Armenian only to 287, monasteries not included; within the city there are 1100 Greeks, 5200 Armenians, and 12,176 Mohammedans. The system of hemi-subterranean dwellings is preserved in several of the neighbouring villages and rocky valleys.

Kaiseriye, like most other cities in Asia Minor, although encumbered with ruins, presents a picturesque appearance. Its central part is occupied by a castle with high walls and moat around it. Its market is extensive, and is well stocked with the usual articles of demand in these countries, including many of British manufacture. The commercial communication between this place and Smyrna is constantly kept up, and our commercial interests are now further ensured by the establishment of a Consular Agent at the same spot.

It is impossible, without encroaching too much upon our limits, to recapitulate the varied fortunes of this city. It appears, however, that the original population was Armenian, for their annals relate that Mishak, who is called Moshok by the Greek historians, founded a city here, surrounded it with stone walls, and gave to it the name of Mishak after himself, but the Cappadocians, unable to pronounce it correctly, called it Mazak, whence

afterwards, when it became the Cæsarea of the Romans, it was distinguished as Cæsarea Mazaca; it was also called Eusebia.

The Persians ruled here, but probably brought few permanent residents; so with the Romans, whose general in the time of Shapur (Sapor I.) appears to have been a Cappadocian Greek\*. The Syro-Circassian government was one of a licentious soldiery, which may have mingled its blood with, but did not characterize the population of the place. The passage of the Christian Crusaders was the most transient of all.

It was, probably, at the first contact of Mohammedans with the Armenians and Cappadocian Greeks, that the former in greater part withdrew to their own countries, and the latter began to retire to the caves and fastnesses of Garsauritis and the environs.

The population of the Turkomans, under the independent princes of the Seljukiyan dynasty, would under these circumstances soon become predominant, and it is not probable that subsequent Osmanli pre-eminence has ever much affected the latter engrafted population of the city.

The antiquities of Kaiseriye have not been yet fully explored, but as far as we could see were chiefly Mohammedan. We found several tombs with Greek and some with Latin inscriptions, but there are few monuments belonging to the same ages in the city itself.

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\* One of the Persian kings, according to Strabo, Ariarathe I., but more likely Ariarathe III., who was conquered and slain by Perdiccas, joined Cataonia to this satrapy. Under the Macedonians it was divided into ten prefectures, till Tiberius declared it to be a Roman province.



The number of Mohammedan structures, including imams, kumbets, ziyarets, tekiyyehs, &c. is very great, and they also rise out of the plain on every side around the city.

A tradition assigns the site of the ancient Mishak or Mazaca to the "Five Hills;" this will account for the paucity of ancient edifices.

The river of Sarimsak (Garlick) flows at a distance of 2960 yards from the town under a bridge and causeway, near which are some Mohammedan ruins. It is here eight yards in width, and is soon lost, like the rivulet of Kaisariyeh, in the great Sazlik or Marsh, which again empties itself by the Boghaz Kupri (Pass of the Bridge) into the Kizil Irmak or Halys.

The vale of Kaisariyeh, which is abundantly fertile and rich, is bounded to the north, by the low hills of Khidr Iliyas, so called from a village and church of that name; to the west, by the mountain of Ulanli and the marsh; to the east, by low hills at the head of the Sarimsak river; and to the south, by Argish Tagh, the ancient Mount Argæus, and its various offsets\*.

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\* Our attention had been especially called by the Royal Geographical Society to the question, as to what river is the Melas of Strabo. The answer is very simple. Strabo, by inadvertence or otherwise, described two Melas'; for the river that sprang from the side of Mount Argæus, forty stadia or four geographical miles from Kaisariyeh, and which, by the bursting of the dykes overflowed the land of the Galatians, and which he calls the Melas, could not have been the Tokmah Su, as other travellers before us (particularly Mr. Hamilton and Captain Callier) have shewn that the rivulets around Kaisariyeh all flow into the Sazlik or marsh, and empty themselves by the Kara Su into the Kizil Irmak or Halys. This little bit of hydrography we examined more

The noble mountain of Argæus, called by the Turks Arjish Tagh, is the loftiest peak in Asia Minor. Almost perpetually involved in clouds during our stay at Kaiseriye, we had only an occasional glance, and that generally at sunrise, of its extreme summit and it being the season of the year in which the snow-line descends to within a few hundred feet of the plain, this circumstance put all attempts at an ascent out of the question.

The axis of the mountain appears, from a number of observations, to be about ten miles from its circumference, considering it for the moment to be isolated on every side, which it is not. This would give a mean area for the whole mountain of 300, and a circumference of 60 miles. Its elevation, as determined by Mr. Hamilton\*, is 12,809 feet.

The tradition as given by Strabo, that both the Euxine and the Mediterranean may be described from its summit must be received with doubts, since its distance from the Black Sea is 170 British miles, and

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carefully, and traced the largest tributary of this basin of the Sarimsak river to near its sources.

Strabo, however, in another place, describes the Melas as flowing through Armenia Minor into the Euphrates, and it is generally admitted, that the same river gave its name to the Cappadocian province and the town of Melitene; it was, indeed, from this circumstance, that both D'Anville and Rennell supposed the Melas to flow through the city of Malatye. Thus, then, Strabo either adverts to the Melas as the river, that by bursting its boundaries overflowed the country of the Galatians, by inadvertence, or there were then two Melas' as there are now many dozen Kara Sus (Black Waters) in the same country.

\* This gentleman has got the reputation in the country of remaining buried under the perpetual snows of the mountain.

from the Mediterranean 110 miles, with lofty ridges of mountains also intervening on both sides. There is also a tradition that the Romans had a castle on its summit where Tiberius Cæsar used to sit, but I suspect this belongs to some other hill in the neighbourhood.

The Armenians have preserved a written chronicle of the earthquake that ravaged the city of Kaiseriye in August, 1835, but it contains little of any interest to the philosophy of these destructive phenomena. It appears that it commenced two hours before sunrise, on the morning of Thursday, August the 1st, and was accompanied by a loud noise, the shocks being repeated at intervals for ten hours after that time. Many menarehs and lofty buildings were overthrown. The record says that there perished as many as 665 persons; the houses thrown down are mentioned, rather hyperbolically, as beyond enumeration.

Several of the neighbouring villages, especially such as were built in ravines, suffered severely. At Tagh-ler, seventeen houses were destroyed by the fall of a rock. At other villages, there was also considerable loss of life and property.

Having completed our astronomical labours at this city, we took our departure on Thursday, 9th of May, up the river of Sarimsak, passing first a Mohammedan ruin, and afterwards several Greek villages, in as many successive ravines, and so sparingly supplied with water, that their separate brooks dried up almost immediately beyond the habitations.

Passing a cliff of volcanic rock, the road thence wound among low hills, in the midst of which was a small lake, on which numerous bald coots were swim-

ming amidst flowering crops of alisma. The birds were, however, wary enough not to allow us to come within shot of them.

After three hours' sharp riding from Kaiseriye, we came to Kuzuk, a large village, near which, and on the banks of the river, was an artificial mound nearly 700 yards long, with gardens around, growing on ruins of buildings. This, by distance from Cæsarea, corresponds to the Sorpara of the Peutingerian Tables, which was on the great road from that city to Sebaste.

Hence we entered a pass, from which we issued to join the banks of the river, where was a ruined jami and other Mohammedan remains. The valley of the Sarimsak now began to narrow much, and the stream had become a mere rivulet; we crossed it by a wooden bridge, the village of Sarimsak, whence it derives its name, being about two miles further up the same valley to our right.

At this point we commenced ascending grassy hills, from which we descended to a deep and nearly circular valley, the lower part of which was occupied by a lake, the remainder either marsh or cultivated, and dotted with villages.

This lake is salt. It was at the present season three miles in length by one in width, but is said to be nearly dry in summer. It is farmed for 40,000 piastres, or 400*l.*, annually, which would make it more valuable than the Great Salt Lake of Koch Hisar. Forty piastres (8*s.*) are paid for a cart-load of salt, and ten (2*s.*) for that of a camel or bullock.

On the south side of the valley is an old khan, called Sultan Khán, and the road at certain seasons of the year

has to be carried in that direction. On the same line is Tuz Hisar (Salt Castle). We crossed, however, by the middle of the valley to the large village of Pallas, where we obtained accommodation for the night in a public odah.

*May 10th.* Crossing the lacustrine plain, we arrived at its extremity in less than an hour, and began the ascent of barren hills, only relieved by one fertile vale, with the village of Sari Oghlan. Beyond this, on some further bleak heights, was an artificial mound and ruins, another old station; passing this, we began to descend, and sweeping suddenly round, entered the posting town of Gelermek, which contains 200 houses of Armenians and 70 of Mohammedans.

It was scarcely noon, and the day fine, the odah or the menzil-khan (post-house) was crowded, and the lazy travelling khawasses who occupied it were smoking by a large fire, so that we preferred sitting at the door while horses were being got ready. This was a source of much gratification to the inhabitants and idlers in the market-place, who gathered round to examine us and our accoutrements; it was equally amusing to us, who found much in such a group to excite our interest. The market-place had a most wholesome aspect of business; there were numerous well-supplied shops, besides farriers, saddlers, &c., all in the hands of Armenians, who, as usual, constituted the industrious and productive class; there were also sitting with the Christian tradesman, haughty imperturbable Osmanli beys, as every man who holds a few acres of land is called, or equally proud mollahs were to be seen slowly pacing the streets; tatars and khawasses, with whip in hand, blustered

about and ordered every one; while more particularly examining us were groups of Kurd peasants, their clothes in tatters, their hair long and dishevelled, a formidable stick in their hands, and a low sullen scowl on their countenances; here and there among them was a Kurd from the mountains, of a better class, with red turbaned kerchief, short jacket, his gun behind, powder-belt and cartridges before, and a haughty bearing, with at the same time a stronger and more active frame than the Osmanli.

At length the necessary horses came, with the exception of one, and that one was not forthcoming. After waiting some time, it was resolved that Russell and I should drive on the baggage-horses slowly, and Rassam offered kindly to wait with the seruji. We accordingly proceeded in advance, descending into a low marshy flat, which, while waiting for our companion, we beat in vain for game. We then ascended a more hilly country, which terminated to the south in a mountain range, having an Arabo-Turkish name, Khanzir Tagh (Wild Boar Mountain), the summits of which were still clad with snow. On our right were Sarichek Tagh (Yellowish Mountain) and Shemah Tagh (Candle Mountain).

Rassam and the seruji overtook us on the ascent, and we soon afterwards gained the Armenian village of Insanli, secluded in a ravine of snow-white gypsum.

The poor Armenians of Insanli, when we conversed with them in the evening, did not acknowledge themselves as Christians; to the leading question when put to them, they answered, "No,—Armeni." They were afraid to claim a title to themselves which is peculiarly

arrogated by the schismatic papists of their own church, and by the Greeks, both of whom unite in denying the right of the old Armenians to designate themselves by the glorious epithet of followers of Christ.

*May 11th.* From Insanli, the ascent still continued for some distance, till, passing the crest of the hills, we descended by Kaya Bunar (Rock Spring) to an extensive level and fertile plain, crowded with villages, and watered by several rivulets, the largest and chief of which was the Yanak Chaye (Burnt River).

Passing marshes and rivulets, we came to the village of Chaushun, opposite to which, and at the south extremity of the plain, was the village of Kizil ja Kushla (Red Winter Quarters), having an artificial mound and ruins, and probably the site of the Armaza of the Itineraries.

Shortly afterwards, we arrived at Shehr Kishla (Town Winter Quarters), the residence of the ayyan of the district, and a posting village. On entering this village, and approaching the ayyan's house, we were somewhat startled by the loud and piteous moans of a lusty young man who was writhing on the ground, surrounded by men and women. Our first impression was that we had stumbled on a case of plague or cholera; the next that he was a maniac, which his struggles and contortions appeared to confirm; but we were wrong in both conjectures, for on inquiry it turned out to be a severe case of bastinado on the soles of the feet, which appears to be a very painful punishment.

It was our intention, at this point, to quit the great road to Sivas (Sebaste), and to enter the hilly country to the southward, in search of the ruins of Viran Shehr

(Ruined City), to which our attention had been called by the Society; but on visiting the ayyan, and expressing our wishes to that effect, we met with unexpected difficulties, and the most resolute opposition was made to our taking the horses out of the great road. Besides the direct opposition, openly expressed, all the difficulties which imagination could suggest and ill-will devise, were urged to deter us from our purpose. The incompatibility of some of these objections was quite amusing; at one moment it was all forest and marsh in our way; at another, dry plains, with no water to drink, or wood to make a fire with; but, above all, the country was infested by hungry Kurds, who would neither spare us, nor, what he cared much more for, his horses. We met his arguments for a time with good humour and submission, but gaining nothing by this, we asserted our rights as guaranteed by our firman, and said that we positively must have the horses, for we had taken care, being prepared for these difficulties, that a separate clause should be introduced into the firman authorizing horses off the great road, and in what direction we might be pleased to go. We should, however, perhaps have failed in this, with the inflexible old Turk, who was as fierce and as strong as a pasha in his own little jurisdiction, had it not been for an officer of Hafiz Pasha's army, who luckily happened to be present, and who, of a more intelligent and obedient disposition, represented that the Sultan's firman was entitled to respect. The wrangle being at length decided in our favour, the ayyan was polite enough to order us a dinner of sour milk, eggs, and cheese, which we preferred taking in the open air, and



sitting not far from the poor fellow who had alarmed us by his moans, but who had now become quite calm, and was relating his past pains to the bystanders. He was, I believe, an Armenian, and was now connected by a strong chain to the manacles of a villainous-looking Kurd, whose neck was also encumbered with an iron collar. They had been robbing on the highway, or more properly, pathway.

It rained hard on leaving Shehr Kishla. Our road lay up the courses of the Yanak Chaye, and in little more than an hour's time we left the plain and entered upon low hills, at a point where the river divided into two streams, our party following the south-easterly tributary. We travelled three hours along the valley of the waters of this stream, which meandered very much; there were no habitations nor cultivation, but a superabundant growth of wild fennel.

Arrived at the springs forming the head waters of the river, we found there the village of Abasilli, situated at an elevation of 4680 feet, the hills around dotted with patches of snow. It is curious, that the head waters of the Yanak Chaye appear to have been regarded by Ptolemy as one of the sources of the Halys, probably because the range of Anti-Taurus, in which they are situated, divides the watershed of the Halys from that of the Sarus and Pyramus rivers.

The inhabitants of Abasilli were troublesome mountaineers and thievishly disposed. We found here that Viran Shehr was to the eastward, and out of our way, and the reports of the wildness and insecurity of the district were repeated with many evident exaggerations.

We therefore determined upon leaving the baggage at Abasilli, and obtaining a guide to the ruins, but no single man would go, so we were forced to pay two, taking, besides, the seruji; and Mr. Rassam, who at first proposed stopping behind, kindly joined the party.

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## CHAPTER XVII.



Viran Shehr.

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Viran Shehr (Ruined City). Shohair (Little Town). Saracenic Road. Tunuz—ancient Tonoza. Black Sanctuary. Agricultural Armenians. Pass of the Beard-Stroker. Town of Gurun. Sources of the Tokmah Su—Melas. Derendah—ancient Ptdari. Christian Inhabitants. Castle. Historical Reminiscences.

*May 12th.* THE necessary arrangements being completed, we made an early start this morning, well armed, light, and unencumbered with baggage, for the rocky wilderness in which Viran Shehr was reported to be situated.

We first crossed the hills which constitute the crest of Anti-Taurus in this part, and are designated as Yel Gadugi, a Kurd name. They are at an elevation of 5400 feet above the level of the sea, and still had patches of snow upon their summits and acclivities.

From the crest of these hills, we observed an extensive plain of chalk stretching before us, about twenty miles in length by ten in width. From the elevation at which we stood, this plain appeared almost as an uniform level; but when travelled over, not only presented slight undulations, but was cut by the tributaries of the Sihun into ravines, with nearly perpendicular cliffs, varying from 50 to 200 feet in depth.

Passing an artificial mound with ruins, called Kushakli Uyk (the Mound of Winter Quarters), we crossed the head-quarters of the Sihun, here a rivulet three yards wide by two feet in depth, and said to have its origin at a place called Cheralik, three hours' distance. This was an important point to establish in the hydrography of Asia Minor, because, as we had traced up the tributaries to the Halys to the foot of Anti-Taurus on the opposite side, and found them immediately succeeded on this by tributaries to the Sihun flowing into the Mediterranean near Tarsus, it is evidently impossible that there can be any stream flowing from the foot of Mount Argæus, or any point to the westward of this, into the Euphrates.

A short distance beyond, we passed the ruins of a village, the peaceful inhabitants of which had been driven away by the Kurds, who have long since arrogated to themselves these districts. We crossed the upland for two hours, when we came to a deep ravine, containing another tributary to the Sihun, and down which we travelled about an hour, during which we roused a hare out of its covert, almost the only living thing we had yet met with. We then turned up the valley of a larger tributary to the same river, whose

waters were remarkably clear, and flowed onwards in a swift stream, having their origin, as we were informed, from a cave, a little beyond Viran Shehr, and abounding in fish, which having been so long left to themselves, had in many cases attained a very large size.

At this period of our ride, our guides began to show many symptoms of anxiety and watchfulness, looking out ahead with evident distrust, and scanning the surrounding heights with suspicious looks; but it was certain that the Kurds were not at this time in this quarter of their migratory establishments, for not a living being was to be seen.

After pursuing our way some distance up this stream, we came in view of the ruins that we were in search of. Their appearance at a distance was rather imposing, and led us to expect great things. As we approached, however, (and in our hurry Russell and I had forded the river to be at them sooner,) we found only a large, open, and in some parts rocky space, nearly square, traversed by the river, and surrounded by a wall which fronted the four points of the compass, but extended further on the west side of the river than on the east, on which side it was also most dilapidated.

This wall was about seven feet in breadth, was defended by several square towers, and still although in a ruinous condition, in many places upwards of twenty feet in height. There were also four gateways, corresponding nearly to the four cardinal points.

The interior space was for the most part rocky, and presented few ruins. One or two buildings, the remains of which still existed, appear to have been the only ones that had been constructed of stone; the rest of the space

was probably occupied by mud huts. There also existed the remains of a stone bridge.

It was evident that this station was formerly traversed by a great road, which came in at the east and west gates, and was carried over the river by the bridge. There is still a horse-path following the same line, but the road is little frequented on account of being unprotected.

The architecture of the place, the character of the walls and towers, and the style of its gateways, at once satisfied us that it was not a Cataonian or Byzantine relic, but the ruins of a Mohammedan fort and town, erected for the defence of a line of road described by Idrisi as extending from the city of the Khalifs by Malatiyeh to Koniyyeh, the capital of the Seljukiyan Sultans of Rum, and which in its latter part no doubt fell in with the road previously described as extending from Ak Serai to Koniyyeh.

According to the distances given by the same Oriental authority, this place would correspond with Shohair (the Little City), placed by Rennell at fifty-seven geographical miles from Kaiseriyyeh, and eighteen from Tonoza.

On our return, after leaving the ravines and gaining the upland, we overtook a caravan of asses, laden with corn, and guarded by about twenty Christians, carrying long-barrelled guns. We could not resist the temptation afforded by meeting this formidable convoy in the wilderness to give them an alarm by galloping down suddenly and as if furiously upon them, a game in which our guides joined heartily, firing their guns in the air, and hallooing out. It was quite ridiculous to see the trepidation with which the little body of armed

Christians formed in the rear of their laden donkeys, and the hurry and anxiety with which they endeavoured to prime their guns, unwilling to go off. On coming up we laughed heartily at them for their fears, and then joined in conversation for an hour or so.

It rained hard all the afternoon, and we arrived late in the evening at Abasilli well soaked, after a ride of thirty-six miles, but without having met with any interruption or annoyance whatsoever.

Quitting Abasilli the next morning we pursued our way along the foot of Anti-Taurus, and afterwards down a ravine, at the end of which was a poor and small village, beyond which we entered upon the plain of Tonos, or Tunuz.

On our arrival at the village of the same name, corresponding to the ancient Tonoza, we could find no one to give us a house or apartment, or to recognise, or pay the slightest attention, to the seruji's demand for a relay of horses. These are the customary evils of being off the post roads. At length, during our perambulations of the village, we perceived a goodly-looking house that was uninhabited, so we quartered ourselves in it, nor did any one come to dispute with us our temporary possession; on the contrary, confidence was gradually established between the inhabitants and ourselves. First an old woman picked up courage to bring us an egg, which being, contrary to all expectation, paid for, she brought us another; then another brought us milk, and a third, bread,—the men all the while looking on in a listless group at a distance. After our repast, we had to go forth in search of barley for the horses; this was a more difficult matter, but was ultimately effected when

the peasants found that we really meant to pay for it, a treatment which from travelling tatars, khawasses or other persons who claim to belong to government, they never meet with, and hence are distrustful of all travellers.

The proprietor of the modern Tunuz is a Turkoman, who resides near Yuz-Kat, and the taxes were collected, as in many other places, under the flattering falsehood of their being devoted to the support of the sacred temple of Mecca.

*May 14th.* Quitting Tunuz, we again crossed Anti-Taurus, here called Kara Tunuz (Black Tunuz), a little beyond the crest of which was a knoll of basalt, crowned by a ruined Mohammedan monument, and designated as the Kara Ziyaret (Black Sanctuary, or Place of Pilgrimage).

Proceeding onwards over the upland, we came to another ruin, situated at the sources of the Baloklu Su (Fishy River), a tributary to the Tokmah Su, or Melas of antiquity. It was an extensive oblong space, formerly surrounded by a wall, the foundations of which now alone remained.

We descended from this upland by a grassy, but uninhabited vale, reascended by low chalk hills, then down a basaltic ravine with a rock fort, called Kara Saki; then up hill again, and again down a long vale, with a rivulet, which brought us at a late hour in the evening, and after a long ride through a desolate country, to Manjulik, a large Armenian village.

These agricultural Armenians lived in large dwelling-houses, the centre of which was devoted to cattle, horses, and carts, while at the corners were apartments for the



different members of the family. There were about fifty houses in the village, and much appearance of industrious wealth. Upon the heights above was a good-looking church, where we attended service previous to our departure in the morning, and on another adjacent height were the ruins of a monastery. The road beyond this was described as rocky and bad, but we were luckily enabled to raise here eleven good horses and two sturdy drivers, so that the baggage being more divided was lighter and less exposed to accidents.

The first hour's ride, the ensuing day, was over a black stony upland, which led us to the foot of a range of mountains, sometimes covered with shrubs, but more generally naked and void of all verdure. We entered this range by a narrow and difficult pass, rendered still more so by the smooth and slippery nature of the stones. It is called by the Turks Sakal-i-Tutan (the Beard-Stroker), from the patience required to get through it, the act of stroking the beard being expressive of that quality among Asiatics. Russell and I having dismounted led our horses on first to explore the difficulties, Rassam followed on horseback, and the muleteers took care of the baggage. Rassam had first a rude fall, which more than warned him of the necessity of walking, and this was followed, to our horror, by one of the baggage horses, loaded with instruments, and to which the attention of the muleteers had been especially directed, being allowed to roll over the mountain side. We did not, however, exhibit the patience of Orientals, for the serujis on this occasion got a whipping to make them more attentive, and we then got through without further accidents.

The pass continued narrow for about five miles, when it suddenly expanded, and was backed by a range of hills, the ruins of a fort being observable on a nearly isolated summit to the left. There were no habitations, but a few way-worn pedestrians were reposing on loose stones, which marked the graves of other travellers who had perished in the pass.

We now began to ascend again, amid patches of snow and an early and brilliant spring vegetation of sweet-scented hyacinths, blue anemonies, star of Bethlehem, squills white and yellow, ranunculuses, and red tulips. These flowers sometimes almost carpeted the rocks, just below the melting snow, and enlivened the stony sterility around, where steep and barren cliffs were thrown into deep relief by a clear sunshine, and their shadows darkened by contrast with long ridges of snow.

After a further ride of two hours from these hills we came to a narrow ravine, down which we kept descending for upwards of an hour more, when we reached the valley of the Tokmah Su, replete with the verdure of trees, and everywhere occupied by gardens, in each of which were cottages, the summer abodes of the inhabitants of Gurun. We turned up this beautiful valley, the more captivating to our eyes from having now travelled for so many days over bleak stony districts, almost without a tree or shrub, to reach the town itself, which we found to be built along the foot of a slaty chalk cliff, in which were some occasional grottoes, and on one point the ruins of a castle. We had ridden about twelve hours this day, and were happy in obtaining a room in a Christian's house, a little outside of the

town, where we had greater chance of repose and quiet than when exposed to the intrusion of the curious.

The next day (May 17th), being a day of festival (St. Gregory) with the Armenians, we visited their church, and some of their houses, which were generally whitewashed and very cleanly. The Armenians constitute the chief population of the town, being 2400 souls to 1800 Mohammedans. Their merchants trade with Aleppo, Marash, Sivas, and Constantinople. They were at this moment about to build themselves a new church. The taxes of Gurun are devoted to the Haram-ein—the two sacred edifices at Mecca and Medineh.

The castle is an irregular building, of which the front has fallen with the cliff, while the remaining two sides meet at an acute angle, and are defended by round and square towers of rude construction. This edifice is built of slaty limestone, put together without mortar, and with little art. It constitutes, with the caves, the only remnant of antiquity we found in the town, which, from various circumstances of distance from other sites in Commana Cappadocia, and its relation to these, appears to correspond to the ancient site of Arabissus, called in the Theodosian tables, Arcilipo-popolis.

The second day Russell and I started, accompanied by a seruji, to visit the sources of the Tokmah Su. Immediately beyond the town the river is shut up in an impassable glen, which obliged us to ascend a ridge of steep rocky hills. We gained the river banks on the other side of this, which is there called Injeh Su (Narrow Water); and following it up above successive tributaries, it diminished to a mere brook, which had its sources in the village of Kopek Viran (the Dogs' Ruin).

We returned after a ride of about seven hours by the same road to Gurun, having lunched at a Kurd village, where we were hospitably received.

*May 18th.* Quitting Gurun, we travelled down the delicious valley of the Tokmah Su, presenting at almost every step a varied scenery; summer-houses, embowered in groves, shady vineyards, Mohammedan and Christian villages, with excavated cliffs; the valley itself at times open, with gardens, when it is often swept by the sudden rising waters; at others shut up amid rude and precipitous rocks, a fragment of which here and there stands out isolated in the midst of the stream, as is the case with the rock of Tanil.

Not far from Gurun, we passed a rivulet, Gök Bunar (Blue Spring), flowing from a cave which is celebrated for containing fish without bones, and consecrated to Ali, perhaps a species of *Proteus*. Beyond the large Mohammedan village of Tanil, we passed a large tributary, called, from the ridge of rocks which it forces its way through, Sach Aghz (Hair Mouth). On the right bank, and at the foot of a rather remarkable hill, is the village of Tokmah, whence the river receives its name.

Below this we crossed the river by a bridge of one arch, where it enters a more rocky country, and in the midst of which is a recess, called Sari Kaya (Yellow Rock), with some grottoes; and to the south a ravine, with a rivulet shut up by rocks, with sepulchral grottoes on their face, and which afterwards opens to where, amid some romantic cliffs, is the village called Orta Keuy (Middle Village), said to be founded on an ancient site, apparently the Zoropassus of the Tables.

Beyond this the river enters Dereh Jik (Little

Valley), which is approached by paths carried along the face of fearful-looking precipices and perpendicular chasms, and having a cliff nearly isolated in the midst of the stream, to where it washes the walls of a first portion of the town of Derendah, containing two jamis, with their tall menarehs, and a few houses with gardens; and forcing its way by a dark, deep, and narrow ravine, it separates the Castle Rock from the opposing precipices, and issues forth from its narrow chasm to water several miles of gardens and country houses which stretch in beauty down the then expansive vale of the river, and constitute the summer residences of the present inhabitants of ancient Ptandari or Tanandaris—the modern Derendah.

The town itself is situated on the south face of the Castle Rock, or that opposite to the one cut by the river's course, and, like Gurun and Malatijeh, is abandoned in summer time, the inhabitants retiring to the gardens lower down the valley, and this gives to it an appearance of population that exceeds the reality. At Gurun, at an elevation of nearly a thousand feet above Derendah, the inhabitants had not yet left the town, but here they had quitted it a fortnight ago, and to us a great and almost incredible inconvenience resulted from this, as all the cloacas had been opened upon the streets, and the passage through the town was sickening beyond the power of expression. Is it to be wondered at that plague should be endemic in countries where such loathsome abominations are practised? It looks as if done out of some old superstition, from such a practice having been successfully resorted to, to drive away an enemy from the siege of the citadel.

We were quartered in a Christian house in the gardens, and where they showed a great degree of ill-will and still more of jealousy at our presence. They not only carefully shut up the females from our sight, but were also extremely fearful of our having any communication with the children, whom when they saw us inclined to propitiate, they immediately locked up. It was sometimes quite amusing to observe how far this jealous surveillance was carried; for, upon occasions, it was absolutely necessary to call the females to meet some of our demands, when they were followed at every step, and their business accomplished, they were again shut up under lock and key before our eyes. We felt a little hurt at this want of confidence, but said nothing about it, till, in the evening, while Russell and I were observing in the garden, a parcel of Osmanli khawasses came from the governor's to get the customary bakshish (present) for obtaining us a lodging, and rudely seized upon the instruments, whereupon we at once drove them out of the garden and house, to the great astonishment of the Armenians, who scarcely venture to answer a government official, and who in consequence became afterwards a little more civil towards us. They appear, however, to have thievish propensities, for at Gurun they stole my carpet from me, and here they robbed Russell of his waistcoat.

The ensuing day we visited the mutesellim, a polite, well-behaved Turk, who sent a khawass with us, with the keys of the castle. The inhabitants then again, with wonder, saw us picking our way through the town, the loathsome streets being rendered the more intolerable by a bright and warm sunshine. The approach to the

castle was defended by a square tower and other outworks, and the point at which the rock is ascended is defended first by a gateway of Saracenic structure and style, with an inscription, which was so high as to be, unfortunately, illegible to Mr. Rassam; following a winding ascent, there is another portal of a similar character, and at the top of the rock a ruined bastion.

The extent of the rock is 662 yards; the width is various, but it in no place exceeds 150 yards. Upon the platform there are about forty houses, where the governor and his attendants reside in winter. The extremities of the rock are defended by towers with walls and curtains in advance, but the cliff is in general so steep as to require no outworks.

All these ruins evidently belonged to the Moham-medan era; and we find in Osmanli history, that Derendah was first reduced in the time of Bayazid I., but it afterwards fell under the power of Alai Doulet (soldier governor), or the Syro-Circassian military government, from whom it was again taken by Selim I.

A site so eminently remarkable, and a rock presenting such great advantages for defence, were not neglected by former nations. We have seen that it corresponds with the Ptandari or Tanandaris of antiquity, and it appears also to have been known in the middle ages by the name of Singa, given in the Theodosian Tables, an identity rendered the more evident from the fact, that there were in olden times two roads from hence to Melitene; one along the valley of the river, the other over the hilly country to the south, as there are also in the present day.

## CHAPTER XVIII.



Laviasena.

Start from Derendah. Akjah Kurds. Resistance to the Osmanlis. The Salep Orchis. Arka—ancient Arcas. Aspuzi, summer quarters of Malatiyeh. Discussion on road to be pursued. Town of Malatiyeh—Melitene. Start for the Taurus. Persian Pilgrims. Viran Shehr (Ruined Town)—the ancient Laviasena.

*May 20th.* WE left the valley of the Tokmah Su, by that of Ashik Derehsi (Lover's Valley), having a rapid river in its centre, and being even more beautifully wooded than that of Derendah, and crowded with country houses.

Crossing some low hills, we came again upon the valley of the Melas, which was now expansive, less wooded, but generally cultivated and replete with villages. I have already noticed, that in olden as well as in modern times, there were two roads from Singa or Derendah, to Melitene, one following the course



of the river, which was fifty-one Roman miles in length; the other was carried over the mountains, and was only thirty-nine. The first site on the river road was Arega, eight Roman miles from Singa, and at a distance corresponding to this, was also now a large village on the river side. At the same distance on the upper road was Osdara, and we found corresponding to it, a large village, chiefly of Christians, and which like Gurun and Derendah, had its winter and summer portions. This olden site is now called Yeni Jah (Little New Town).

We ascended hence among limestone hills that abounded in fossil shells, beyond which were long black ridges of volcanic rocks, of dreary and repulsive aspect, where long platforms and table-lands, with rock terraces rising in steps one above the other, terminated at the crest in stony conical summits.

At the foot of these hills was a well wooded and fertile valley, with a rivulet, which watered first the small village called Yokari Setrek (Upper Setrek), and then, about a mile and half below, the larger village of Ashar Setrek (Lower Setrek), both villages of Turkomans; while below, and near the junction of the rivulet with the Tokmak Su, was a large Christian village, the site of the ancient Nocotessus.

After an ascent of about two hours, we gained an upland on the crest of the hills, and at an altitude by barometer of 5625 feet. There were many conical and rocky summits around us, each of which bore the remains of rock forts, and had its own separate designation, as Kilisa Kalehsi (Church-like Castle), Kara Kaya (Black Rock), Chi Chakli (Little Point), Sari-chi chek (the Topmost Point of all), etc. The prospect

beyond comprised a great portion of the nearer groups of Taurus, with the great plain of Al Bostan beneath our feet, and nearer to us the snow-clad summit of Akjah Tagh (Little White Mountain).

We kept along the mountain, till we came to a terrace on the acclivity, where was the encampment of the Bey of the Bekr Ushaghi tribe of Kurds, more commonly Tagh known as the Kurds of Akjah Tagh.

This encampment occupied one of the usual peculiar sites selected by the mountaineers: a mere shelf on the acclivity of the hill receding far enough to allow of the dusky tents being pitched in a line in its remotest part, with only the customary cross poles in front of each, on which the skins are swung, by which the women churn their butter, and this without a fragment of the camp being visible from below.

We rode up to the bey's tent just as it was growing dusk, and he came out to meet us. We briefly announced ourselves as travellers, and that having to sleep in the mountains we placed ourselves under his protection. After the customary compliments he sent a man with us into the valley below, where we pitched our tent, and shortly afterwards another, with a present of bread, butter, and buttermilk.

A short time ago the Akjah Kurds acknowledged no authority but that of their own beys, but after two harassing campaigns, carried on the last year and the year before that, they had been subjected by Hafiz Pasha. We did not on this account, however, claim any thing from them on the score of our firman, but simply on that of hospitality, which always answers better with these haughty and independent tribes. After the battle of

Nizib, they all rose again to a man, and reasserted their independence, which I suspect has not since been ventured to be called in question, and it will be some time ere a traveller can follow the same road.

Slumber in a tent is always more sweet and sound than in a room in the East, where there are so many things opposed to rest, and we rose early in the morning refreshed and light, to pack up, load our horses, and pursue our journey. We had not gone far before we met a Kurd chief, travelling with his harem, family, and attendants. His wives were two in number, and they rode in advance of the chief. They were both good-looking, stout, healthy women, their faces were uncovered, they rode astride, and with an air of dignity as if they had been mothers of heroes.

Crossing some rocky hills, we came to an open valley, one of the most central of the Akjah Tagh, partly cultivated, and with here and there cypress-trees rising gradually, till lost in dark forests that encircle the mountain immediately below the snow line.

In a rocky glen at the bottom of this vale was a small village with ruins and hewn caves in a limestone precipice. This was the site of Dandaxena, another station on the road to Melitene.

The next valley to this, which it took us two long hours to reach, was not so wide, but more picturesque, being bounded by lofty rock terraces. We passed on our road several villages and khans, and the vale was throughout pretty well cultivated.

The Kurds of this part of Akjah Tagh told us how long and how resolutely they had fought against the troops of Hafiz Pasha, taking refuge ultimately in the

castle of Kurnak to the south, which corresponds to the ancient Lagolassus on the Melas, where they were besieged for four days, and ultimately forced to capitulate. On this occasion many of their young men who were not slain, were sent to Constantinople to the public works or to be made soldiers of, their old men returned to their farms, and many of their wives and women were taken for a time by the soldiers to Malatiyeh, "and these are are some of them," said our narrator, turning round to two or three healthy-looking peasant woman, with babes in their arms, and who had been standing by sympathising with the tale of woe which was related to us.

It took us three hours to cross this long valley, from whence another rocky ascent led us to our first view of the great plain of Malatiyeh, extending as far as to the valley of the Euphrates, and almost beyond the reach of vision. We descended among shrubs of dwarf oak and banks of flowering orchis, the same which affords the salep (*O. mascula*), till we reached the village of Arka, built on a high artificial mound, all that remains of the ancient Arcas, except the name, which has been only slightly altered. Strabo calls it Argus, an elevated fort near Taurus.

The ayyan of the village visited us in the evening, and from him we first learnt that Hafiz Pasha had crossed the Taurus with warlike intentions, but to which report we did not at the present moment attach much importance, as we did not think that he had collected in so few years an army large enough to cope with the Syro-Egyptian army of Ibrahim Pasha, and were not aware of the reinforcements which he had received that spring from Constantinople and the surrounding pashalics.

*May 22nd.* From Arka to Malatiyeh was a plain, occasionally cut into deep valleys by running streams, and extending along the foot of the Baghli Khanli Tagh (Mountain of the Garden Khan). At this season of the year the plain was covered with a luxuriant vegetation of flowering plants, among which it was interesting to observe how many were common to England. Plants, however, of our shadowy hedge-sides, as the greater and lesser periwinkle, and plants of warm stony acclivities, as the viper's bugloss, were here mingled with the vegetation of plains and meadows.

We passed first the Sultan Su (Sultan's River), and at a distance, the Shakmah Su (Flinty River), which we crossed on a bridge, with a single well-constructed elliptic arch. Beyond this we entered the beautiful gardens and vineyards of Aspuzi, along which we rode full seven miles before we came to the habitations, and where we obtained permission to pitch our tent in a shady garden attached to a large house tenanted by several families of Christians, and commonly known as the Tailor's Khan.

Aspuzi is the summer town of Malatiyeh, from which it is distant about six miles. While the town, or rather fort, itself is situated on an exposed plain, cold in winter and hot in summer, and unsheltered by a tree, the summer quarters lie amidst groves, orchards, vineyards, and gardens, that are propagated over an extent of from eight to ten miles, by a careful and refined system of irrigation, that probably dates from a remote antiquity.

We stopped some days here, engaged in astronomical observations, in making excursions to Malatiyeh, to the junction of the Euphrates and the Melas, and still more

especially in endeavouring to obtain from the pasha, then at Malatiyeh, horses to go by the Pass of Euphrates to Someïsat. While we were here, a Polish general, of the name of Janowski, accompanied by two other officers, arrived, on his way from Baghdad to Constantinople. This gentleman was in the confidence of the British ambassador, and gave us much information as to the actual state of Turkish politics, and among other things, of the support that Hafiz Pasha had met with from the Sultan, and that he had undoubtedly passed the Taurus with the view of exciting Ibrahim Pasha to hostilities, but that it was still to be hoped that the influence of the European powers would avert a calamitous war.

Under these circumstances our future movements became a matter of serious consideration: five different plans presented themselves to us. First, to turn back again, which was scouted unanimously. Second, to remain at Malatiyeh till the fate of the war was determined. This, considering the uncertainty of events in the East, that Hafiz Pasha's army had not crossed the frontier, that it was not at all certain that a battle would take place, and that such a delay might be prolonged to an indefinite period, did not meet with a better reception. Thirdly, we might get out of the way and proceed towards Erzurum, carrying on our researches in that quarter; but there was a decisive objection to this, even if our feelings and judgment had been in favour of it, in the state of our funds, which we had endeavoured ineffectually to get replenished at Kaiseriye, and which were now so low that we were glad of the opportunity of giving General Janowski a cheque on Constantinople for his spare gold. Fourthly, we might strike out for

Musul by Dyarbekr, but here, as the General himself remarked, we ran great risk, as should the Turkish army be defeated, the whole country would be in a state of insurrection, and there would be no chance of saving our instruments, even if we should get through ourselves; and this was fully shown afterwards, for a long time after the battle two American missionaries attempted this line, when they were robbed and so maltreated that one of them only reached Musul, and the other returned on his steps. Fifthly, there remained for us to proceed onwards, examining the Pass of Euphrates, as pointed out in our instructions, and reaching Bir, to leave our baggage there, and merely visit Hafiz Pasha in order to obtain the further assistance we should want to proceed onwards to Sinjar, while, upon the occasion of a reverse happening to the Turkish army, we resolved to bury our instruments in some forest or secret place till the storm had blown over. I moved, as an amendment to this last plan, which was the most favourably received, that we should go to Urfah and there leave the baggage, previous to our going on to Hafiz, but this was negatived, chiefly by the influence of Mr. Rassam, who objected to four days' additional riding to and from Urfah and Bir for a mere uncertainty; besides that, such a measure would probably, as things turned out, have been of little avail to us. The result of all these cogitations, as will be told in the sequel, was unfortunate to us, and I have only mentioned them, because after the evil had occurred, each and every one of them were placed before us as a course we ought to have adopted. Our reasons for not doing so are put as they occurred to ourselves, sitting in discussion, previous to the event, and are an answer there-

fore to the objections afterwards made to our mode of proceeding. It is in human nature to err, and when the error has become manifest, it is so easy to point out how it could have been avoided!

The modern town of Malatiyeh contains about 500 houses, of which every other one is a ruin, and it is surrounded by a rampart of considerable strength, but in many places level with the ground, with here and there crumbling towers and the remains of a handsome but battered gateway, besides the still more extensive ruins of a palace or a citadel.

Hafiz Pasha had now for two winters made this unfortunate town the head-quarters of his army, obliging the Mohammedan and Christian inhabitants to remain in their summer town of Aspuzi, and this is what had reduced it to its present fallen condition.

Independent of this, its ruined citadel, battered gateway, and dilapidated walls, attest its various fortunes. It is related by Strabo, that Melitene sprang up from a Roman encampment on the river Melas, whence its name and that of the province. A great battle was fought here between Justinian, the Greek general of the Emperor Tiberius, and Kusru Nushirvan, A.D. 572. Diogenes Romanus led his army to the same place, but in the days of Manuel Comnenus it was in the hands of the Turkoman Sultans of Rum. It was conquered from them by the Syro-Circassian government, but restored by Hulaku the Tatar, and ultimately reduced by the Osmanlis under Bayazid I., who, leading his troops eastward, reduced Derendah, then Malatiyeh, and afterwards Bexene (Besni), and Divrigi.

In the middle ages Malatiyeh was a principal stage



on the great commercial road from Europe to India. In the days of Lucas and Schellinger it still contained from 12,000 to 15,000 houses, but which never could have been within the walls of the old city, and probably extended from thence towards the summer town. In modern geographies, as Maltebrun's and Bell's, especial regrets are expressed at the want of information as to the actual position and population of this interesting town, which is sometimes placed on the Euphrates, at others on the Melas, but is at some distance from either. It is also written of sometimes as a cold city, at others as a very hot one, having an extreme climate; the mean temperature appears to be 55°. The population now amounts to 11,000 souls, of which 8000 are Mohammedans, and 3000 Armenians.

The Mohammedan inhabitants are proverbially luxurious, affect gaudy-coloured dresses—being chiefly Turkomans—and, as the old governor of Arka said to us, “Having little money and still less care, they fill their pipes, and sit by the fountain's side.” Hafiz Pasha had also so little gallantry as to say that the ladies of Malatiyeh lay under the mulberry-trees to let the fruit fall into their mouths\*.

Malatiyeh and Aspuzi are both very unhealthy in autumn, when fevers assume a very fatal type. Out of a brigade of 3000 troops that were first quartered here, 400 men were lost in a single autumn.

After considerable delay, the Kurds of Kaktah (who had only been reduced the year before and their town

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\* In Strabo's time this place was celebrated for its fruit-trees and wine, called Monarite.

stormed,) being in open rebellion, the pasha refused to grant us horses by the river side, so we were obliged to start by the pass of Taurus, now called that of Erkenek, but anciently of Perre, being determined to reach the Euphrates, if possible, at Gergen Kalehsi, immediately below its passage through the mountains, which it enters south of Ilijeh (the Warm Baths), the Elegia of Pliny, Al Hammam of Idrisi, and probably the Tomisa of Strabo\*.

We had thus on starting to retrace our steps to the valley of the Sultan Su, up which we travelled for some distance to the village of Goz Khana (Khan at the Head Spring), corrupted to Goseneh, and situated in a little recess in the mountains. Part of a caravan (kerwan) of Persians returning from pilgrimage was encamped in the little hollow, so that we had some difficulty in finding an open place to pitch our tent. The variety of costume, diversity of occupations, and strange people, that were grouped together in this motley assemblage of pilgrims, afforded us much amusement. We took care to get as near to the head of the spring as possible, for as many pilgrims were, regardless of the *inconvenience* resulting from it, washing themselves bodily in the small rivulet, there were several advantages to be obtained by such a position.

*May 31st.* The ensuing day we met with the other half of this Persian caravan, in a deep and rocky valley, where the Sultan Su issues from the mountains

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\* The Prussian officers attached to the staff of Hafiz Pasha's army discovered at or near this place a remarkable inscription in the Persepolitan character.

to the west. This party appeared to contain some pilgrims of a better class. Among others we observed a mounted lady, in a cloth riding-habit, laced boots, and straw-coloured kid gloves, but her physiognomy carefully concealed. A black-bearded Persian did not appear to relish our surprise at such an apparel. Upon inquiring of some of the lagging members of the caravan, they told us that she was a beautiful Georgian, who had once belonged to an infidel Frank, but was now the wife of a Persian, who had made her perform the pilgrimage to wash off her sins and to strengthen her faith.

Ascending hence, we travelled through a forest of oak, to the point where the plain began to widen, near the head waters of the rivulet, and where we perceived at some miles' distance to the right, the ruins of a city or town to which the seruji gave the usual appellation of Viran Shehr (Ruined Town.)

Leaving Mr. Rassam and the seruji to proceed with the baggage, by the mountain side to Surghu, Russell and I struck across the country to examine these ruins, and we were rewarded for our pains, by finding the undoubted evidences of the existence of a former town, of considerable size, great antiquity, and which had contained many edifices of goodly structure.

This town was encompassed by a double wall on all but the south side; the walls were very thick and defended by towers, which still remain, although dilapidated, for the most part upright. In the interior were the remains of a chapel of chaste and elegant structure, 28 feet long, by 18 feet 6 inches wide, and having an arch with a span of 40 feet. There was also a large central mound, beneath which were a collection of arches

meeting at the groins, the interior of which was now a place of refuge for cattle. We laid down a general plan of the town, as it at present exists, for all the buildings in the interior, with the few exceptions mentioned, are level with the ground. The tradition of the people assigns its destruction to Timur Bey, as the Tatar is called.

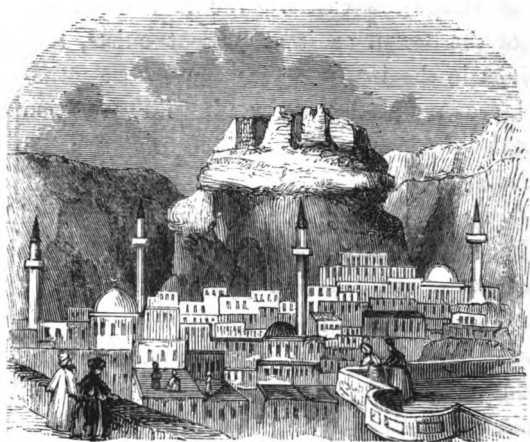
We identified this ruined town and stronghold with the Lacotena or Lacobena of the Tables, which is evidently the same as the Lavinianesina of Ptolemy. In the subdivision of Cappadocia into ten provinces by Strabo, Laviniasena is noticed as one, and further on, he mentions a prefecture of Cappadocia by the name of Laviniasena, both of which refer to the same district\*.

Joining the baggage, we shortly afterwards gained the Kurd village of Surghu, close to which, at the foot of a limestone precipice, is a large stream of water, issuing from the rock by twenty-three different orifices. This spring and another near to it, form the Gök Su (Blue River), which flows to the south-west, and then makes a sudden bend to the south-east, through Taurus, ultimately joining the Euphrates in the valley of Adiyamán.

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\* The Rev. Mr. Renourd remarks upon this, that the MSS. both of Strabo and Ptolemy vary much with respect to this name: Laviasena is most favoured by those of the former; Laviniasena by those of Ptolemy. See Tzschucke, note on Strabo, p. 534.

## CHAPTER XIX.



Castle of Besni.

**Passage of the Taurus. Pass of Erkenek. Pelvereh—ancient Perre. Roman Roads. Town of Besni—ancient Nisus. Difficulties in fording the Gök Su. Town of Adiyaman—Hisn Mansur and Carbanum. Troubles with the Kurds. River and Town of Kakhtah. Kurd Bey of Tokariz. Evil habits of the Kurds.**

*June 1st.* LEAVING Surghu, we ascended the mountain of Gök Tenah by a steep winding pathway; the bare precipices and rocky summits with long ridges of snow, which surrounded us, gave a truly alpine character to the scene. From this mountain we descended by narrow and rocky ravines, to a small but fertile plain watered by a tributary to the Gök Su, and passing thence over some low hills, entered the pass of Erkenek.

This pass exists in what constitutes the most central and alpine portion of Taurus in these districts. Starting from the Euphrates, the central chain is prolonged by

the Ak Tagh (Snow, or White Mountains) to above Pelveh, where colossal cliffs of limestone hem in the waters of the Gök Su, and constitute the pass in question, which was anciently called the Pass of Perre, after the town of that name, and by the Christian historians of Bayazid's campaigns, Pass of Ernitzane.

We entered by what was at once a road and water-course, but soon left the rivulet far below us, passing a spot where it received a tributary from the Ak Tagh, and where were several picturesque mills. Turning thence, and still keeping high upon the acclivities of the mountain, we arrived at the village of Erkenek, which is still what it has ever been, a mere station in the pass, consisting of a few houses with their gardens scattered on the acclivities, while the luxuriant verdure around, maintained by numerous sparkling springs and rills of waters, fills up the valley on both sides, and stretches downwards to the bottom of the ravine below.

The rivulet itself flows onwards, till it meets with obstacles in the form of rude mis-shapen masses of fallen rock, amidst which it tumbles along, hewing its way through narrow and lofty precipices, that opened beyond to afford a glimpse of a varied and boundless mountain scenery.

We stopped a short time at Erkenek, and lunched upon the roof of a house, in order to better enjoy the magnificent scenery by which we were surrounded.

The road led hence down into the valley and up again on the opposite side, and as we proceeded onward, and above the rivulet of Erkenek, which rolled as previously noticed along impassable and rocky glens below, we observed a considerable stream precipitate itself into

it, from a cliff opposite to us, as a lofty fall of water. We took a sketch of this fine cascade, which was unfortunately lost.

Beyond this the aspect of the valley altered, the character of the rocks being changed from hard limestones to shingly schists, which here as elsewhere constituted the axis of Taurus. The valley widened considerably and was filled up with little round hills, upon which was a scanty clothing of fir and cypress trees.

It had been dark some time before we came to where the rivulet of Erkenek was joined by the Gök Su, which juncture takes place in the same valley, the united waters flowing through the mountains in a south-easterly direction, and we had some difficulty in finding a place sufficiently level and void of trees to pitch the tent upon. This accomplished, we set about picking up sticks, easily obtained on the river's banks, with which we lit a fire, by the bright glare of which we found our tent already filled with innumerable small creatures, among which frogs and crickets were, after the mosquitoes, the most numerous; these were trifles to fatigued travellers, and did not prevent us sleeping soundly, when it was not our turn to keep watch.

*June 2nd.* We crossed the Gök Su by a modern bridge of two unequal arches, above which were the ruins of another of older date. From hence we began to ascend, passing the ruins of an aqueduct covered with travertino; at the summit of the hill we found vineyards, and a little beyond the large village of Pelveh, where we were to obtain a change of horses, but it was abandoned by its inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the

continual demands made upon them by the khawasses and military, in their journeys from Malatiyeh to the camp of Hafiz Pasha.

Pelvereh, the ancient Perre, is a situation of high interest, as being a connecting point in the Antonine Itinerary and Theodosian Tables, between the routes to and from Cappadocia, Mesopotamia, the Lesser Armenia and Syria, as it is in the present day, for although in the time of Rennell the existence of a pass in this part of Taurus was only deduced by that able geographer from ancient data assisted by some information obtained by Mr. Vaughan at Aleppo, it had in our days been the route followed by the Osmanli army under Hafiz Pasha, and through which the guns had been dragged with immense labour; the Baron Moltke, a Prussian officer attached to the staff, having previously floated down the Euphrates on a raft, expressed himself against their being transported over the rapids of Taurus, by the fragile skin-rafts of the country, which were hence only used for the transport of provisions and other lighter objects.

There were two Roman roads from Melitene through Taurus. The first led by Metita, a site not yet identified, to Claudius, now Kakhtah, with ancient walls and iron gates, and joined the Euphrates at Barsalum, now Bersel, half an hour from Tokariz, and followed the course of the river to Samosata, now Someisat.

The second road led by Miasena, which appears from distances to be represented by Tchirmiktah; the next station was Lacotena, which we found at the head waters of the Sultan Su; the third station was Perre.

The great road from Ancyra to Zeugma on the



Euphrates, part of the details of which we have already given, reached Perre after six short stages from Commana Cappadocia, and was continued thence by Carbanum (Adiyaman and the Hisn Mansur of the Arabs) to Samosata.

The next great road that joined at Perre was from Germanicia (Marash). This, which followed the vale of the eastern Pyramus, was an easy road.

The third road led from Syria by Antiochia ad Taurum (near Aintab), and entered the pass of Taurus at Perre.

There was besides these a cross road from Perre to Samosata by Nisus (Besni), without going to Carbanum, and the same was continued from Nisus by the Pons Singæ to Zabothra (Rum Kalah).

At Pelvereh we observed the various springs that flow from the south side of the ridge on which it is situated united to form a small lake in the hollow below. This was succeeded by a second, and then a third, and all these lakes poured their waters into the eastern branch of the Jaihan (Pyramus), which had been seen, on a former journey in company with Colonel Chesney, to join the main stream a little to the south of Marash, and before the river enters the deep gorges of Cilician Taurus (Durdun Tagh).

On leaving Pelvereh the road became less mountainous and vegetation more varied. We travelled in a southerly direction round the foot of Khurkhun Tagh, a nearly isolated conical mountain, and then descended into the wooded Ak Dereh (White Valley) where we found another deserted village, and could get food neither for our weary horses nor for our hungry selves.

Crossing this valley we had a long journey up the Hamiyian Hills, an upland rather than a mountain chain. This upland lowered gradually to the south, and we kept descending to where it broke off suddenly into a narrow glen, at the base and on the sides of which were the houses constituting the modern town of Besni, rising in terraces one above the other, while on a fragment of the rock that towered up in the middle of the glen, were the crumbling ruins of the ancient fortress of Nisus, or Bexene.

We got accommodation here at the house of an Armenian seraf, or banker, and in this pent-up ravine it was so warm that we were glad, like others, to sleep on the exposed terrace, admiring and admired by all. The next morning early we had a delightful bath in an old mesjid, now converted into a hammam.

Besni we found to contain 2500 houses of Mohammedans, and 250 of Armenians. It has a very good market, but provisions were uncommonly scarce, on account of the demands of the army, and we had to pay three piastres, equal to sevenpence-halfpenny, for a cake of bread, in England not worth a penny.

*June 4th.* We quitted Besni by a suburb, inhabited by poor Armenian weavers, and advanced thence upon an upland covered with vineyards, and having a few naked-looking country houses. About seven miles from Besni, we descended to cross the Ak Dereh, on the other side of which we visited a village to get some milk, which the peasants offered us with a good-will and kindness that we rarely met with in our travels. The remainder of the day's ride was through a beautiful country, generally clad with vineyards, and we spent the

night in a grove full of birds, that made the valley resound with their varied song. As with us, the nightingale bore away the palm, and we had the advantage here of hearing it sing all the evening as well as the night.

The next morning we took some villagers with us to assist in crossing the Gök Su, which flowed past not far from the village, and the fording of which was represented to us as being formidable to laden horses. On our arrival at the banks of the river the Kurds stripped to carry over the baggage, a small quantity at a time, lifted above their heads, crossing the rapid stream with a kind of jerking running step, and returning by swimming over a deeper part. Mr. Russell and I must fain try this experiment, but in doing so the rapidity of the current carried us off our legs, and although for a time we were able to swim, we were soon carried down to where the water was so shallow that we could no longer do so without striking the stones, nor yet stand up from the current, which had gained additional swiftness in the rapids we now found ourselves in; so we were rolled over and over again, till (there is nothing like companionship in misfortune) we were both brought to in a deep eddy, from which we had nothing but to make a quiet exit, not a little bruised and knocked about, shivering with cold, and very crest-fallen at the result of our attempt to imitate these practised and hardy mountaineers.

On the left bank of the river was Bur Konak, with a very old-looking ruin of a khan, and in the plain beyond were the tents of the Kochanli tribe of Kurds.

Our road now lay over nearly level grassy plains,

which extended along the foot of Ak Tagh (the White Mountains), down to the banks of the Euphrates. This chain is composed of various summits, having a more or less conical form. They form the loftiest portion of Taurus in these districts, and constitute the snowy ridge which is seen from the greater part of northern Syria, and down the course of the Euphrates as far as Balis.

After a ride of seven hours we arrived at the town of Adiyaman, which is circularly disposed round a large artificial mound, appropriately called the castle hill. In the present day this town contains 800 houses of Mohammedans and 300 of Armenians. It has several mesjids, one jami, three ruinous khans, and one bath; this is but a small remnant of its former prosperity. The Christians have no church.

We ascertained, from existing traditions, that this town is the same as the Hisn Mansur of Idrisi, which Rennell places on the Euphrates. It was also known to Oriental geographers by the name of Cholmodara, and was by the Romans designated as Carbanum.

It is surrounded by gardens and groves, in the midst of which we pitched our tent. Not far from us were two rocky eminences, on which were the tombs of two eminent men, Mahmud el Ansari and Ibn Zaïr Ansari.

The mutesellim of Adiyaman happened to be the same person who was governor of Birehjik at the time we were at that place putting up the boats of the Euphrates Expedition; he was very kind and attentive to us, but strongly urged our proceeding on to Someïsät, and giving up our intended visit to Gergen Kalehsi, the Kurds of which he said were very bad, and would certainly rob, if not kill us. We, as usual, thanked him for

his advice, but persevered, when, finding us resolved, he kindly offered us the company of a khawass, who would at once act as a guide and be a protection.

*June 6th.* Our road lay through a country of the same character as yesterday, only with deeper valleys and larger rivulets. The soil was of a red clay, much broken up by the heat of the sun, and out of the large fissures thus occasioned, there issued innumerable mole-crickets of a gigantic size.

We turned off near the Black Mound (Kara Uyk), to visit a Kurdish encampment and obtain a drink of milk; and we passed in the course of the day a good many small villages, which enlivened the otherwise monotonous grassy plains, by their little groups of fig-trees and pomegranates, but the inhabitants were at this season in their tents, pasturing their cattle. They did not appear to cultivate the ground, and, beyond the produce of their cows, had nothing but a little dry fruit from their gardens. Some of them told us, that they had not tasted bread for many weeks.

We arrived, just as evening was coming on, at the village of Kerkunah, and pitched our tent, not to give any trouble to the inhabitants, in an adjacent orchard. Our demands upon the village were very few, consisting merely of eggs, bread, and milk, which we willingly paid for, yet the Kurds furnished these with ill will, and with an unrestrained exhibition of dislike and hostility, which, as the evening advanced, and fresh arrivals momentarily took place, grew more open and manifest.

I had just been taking the altitude of Spica Virginis, which passed over the meridian shortly after sunset, and

Russell was recording time, when we were alarmed by discordant yells, and the seruji came to us breathless to say, that the Kurds had attacked Mr. Rassam, the khawass, and our servant. We hastily buckled on our swords, and taking up our guns, ran to the rescue; but on our arrival in the little square, in the centre of the village, we could scarcely help laughing at the scene it presented. It was full of men and women, amid whom Rassam and the khawass were expostulating with vehemence, while the boy Peter, who had hitherto shown nothing but the more patient qualities of his nature, had seized a pole, with which he was industriously belabouring the crowd, having positively strewed the ground with turbans. The first thing we had to do was to arrest such desperate valour, after which we managed to enforce Mr. Rassam's cause, which we found to be a question of driving us out of the garden in which we were encamped, and we then returned to our tent.

Later in the evening a party, who had been brooding mischief ever since, came and told us we must move away immediately. Their object in this, which was to rob us the moment we struck our tent, was too plain to be misunderstood, and we accordingly peremptorily refused to stir. They ultimately retired, promising to cut our throats during the night, so we kept a good watch, but were not again disturbed.

The next morning we made a start before day-break, ere the inhabitants of this inhospitable village were abroad, reaching soon afterwards a ravine which led us down to the banks of the Kakhtah river. The walls of rock on both sides were clothed with wild fig-trees, mulberry, and shrubby *Cercis*, (*C. siliquastrum*),

the budding leaves of which have a refreshing acidity, and form a pleasant salad.

The river of Kakhtah was at this point spread over a wide space, being divided into three branches, and hence easily forded; when swollen it must be a large river, as its bed was upwards of a quarter of a mile in width. Its waters appear to have been much valued by antiquity, for they were carried to the capital of Com-magena (Samosata), by an aqueduct that followed the banks of the Euphrates.

The town and castle of Kakhtah was about four hours' distance from us up the river. I wished very much to examine this interesting stronghold, of whose iron gates the Kurds speak much, but its mountaineer inhabitants were in rebellion, and the khawass and seruji positively refused to go or let the horses go with us. It is mentioned among the places reduced by Bajazid after Besni. During the same reign, however, fell into the hands of the great enemy of Osmanli pride, the Tatar Timour, who crossed the Euphrates at Gergen Kalehsi, and sacked in these countries, one after the other, the new conquests of the Osmanlis, who did not regain them till the time of Selim I. Kakhtah has not yet found a place in our maps, which it would have done, as well as Lacotena and other sites, had we been fortunate enough to visit it.

As we crossed the river we observed the piebald kingfisher hanging over its waters, and the delicately shaped tern of the Euphrates winging its way up the stream. The waters are as much sought for by the fish of Euphrates, as they formerly were by the luxurious countrymen of Lucian and of Paul of Samosata.

Groves of fig-trees and pomegranates on the river banks were filled with sparrows, here, as on Euphrates, a social bird living apart from the habitations of men.

Beyond the river of Kakhtah we continued traversing uplands covered with a most luxuriant vegetation of corn-bearing grasses (oat-grass, rye-grass, &c.), a character of vegetation which renders these districts, like certain parts of Cappadocia and Cilicia, peculiarly favourable to the rearing of horses.

In the afternoon, after passing several other villages, we arrived at Tokariz, surrounded by a mud wall, and the residence of a Kurd bey. There are three such governors in this part of the country; one resides at Kakhtah, the other at Tokariz, and the third at Someïsat.

We pitched our tent a short distance from this Kurdish stronghold, and in the evening the bey paid us a long visit, with a numerous suite, of which only a small proportion could be accommodated within the tent. He showed himself extremely suspicious of our intentions, and our statement that we had come there from mere motives of curiosity was totally disregarded, and only made things worse, by leading him to think that we wished to conceal the objects we had in view. He could not conceive that strangers would come into such wild districts for the mere purposes of exploration, and did not scruple to tell us so. He was exceedingly curious to hear everything that concerned ourselves and our country, with which he appeared to be somewhat acquainted. He said, among other things, that Russia and England were disputing between themselves the possession of Turkey. He asked to see our watches and some of our



instruments, but we endeavoured to make as little show as possible ; for from the side looks which he gave his attendants it was quite evident, that if there was a general scramble for our property, he intended to come in for his share.

These Kurds are perpetually engaged in strife, which appeared, indeed, to be an essential part of their existence. The day before a skirmish had taken place between two villages (Murdessin and Sevan), close by, when several of the combatants were slain. Shortly after dark this evening there was a robbery committed close to us, and a party turned out from the fort, but finding that the people robbed did not belong to them they returned without interfering. They, however, gave us no inconvenience beyond stealing our dog from us. In the morning we went and searched the houses in the interior of the fort, where we found the poor beast, and took him away without wasting words in useless remonstrance\*.

On preparing to start we found that our khawass, who, instead of taking his turn at the night watch at the tent, had followed the safer plan of sleeping at the bey's house, had heard such accounts of the present state of the Kurds at Gergen Kalehsi, that he positively declined accompanying us upon any consideration. The muleteer also rebelled, and said he would not expose his horses, nor could we quiet him till we promised to remunerate him in case of their loss ; he started, never-

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\* They also stole our tent mallet from us here, and the mollah was detected in the act of secreting an instrument in his bosom.

theless, very much discouraged. But with us it was not so; the morning wind, fresh and cool from the mountains, sweeping in our faces, the determination to gain the point we had started for, the hope, that, as long experience had taught us, the evil was exaggerated, and, above all, a firm trust in a kind Providence, lent us on the occasion rather a buoyancy of spirits, than the contrary.

Our seruji did not know the way, and we travelled from village to village in a general north-eastern direction towards Taurus. At one of these, by promises of remuneration, we obtained a Kurd guide, but he ran away as soon as he had got half a mile from the village.

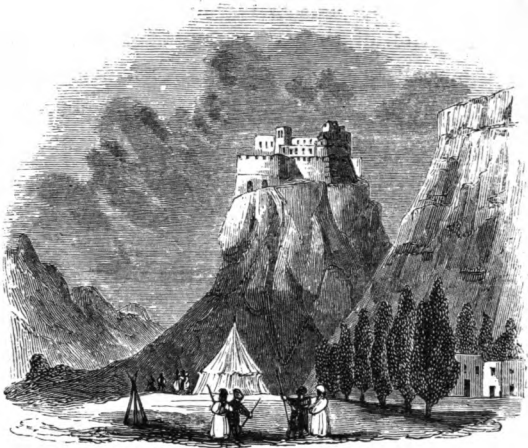
On arriving at the foot of Taurus, we descended into a deep vale, having the Swiss name of Chamuni, and we ascended hence by a very steep and rocky height, passing which we gained the large village of Oldish, containing about forty houses of Armenians and the same number of Kurds.

We were now rendered aware that we were in a district of Kurds who were in the vassal, but not the subject state. The ragged garb of the rustic was supplanted by a handsome highland and military costume, a waistcoat of brown cloth, surmounted by a braided jacket of the same material, open, with loose sleeves. The wide trowsers of blue stuff, open to the knee but tight to the legs, were upheld by a narrow waistband, so as not to impede active or prolonged exercise, and the feet were protected by good laced boots. Every man carried his gun on his back, and his pouch by his side. The latter was made of the same coloured cloth as his jacket, and adorned by two or three black tassels.

The features of the men (who as usual with the Kurds, were strong, muscular, and sinewy, any one equal to two such Osmanlis as constituted the army of Hafiz Pasha,) were regular and handsome, and more expressive of reckless daring, than of that low deceitful cupidity which so often characterizes the Arab. The women were also very good looking, and had generally fine heads of glossy black hair. They did not cover their faces. We had an excellent opportunity of contemplating these villagers, for we rested ourselves half an hour by a fountain side, in the middle of the village, and under the shade of a great plane-tree, where we were soon surrounded by almost all the inhabitants.

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## CHAPTER XX.



Gergen Kaleshi.

Vale of Gergen Kaleshi. Rupture with the Kurds. Castle of Gergen. Prospect from the Castle. Armenians of Taurus. Muleteer runs away. Visit from a Kurd Chief. Bribe the Ayyan. Dangerous Mountain Road. Passage of Euphrates. Syrian Village. Cataracts of Samosata. Aqueduct. Difficulty of procuring food. Deserted Villages. Someîsat—Samosata. Ruins of Syrian Villages. Curious Cavities. Ecclesiastical and Monastic Edifices. Arrival at Birehjik.

LEAVING Oldish, we followed a rude path on the side of a rocky acclivity, and we had not gone far, before a handsome young Kurd, in his military costume, overtook us, and addressed Mr. Rassam in a mysterious manner. It appeared that he had made up his mind that there must be a hakim, or doctor, among so many Europeans, and he was not blessed with a family; this was a misfortune for which, however, we had no patent remedies, and

we were obliged to leave our new friend much dissatisfied at the useless march he had taken.

The reflection of the sun to day, from the bare surface of the rock, produced so intense a degree of heat, that one of the horses fell down as in a swoon, and the dog's feet were so swollen, that he could not proceed any further, and we were obliged to put him across a saddle.

At length we came to a small pass near the crest of the hills and where the beds of rock were curved in so irregular and fantastic a manner, that it appeared as if the waves of the sea had been turned into stone. This pass was defended by a wall, now in a ruinous condition, and also two square towers, quite dilapidated.

When we passed there, the open wooded beautiful vale of Gergen Kalehsi, lay before us in all its mountainous seclusion, hemmed in by the giant Ashur Tagh and other heights, at no great distance; at the foot of the rocks to the right was the small town of Gergen Kalehsi itself, and above it on a rocky height, detached as if by accident from the adjacent range of hill, was the castle of Juliopolis.

The first thing on our arrival was to see the mutesellim, but he had only a deputy here, who communicated to us the not unanticipated, but still not very agreeable intelligence, that the Kurds had thrown off their allegiance to the Porte, that the governor had gone to Hafiz Pasha to obtain assistance, and that it was not in his power to protect us from any ill feeling which the Kurds might entertain towards us. We had already made up our minds, however, that our visit should be to the Kurds, and not to the Osmanlis, so we pitched our tent

near the village, and exerted ourselves in conciliating such as came to see us.

The modern town of Gergen, although the seat of a mutesellim, is only a small place containing about 150 houses, and there are thirty more in the castle. The chief population is composed of Kurd mountaineers, but there were also a few devout Turks, besides twenty-five houses of Armenians. This small congregation has a priest and a church.

The next day being Sunday, the Armenian priest came to visit us, and brought some communion cake. We requested him to be seated within the tent, which was nearly filled with visitors. Among these was the mollah of the Mohammedans, whom we had not recognised as such, he being merely dressed as an ordinary Osmanli. A party present were indulging in scurrilous epithets towards us, when the priest took our part, upon which he was assailed so fiercely and outrageously by the mollah, that we took the latter, not then knowing who he was, by the shoulders, and put him out of the tent. This was the commencement of our troubles, for by this untoward event, we had unintentionally openly attached ourselves to the Armenian party, and set ourselves against the Mohammedans, and a short time afterwards the mollah made his reappearance, accompanied by some stout armed Kurds, who let us know, in language loud, and not to be mistaken, that to insult their priest was to insult them. We were now obliged to mount guard outside the tent, which preparation for active hostilities for a time quieted our opponents, and also cleared the tent of visitors.

The same morning we visited the castle, an interest-

ing remnant of antiquity. The castle hill is separated from adjacent cliffs by an excavated way, which is crossed by a wooden bridge, supported by central square pillars. The gateway is very handsome, and of Saracenic architecture, having an Arabic inscription over the portal; it leads into a covered way with three arches, and then by an open way, along the side of the rock to a second gate. Here the passage is cut out of solid rock, in which there is a recess like a frame, which may have contained a statue, or head in bas relief, that has now disappeared, and round this frame was a long inscription in Greek letters of the middle ages, of which only a few words here and there remained legible.

Beyond this we entered upon that part of the fort which contains the houses, and which is in a more dismantled condition. On the highest part of the rock, there is a mass of solid stone masonry; there was also in the castle three small pieces of ordnance of curious workmanship, which appeared to have belonged either to the Arabs of the Khalifate or to the Tatars, who, under Timour, crossed the Euphrates at this point.

The view from the castle is one of great beauty, and in one direction, that of the plain of Suverek, very extensive, being only limited by the Karajah Tagh to the east, and extending beyond the reach of vision to the south. The great slope of the Kurd district towards the Euphrates, is, however, hid by limestone cliffs. In other directions was a varied mountain scenery, amid which the rocky pass of Kakhtah, the high conical mountain of Ashur, and other bold mountain ridges, formed the principal features; but the most attractive objects were the adjoining green valleys, and the rich sloping hills, in

districts often supposed to be uninhabited, but where villages are met with, and cultivation is extended in almost every direction.

The Euphrates sweeping round through Taurus, attains a few miles beyond the ferry of Dirisko, in the vale of Gergen Kalehsi, its most easterly curve, rolls over the rapids immediately above the village so named, and then turning again below the cliff of the castle of Gergen, passes through a very narrow gorge above 400 feet in depth, of which one third is formed by nearly perpendicular cliffs; from this it emerges below the valley of Chamuni, and its banks become for a time productive and luxuriant. The summits of the mountains around are, for the most part, bold, rocky, and barren; the declivities are also rocky and uneven, but well wooded, with much breadth and depth of shadow.

The whole effect is one of dark mountain scenery, with occasional glimpses of light, from winding rivers, white cliffs, smiling villages, crops and vineyards, which still belong in this, as in almost all Taurus, rather to a subalpine than to a mountainous region of the first order.

During our visit to the castle, although we were accompanied by a goodly crowd, more especially anxious to see, if by the perusal of the inscriptions, we should be led to find any treasure, we were not subjected to any personal inconvenience. Within the castle, the women were the most noisy, and did not fail to heap plenty of epithets, such as the domestic language of Orientals is particularly rich in, on our infidel heads.

In the evening, ~~after~~ our return, the Armenians kindly offered that two of their tribe should watch for



us during the night, and we accepted their offer, for the Armenians here did not resemble their heartless, prostrate countrymen of the plains, but were accustomed to fight for their rights with the hardy predatory mountaineers, and had acquired manly and martial attributes; they were also armed and willing, and we felt that we could put confidence in their proffer of friendship.

*June 10th.* The next day we wanted to start, but our muleteer had absconded during the night, the Kurds would not furnish us with mules, and as we could not leave the baggage, Mr. Rassam kindly offered to go to Dirisko, and see if a raft could be constructed.

During his absence, the whole time was spent in keeping the Kurds at bay. They sneered and insulted us, even in the interior of the tent, but forbearance prevailed, and we kept ourselves and property safe without coming to an open rupture. The manner they showed that they would shoot us if we came to active hostilities, from behind a heap of stones, did not add much to our opinion of their courage.

During the morning a chieftain of the tribe of Murderli came with a party of armed followers to pay us a visit; he knew whom we were, "English, not Russians," he said, and seemed pleased. This party was well received and behaved with great decorum, touching nothing but our arms, which a Kurd can never resist, and possessing too much manly hauteur to side with the harassing persecutions of the half-bred Kurds of Gergen.

Mr. Rassam returned with the intelligence that he had not succeeded in obtaining a raft, so after a short consultation we deemed it wisest to bribe the deputy-governor of the town, and try how far his authority

would extend. This plan, although costly, answered, and after a little further delay we had the pleasure of seeing sundry mules come out of their hiding-places, for a short time before they had positively asserted that there was not one in the town, and striking our tent we were truly glad to take our departure.

Another happy circumstance for us was, that our muleteers, who were very numerous, nearly one to every mule, were willing (to make the journey answer two purposes) to go on with us to Birehjik, where they could convert the money they would receive from us into a load to take back to the mountains, but as the Serasker's army was at that town they did not dare to take any arms with them beyond their daggers; and thus, noisy, obstreperous, and ill-willed as they were at starting, we fairly reduced them into submission before night, though not before Rassam had been obliged to deal out many hard knocks.

We left the valley of Gergen by the same pass that we approached it, and descending due south from this, reached the borders of a deep glen, both sides being almost vertical and from 300 to 400 feet in depth, while the Euphrates rolled below, much diminished in size by its rocky barriers.

The road was carried down the sides of this precipice, sometimes among detached rocks, at others in front of the cliff, and so narrow, that the slightest push would have hurled a mule below; at times the descent was an actual staircase, but Kurd mules appeared as accustomed to these as a human being. The baggage had to be carried up and down, and as there was but one small raft on skins to take us over, notwithstanding that we

all lent a hand, still we were the whole afternoon in effecting the passage. We had only one mishap; the tent equipage rolled off the bearers' shoulders, and did not stop till thrown by a projecting crag nearly into the middle of the stream; one of the men engaged at the ferry, however, took to the water and brought it ashore again.

Just before sunset we arrived at the village of Masro, tenanted by a small congregation of Syrians, who were peaceful and prosperous agriculturists. We felt at once at home among these quiet Christian peasants, and pitched our tent in the stubble of a corn-field by the village, gathering mulberries as long as sufficient light lasted. It was a great change from our position at Gergen, and while we felt grateful for it, we could scarcely believe that it had been effected by merely passing the Euphrates.

*June 11th.* Our road now lay with the general course of the Euphrates. Passing Hadro, with groves and gardens, we came, after three hours from Masro, to the river of Zengibar, or of Negroes, in a limestone ravine. This river abounded in fish, and before it joined the Euphrates formed a large muddy pool, which contained numbers of the Euphrates turtles (*Trionyx Euphratica*), being the most northerly point at which I had observed them.

We now descended the banks of the river Euphrates, and an hour below this were some islands and rapids in the river, at the ferry of Misibin. We rested ourselves a short time at Kantarah, a very miserable village of Kurds.

We soon started again, along the banks of the

river, passing Cham Chaye (Fir River), flowing slowly through a deep ravine in chalk.

Beyond this we turned a little inwards, and arrived at another ravine, with rivulet, which we followed a short distance, till joined by another, on the cliffs of which were sepulchral caverns; and a little beyond the village of Hoshun, built on an artificial mound or teppeh, and evidently an ancient site.

We had rode this day about thirty-five geographical miles, and after pitching our tent in a field below the village, there still remained light enough to go and shoot pigeons, which abounded in the artificial caves in the cliffs below.

*June 12th.* Our road lay still along the banks of the Euphrates, over a country very little cultivated. Two hours from Hoshun, and above the junction of the Kakhtah river, are some rapids, which appear to be the cataracts noticed by Pliny as being above Samosata, for we saw no others from hence to that town.

Below, the Kakhtah river flowed into the Euphrates by three different mouths. From hence to Someisat the remains of an aqueduct, which carried the water of this river, as previously noticed, to the capital of Com-magena, are every now and then visible. Its lofty arches, supported either by strong walls or piers, show that it must have been a work carefully executed.

Below this, and at a village called Nahr Laga, we came to groves of mulberries and pomegranates, where we did not hesitate to refresh ourselves awhile. These gardens continued by Bakchi (the Village of the Gâr-dener), for several miles along the course of the river.

At Kesan the river turned to the south-west, and we

continued more or less in this direction till we arrived at the village of Ledar, situate about two miles north of Someïsat, by the side of an artificial mound, in which there was much pottery, but of Mohammedan origin.

We did not go on to Kantarah, the village opposite to Someïsat, where I had slept on a former occasion, because we thought that as the Serasker's army was so near, and this was a government station, the vexatious demands to which the inhabitants must be daily subjected by travelling khawasses, would either make them unwilling or put it out of their power to furnish provisions ; but we were scarcely better off at Ledar, for the most tempting offers procured us neither bread, nor milk, nor eggs, till we threatened, if they were not forthcoming, to help ourselves, and they were then quickly produced, for they had plenty in store, but fearful of it being known, lest they should be subjected to exaction.

Such is the fear or unwillingness of the Orientals to give information, or such their ignorance of what is going on around them, that to-day was the first time that we heard that the Serasker had removed from Birehjik, and was gone with his army to Nizib.

*June 13th.* When we passed by Kantarah we found that the inhabitants had fled, a short and common way in this country of avoiding extortion. Someïsat is on the right bank of the river\*, and a little lower than

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\* Strabo (lib. xvi. p. 749) describes the ferry here as the actual Zeugma of Euphrates. Opposite to Samosata was Seleucia, a fortress of Mesopotamia, added by Pompey to Commagena, and in which Tigranes caused Cleopatra, surnamed Selene (Moon), to perish (B.C. 70), after having kept her some time in prison.

Kantarrah. All that remains of this once celebrated city, the seat of the kings of Commagena, the birth-place of Lucian, and an episcopate in the middle ages, is a partly artificial mound, with the fragmentary remains of a castle on its summit. The modern town is a poor place, of about 400 houses, peopled by Kurds and Turkomans, with an occasional Osmanli and Armenian, and governed by a Kurdish boyahbeg.

At Jemjemi, with a ziyaret or sanctuary, we left the river side, as it had been already explored from Birehjik to Someïsät by Captain Lynch, when I accompanied him on a former journey. Ascending by a pass in chalk, with superimposed gravel beds, we reached Yasinjah, where were large flocks of the locust-eating thrush (*Turdus roseus*).

Our road lay hence across a fertile plain, and fine corn country, only rather in want of water, till we arrived at Yailash, a large village built round an antique-looking artificial mound or teppeh. By position and distance this corresponds to the ancient Porsica. It is now the seat of a boyahbeg. The surrounding country is well cultivated, water being drawn from wells. We pitched our tent in a field near the village; and in the evening shot a beautiful green ibis.

*June 14th.* Travelling over the plain as before, we approached some low limestone hills with ruins of houses, which, unlike others in these countries, had been carefully built of stone, and had once been edifices of some pretensions, both as regarded size and style of building; these were situated in three groups about half a mile from one another; the central group was the largest, and contained the remains of two churches,

still in a good state of preservation, having been solidly built after the fashion of the Cappadocian churches, with bold semicircular arches, and roof of large slabs of stone. These churches evidently belonged, however, to a Syrian community, for the altars were level with the floors; whereas, in the Armenian churches they are raised, and in the Greek are placed in a sanctuary.

Accompanying these were some curious cavities, hewn in the solid rock, in the form of a pear, the base varying from eight to twelve feet in diameter, and the depth from twelve to twenty feet or upwards; but the aperture is small and round, and generally covered up with a single large stone. They are coated on the inside with mortar, and some of them being broken down are used as stables for mules, others are filled with tibbin, or chopped straw, the usual food for horses in these countries.

These cavities have been supposed to be tombs, and their perfect make, and occasional proximity to the churches, would appear to favour such a supposition; but they may also have been repositories for corn or water. The mortared walls favour the idea of their having been reservoirs, but that they were granaries is rendered the more probable, from the circumstance of cavities of similar character, although less carefully constructed, being still in use in many parts of Syria for such purposes.

This spot is now called Uth Kilisa (Three Churches), and there are still the houses of a few poor villagers in the neighbourhood. A little beyond this we came to the ruins of another village; a single wall with two windows was all that remained of the church.

The soil was now formed of indurated chalk, appearing often on the surface, like a rude but nearly level rocky pavement, at times covered with a slender vegetation of grass. The outline of the country was undulating, but there was an almost continuous barrenness, and a total want of water.

As we continued to travel over this inhospitable district, we were constantly discovering traces of early Christianity, ecclesiastical or monastic edifices, often of great beauty; remains of large villages, with deep cisterns or reservoirs hewn out of solid rock, arches isolated on some lone rocky summit, or fountains deserted and broken up.

We were evidently passing through an interesting district, it having been the seat of one of the early Christian communities in these countries, and,—as in the somewhat similar circumstances already noticed respecting the Greeks in Garsaura,—it was impossible to travel through such a scene without asking oneself, was it from fear of persecution—to avoid jealousy or envy—or, which is most probable, to practise severe exercises and austere self-denial, that here, as in the Syrian hills of Reïha and Edlip, and amid the rocks of Sheikh Barakat (Mount St. Simeon), the early Christians retreated into stony and sterile districts, without soil to cultivate, without shade from the sun, and even without spring-water to quench a summer's thirst.

After a ride of nine hours we descended to the plain north of Birehjik; the tents of the Osmanlis were now seen lining the heights above the river north-west of the town and on the right bank. A further ride of an hour



and a-half, and having in all made about thirty geographical miles, brought us to gardens of mulberry, fig, and pomegranate-trees, about a mile north of the town.

Here we pitched our tent, as we expected to find the town full of soldiery, and as, further, we could from hence best take our measures for visiting the Serasker without taking our baggage to the encampment.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

Retrospective. Views of the Sultan Mahmoud. Hafiz Pasha, Serasker. Dyarbekr. Campaign of Sinjar. Campaigns in Taurus. Campaign of Akjah Tagh and Kakhtah. Preparations in other Pashaliks. Prussian Officers. Passage of Taurus by the Army. Camp at Nizib. Policy of Ibrahim Pasha.

THE magnitude of the events which took place shortly after our arrival at Birehjik demands some previous explanation. I therefore quit for a moment the journal system of recording our travels, to glance at the circumstances which had gradually paved the way to the denouement which we so unfortunately and so unintentionally arrived just in time to witness; and it is certain that, although people in general, and the author in particular, were almost to the last moment ignorant of the real objects of the warlike preparations of the Turks, still these preparations had been going on for six years, before the day which witnessed the toil, trouble, and expense incurred during that period of time swept away, in two brief hours, at the foot of the dusty hills of Nizib.

The Turks had never forgiven the reverses of Syria and Karamania, and the loss of so fine a portion of their country was not more vexatious than the superintendence of the great road to Mecca passing into other hands was humiliating to their religious pride. Sultan Mahmoud, resolute and heroic, but whose genius and abilities were too much wrapped up in vanity and fatalism to succeed in any great undertaking, except that which his heroism

alone accomplished—the sudden destruction of the Janissaries—meditated at once the recovery of his lost possessions, the overthrow of Mehemet Ali, and the regeneration of an European fame for the Osmanli, by the institution, to a large extent, of the Nizam Djedid, or regular troops, in the interior of Asiatic Turkey; and subsequently, when it was still doubted if this would answer all the purposes desired, by the raising of large bodies of militia, which were incorporated and disciplined in great part by European instructors, in the interval between the treaty of Kutayah (1833) and 1839, by which time they were brought to a considerable degree of perfection in their drill and discipline.

As serasker over the new troops, and successor to Reshid Pasha, an officer was appointed, who, by birth a Circassian, was well known for his personal strength and address, and had also served in the previous unfortunate conflicts sustained against the Egyptians at Homs and at Koniye. Hafiz Pasha combined with the qualities of some experience of his opponent, and undoubted courage, considerable judgment and discrimination, individual sensibility and consequent refinement of manners, and a real enthusiasm in the cause in which he was engaged. He was further possessed of a liberal and enlightened spirit, far beyond that manifested by the generality of Turkish pashas, which rendered him open to all innovations that promised good, and led him to avail himself more freely of the assistance of Europeans and Christians.

To insure the attainment of the objects in view, the command of two leading pashaliks, besides the control over some minor ones, was given to the new Serasker;

but these, though populous and flourishing provinces, are little regarded by European nations, who, from Brusa to Erzurum in one direction, and from Erzurum to Mosul in another, had then no recognised agents and no mercantile residences; so that the long detail of the gradual progress by which the army of Nizib was collected, remained almost unknown, or at least little attended to, by either diplomatists or governments.

At first Hafiz Pasha established his head-quarters at Sivas, the ancient Sebaste; from whence he afterwards removed to the more central position of the plain of Mezireh, close to Kharput, renowned as one of the four great cities of Armenia (Carcathiocerta), and at no great distance from a second, Arsomsata, or Arsomasata. Here, on the fertile plain that extends at the foot of the bold rocks from whence the castle of Carcathiocerta appears to overlook at once the Euphrates and the Tigris, and in the centre of the great district of the Imperial mines, the direction of which is attached to the pashalik of Dyarbekr, he erected commodious barracks, from which the Seraï was not far distant, and while husbanding his resources, he introduced into these districts the use of something like European carriages; for the Owah, or plain of Kharput, covered with picturesque Mohammedan and Armenian villages, and carefully tilled and cultivated, is traversed by roads upon which (a rare thing in Lesser Asia, and still more so in Taurus,) the labours of agriculture are assisted by the use of carts.

This productive district, a part of Armenia as a kingdom, included the best portion of the province designated as *nobilissimam regionem Sophenen*. Its resources

for the support of a large population, or an army, are as great probably in modern as in ancient times. The whole country is covered with villages surrounded by gardens, while its soil, deposited by the loaded tributaries of the Murad Su, appears never to have known what niggardness was towards any population, which, under varying names and varying faiths, was inclined to be industrious.

From hence the Serasker repaired to Dyarbekr, and in the winter of 1836-37 he had already fifty guns, though badly mounted, and a force of about 25,000 regular and irregular troops. The beautiful and durable walls of the ancient Amida used to excite his admiration. He saw that they were superior to anything done in the present day by the Turks, and he would ask over and over again, when riding beneath the lofty arch of a Roman gateway, who were the architects? but his historical knowledge of the power and the refinement of the former possessors of Western Asia was not sufficient to enable him to remember their name, or policy made him wish to appear ignorant of the works of infidels.

At this period commenced the campaigns against the Kurds of Kurdistan Proper, which originated in the rebellion of the natives against a governor appointed by Reshid Pasha after the siege and capture of Jezireh Ibn Omar, and the erroneous belief that one of their old chieftains, who had been sent to Baghdad, was on his way with a large party of followers to re-establish their independence; being mingled up besides this with family broils. The tranquillization of the disturbed districts was intrusted to the Pasha of Dyarbekr and other generals, and was to all appearance accomplished.

But the resources of Dyarbekr, although a considerable place of trade, are not of themselves great, and soon became exhausted. Mirza Pasha, general of cavalry, had also been for the last eighteen months quartered with two regiments upon the small town of Mardin, in this district, which, naturally ill-disposed, and unable to bear the burthen, was in a state of passive revolt.

In such an emergency, in order at once to employ the soldiers, to recruit means, and to conceal the real objects of the drain continually going on, an expedition against the Kurds of Sinjar was resolved upon, and for a time absorbed all attention, as the Serasker was himself to assist in the campaign. Every one was anxious for the subjugation of these people, who have so long troubled the peace and impeded commerce in Mesopotamia. Assistance thus came the more voluntarily, though a stout resistance was expected, and being at Dyarbekr on the business of the Euphrates Expedition, I often heard the question seriously put as to the chances of success against an armed banditti, who could only muster from 4000 to 5000 firelocks, and to whom discipline and military tactics were unknown.

It is not my object to detail the progress of this campaign: suffice it that the villages were reduced, the women given over to the soldiery, and the men hunted even into their caverned fastnesses, in which many were slain. Hafiz Pasha was bit by a centipede, from which he suffered severely, and after leaving a mutesellim and several inferior officers to govern the country, he retired to Dyarbekr, stationing Mirza Pasha, with a small force, at Nisibin, which is on the centre of a fertile plain,

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watered by the Mygdonius, and sufficiently near, to keep Sinjar in obedience.

The restoration of the antique Nisibis, where Trajan and Severus had held imperial banquets, and the Bacchanalian grape is seen entertwining the emblem of Roman power in the exquisite friezes that still remain,—from whence a fleet of boats descended to the Euphrates, from thence to overrun Babylonia and the magnificent Ctesiphon,—which witnessed the triumph of Lucullus, and the disgrace of Jovian, and which was one of the great points whence early Christianity was promulgated, was a noble enterprise. No love of antiquity nor regard for classic ground, however, urged the present labours, and their duration will be as frail as the power that begat them. In 1837, the author passed a night at Nisibin, in a hovel attached to the post-house; there were a few other cottages near it, and the whole were inclosed in a small quadrangle to keep off marauders. In the month of October, 1838, the Kurds having been subjugated that spring, Dr. Forbes\* found Mirza Pasha at Nisibin with a regiment of cavalry, and a troop of artillery, numbering altogether 900 men; a strong and commodious building, called a kasr, or palace, had been erected, there were a hundred well-built houses, inhabitants had been enticed from various parts, and there were a dozen shops kept by Christians.

In January 1840, I again passed through the same place. The kasr still existed, but was untenanted; near it were also a mud barrack and a mesjid, and a few trees were withering in the sun. There was also

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\* *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. ix.

a village in which were a few irregular soldiers and a zabit (inferior civil officer), but it was difficult to find an inhabitant; of the shops, there was already no trace left. Such is a page in the history of Nisibin, the proud Antiochia Mygdonia of the Greeks, and it is truly illustrative of what is seen every day in this unsettled and ill-governed country.

Taking advantage of the troops being withdrawn into Sinjar, the Kurds of the northern parts of Kurdistan rose in revolt; they had been misled to suppose that the destruction of the Osmanlis in the plains and hills of Sinjar was certain, but, nothing daunted, the autumn of the same year saw the Serasker and his troops marching to a more fatiguing and laborious campaign than that of Sinjar. In the former, two English officers, Colonel Considine and Captain Campbell, had arrived too late to give their assistance; in the present, the Serasker had the company and aid of the Prussian officers. Tribe after tribe was reduced, the castles at the head of the tributaries of the Tigris fell before the victorious troops, and Hafiz Pasha returned covered with glory, but the results have been the same as in every attempt to subjugate these hardy mountaineers; the battle of Nizib freed them from the new yoke that had been imposed upon them, and the Kurds of Sinjar at the same time re-established their independence.

Notwithstanding these successes, partly from necessity and partly from certain advantages which the position presented, Hafiz Pasha removed with his staff to Malatiyeh, and having ensured the permanent residence of the inhabitants of that town at their summer quarters, a market sprung up in the middle of the gardens,



while Malatiyeh itself was abandoned, the soldiers burnt shutters and frame-work for firewood, and tore off roofs or pulled up floors, and the old city became a ruin. But the Serasker worked steadily at his object: a powder-mill was now established, and wrought with success, forges were built, guns repaired, and new and efficient carriages were made.

Few, if any, of his predecessors had made themselves so well acquainted with the resources of the provinces under his control as Hafiz Pasha, nor knew better how to turn them to account. The great post road had especially been looked to, and (excepting that, from a wish to gratify the Sultan, who took about this time a sudden enthusiasm in favour of quarantines, a vexatious stoppage was effected between Malatiyeh and Sivas,) never was the road more safe nor the interior of the country more bustling, than at the moment now in question. Agriculture flourished, nor did the pasha neglect the mines. His brother was appointed to the superintendence of the lead and silver mines of Kapan Madan; he had engaged an European, who unfortunately fell a victim to the climate at Sivan Maden, and he was anxious to render more efficient the rich copper mines of Arghana, and to avail himself of the abundant iron ores of Divrigi. The ordinary equipments of his soldiery were made under his own immediate inspection, except the shoes, which were obtained from Russia and the bonnets from Constantinople.

The spring and summer of 1838 witnessed two new campaigns against the Kurds. The first against the Kurds of Akjah Tagh, of which notice has already been taken in traversing that remarkable country; the

second, to which greater difficulties were opposed, was against the castles in that part of Taurus where the Euphrates forces for itself a passage through the mountains, and which had for many years been in the undisputed possession of the mountaineers. These would be in the rear of the army that was about to penetrate into Syria, and policy as well as actual necessity dictated their subjugation. Among these places were Kakhtah and Gergen Kalehsi, both previously described. They were reduced, but the Kurds repaired to their mountain fastnesses, where they were as safe as the native ibex, and the result we have already seen.

Misfortunes, however, began now to overtake the Serasker in his labours. Malatiyeh is renowned, even among the natives, for its unhealthiness. The soldiers fatigued and harassed, and withal not over well fed, soon began to sink under the climate, and in the autumn of the same year perished by hundreds, so that the army was at the moment most of need, rendered no longer efficient. This was a severe affliction which tended much to retard the measures in progress, but Sultan Mahmoud had from various circumstances become more firm in his resolution than ever; and that nothing might prevent his general commencing hostilities against the Egyptians by the next spring, he began to reinforce him from Constantinople itself, whence two regiments of guards, besides guns and amunition, were sent to join from the port of Samsun, and other succours came with an activity that delighted the heart of the Serasker, and raised to the highest pitch the hopes and the enthusiasm of the Turks.

The secrecy which had been observed at head-quarters could now no longer be preserved throughout the empire. The Sultan, while he was assuming so warlike an aspect in the interior, was devoting almost all his resources in the capital towards the equipment of his fleet, and it became what it was to the last moment—a crowd of noble ships without sailors and without officers—a sword of state which no one could wield.

While the events which have been detailed were in progress, Izzet Pasha of Angora, and Haji Ali Pasha of Koniye, had also been long engaged in the collecting and drilling of troops. The levies had no longer, as at first, been confined to the provinces of Dyarbekr and Sivas, but extended to near Smyrna on the one side, and as far as to the interior pashalic of Boli on the other.

The pasha of Erzrum was active on his part. Ali Pasha of Baghdad had also undertaken extensive plans, which were not, however, followed by success; he erected barracks at Erbil and Kerkuk. Suleiman Pasha of Suleimaniya, in Southern Kurdistan, had long had a few regular troops, and they were incorporated with what was now intended to form a *corps d'armée*. The pasha of Amadiyah was applied to in vain. The pasha of Mosul erected barracks, and succeeded in raising an efficient force of 3000 men, besides a small park of artillery. These troops in the extreme east did not, however, co-operate in the campaign of 1839.

It was impossible for European diplomatists to close their eyes any longer to the progress of events, and assistance in the way of instruction was asked for, and given, on the part of the powers friendly to the Turkish empire, but political intrigue thwarted these measures at an

early period, as it also did others, at a later hour. Two English officers of known abilities and talent, after their assistance had been sought for by the Sultan, were neglected, and a strong remonstrance was made to Mahmoud by the British ambassador; but what could the Turk do against the urgent insistence of a power which so short a time before had a fleet and camp at the head of the Bosphorus?

I am not aware if assistance was sought or offered on the part of the French government, but it was accepted at last from an admitted neutral power—Prussia, who sent several able and experienced officers to their assistance. Barons Moltke and Mulbach, of the Prussian staff, and Captain Lauer, of the artillery, were appointed to the head-quarters at Malatiyeh. M. Fischer lent his services to the pasha at Koniyyeh, and first put the defences on the Turkish side of Taurus into an available condition. Baron Wincke, another well-qualified and industrious officer, repaired to Angora, to the army of Izzet Pasha.

Men so intelligent as the officers who had now come to superintend the instruction of the Turkish army could not fail to observe in a very short time that there existed, in the division of command over that army, a principle opposed to all success.

Izzet Pasha could never concede the justice of appointing over him a man of less standing and less military reputation than himself, one of whom he used to speak as a young and inexperienced pasha, perhaps with some degree of truth,—but Hafiz was the favourite of the Sultan. The aged Haji Ali also held himself aloof enshrouded in comfortable and never-failing Osmanli

pride; and thus there was no real co-operation among parties jealous of one another.

The Prussian officers urged in the strongest manner the union of the command under one, but they did not at first agree as to the choice of the individual to recommend. Whether the diplomatists in Constantinople had before this seen and urged the necessity of such a measure I cannot tell, but if they did, it is much to be regretted that the Sultan did not at once acquiesce in the arrangement, as to the neglect of so important a point, the failure of the ill-arranged campaign of 1839 is in great part to be attributed.

It is certain, as I have had means of assuring myself since on the spot, that, so far had Ibrahim Pasha drained his resources to oppose the Serasker's sole army, that there were not 3000 men to impede the progress of the 15,000 troops of Haji Ali through the Cilician Gates, or Golek Boghaz; and, besides Suleiman Pasha at Marash, there were 20,000 men bearing arms and in rebellion in the Amanus (Gawur Tagh), ready to join the army of Izzet Pasha, had he received earlier orders or been more active in his operations. If Ibrahim Pasha had been so skilful and prompt in his movements as to have fought these armies in detail, still there would have been a diversion in favour of the Serasker or any one of the remaining armies, which, combined with the good will that then existed to the cause of the Sultan in Damascus and Aleppo, as well as in the inferior towns, must have led to the loss at least of his Syrian possessions to Mehemet Ali.

Early in the spring of 1839 Hafiz Pasha commenced the passage of the Taurus; in order to effect which, not-

withstanding previous preparatory labours, there were still rocks to be cut through, stones to be removed, and bridges to be built, and a constant and fatiguing exertion to be kept up for nearly two months. The Serasker in part superintended these operations, and for several days took up his position near the cool fountains of Surghu.

But the welfare of the army required a separation; and leaving the artillery to pursue their arduous course by Erkenek and Pelve, the pasha moved with the cavalry and part of the infantry by a more difficult road to the fertile plain of Adiyaman.

From hence the banks of the river Euphrates by Rum-Kalah to Birehjik were easily gained; the point of reunion was established on the large and level tract of sand and gravel which has been deposited by the river opposite to the latter town, and every day for some time saw new parties arrive, more or less fatigued with their journey through the mountains; and, according to the spirit of the parties, more or less rejoiced at the broad bosom of waters that now extended before them, and the promises of more regular supplies, which generally attend upon head-quarters.

After considering the position of the country and the direction whence the enemy were likely to come, the Prussian officers began to lay out lines of defence upon the heights above, which, when completed certainly presented a very formidable front, and in which, in after-times, much reliance was still placed, not from the natural advantages of the position, but because with a river in the rear (no very complimentary arrangement), they thought the Turks might be more firm to their post.

But this position presented a disadvantage, which at the first could scarcely have been contemplated. As the warm weather came on, the troops used to bathe in the Euphrates, whose waters are here both deep and rapid, besides having frequent quicksands, which are extremely dangerous. The loss of lives which occurred from what would appear at first such a trifling cause, and which it would have been thought good sense and a natural caution would also have soon put a stop to, was so great as to render it desirable to the pasha to change his quarters. There was no other rivulet or river nearer than the Kesrin, and on its banks there were no villages, but a little higher up the country, and at the foot of the hills, nearly due west of Birehjik, were the pleasant groves and large village of Nizib, at once an agreeable and good site for a camp, offering some resources and not a disadvantageous position for defence. While the preparations were making for departing to this spot, a new accident came to discomfit the troops and bring dejection into the army; a depôt of powder, placed improvidently in the very centre of the camp, was by some accident exploded, and the result filled the hospitals with wounded, and entailed the loss of many hundred lives.

The Serasker having pitched his tent at Nizib, the encampment was effected in a more orderly manner, and with a more efficient and comfortable distribution of its parts and of the different services, than on the banks of the Euphrates, where it had been allowed to accumulate almost according to the accidental arrival of the parties; and here commenced those first petty hostilities, for which the Egyptian general was anxiously waiting, in

order that he might be able to say to the other powers that he did not begin the war. With the same view he kept the garrison of Aintab, which has a strong citadel, capable of standing a long siege and with accommodation for 10,000 men, with only 1,500 men in it, and fomented rebellion among its inhabitants, that so promising a bait might be, as it was, taken by the Turks, and thus afford him at once a clear and prominent excuse for hostilities; for it is to be observed, the Turks had not passed the frontier established by the treaty of Kutayah, which was at the river of Sagur, four hours on the way to Aleppo beyond their present position.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

Town of Birehjik. Prospect around us. Ferries on Euphrates.  
Road to the Camp. Reception by the Serasker. Birehjik at  
night-time. Return to the Camp. Aspect of the Camp. Curious  
Whirlwinds. Village of Nizib. Defences of the Camp.

THE spot at which we had pitched our tent, to the north of Birehjik, was equally pleasant and remarkable for the beauty of the scenery by which it was surrounded. A continuous and nearly level plain, covered with meadows and feeding many flocks, with here and there an encampment of pastoral Turkomans, or a village of herdsmen, stretched to the north, to where the Euphrates breaks from its rock-bound channel by a huge gap, which is visible far away along the course of the river. The direction of the latter, as it issues from the hills, is southerly, but sweeping round the foot of Tel Balkis, a high mound of chalk, whose name, that of the Queen of Sheba, and existing ruins, attest it to have been once the seat of a temple, the waters come in contact with the prolongation of the hills of Nizib, and are forced away to the east, whence curving round to the spot where we were, the silvery expanse turned and glided away to the south, washing in its course the marble walls and white stairs of the town of Bir or Birehjik, and a little beyond on the right—a speck on the plain—the brown intrenchments of Port William, where the boats of the Euphrates Expedition were put together, and where several of our adventurous countrymen lie buried.

The appearance of Birehjik, with its noble castle,

where paintings of the time of the Crusaders still exist, its caverned houses and climbing ramparts\*, its rocky shelves studded with green ibis, and its cleanly mosques with their broad marble steps, for the frequent ablutions demanded by an Arab prophet, ought to be familiar from the sketch given by Mr. Buckingham, if not from the more accurate drawings of the officers of the Euphrates Expedition; but, although not so comprehensive, the view from the north is far more striking, the outline of the hills and walls is more distinct, and the bold irregular form of the castle perched upon its craggy rocks, advances into the rapid and resistless stream like an armed warrior of by-gone times, ready to dispute its further progress.

On the green slopes which extended like a lawn, and then rose like a terrace over the right bank of the river, and opposite to the town, was a small encampment, while another detachment of troops occupied the more picturesque point of the peninsula, which stretched like a dry and thirsty tongue to lap the waters opposite to us.

The immediate position of our tent was in a garden at the foot of a radiant chalk cliff. There, under the shade of a wide spread fig-tree and masked in front by a dense foliage of pomegranate, we found some shelter from the glaring heat of a midsummer sun, and as much repose as the infinitude of flies and insects, and clouds of dust, raised into whirlpools by every passing breeze, would permit us to enjoy.

The next day we mounted our horses, and pursued

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\* "*Muris velut sinuosis et cornutis.*" Ammian. lib. xx. cap. 18, who by mistake writes *Virta* for *Birtha*.

our way along the foot of the cliffs, which on approaching the town only allow of a narrow path between them and the troubled waters below. Birehjik was nearly deserted; the castle had been converted into an hospital, and was tolerably full, but in the streets scarce a person was to be seen, and the shops were shut; here and there an European hakim was hurrying with careworn and anxious face to his duties, and there were besides only a few houseless Arabs, with long lines of weary camels which had lately brought wheat, rice, or barley, from the rich granaries of Harran and Seruj.

At the ferry there was more bustle: the boats had been taken into government pay, and were engaged in constantly passing and repassing all day and the greater part of the night with sheep and cattle, camels and horses, and grain of various kind.

The ferry-boats of Someïsat and Birehjik, the great thoroughfares from Syria and Arabia to Mesopotamia, do not possess very high claims for convenience. They resemble a great coal-scuttle with a flat bottom and the stern a little pointed. The steersmen are two in number, for the boat being at once steered and propelled by a long sweep like the tail of a fish, it requires two men to work it, and there are four more in front, occupied, with loud bursts of exclamation, and groans innumerable, in clumsily beating poor Euphrates with two awkward oars. In the interior, camels, horses, sheep, and men are huddled together, and if the passenger, up to his ankles in water, stretches himself to free his foot from the heavy pad of a camel or the iron pressure of a struggling horse, ten to one he receives a thump from the delicately managed sweep, which he may consider,

according to his philosophy, either as a mere practical summons to crouch again, or as an emblem of the evils of life.

The pleasures of the ferry had an end, and were succeeded on gaining the outposts on the top of the hill by a detailed examination of our papers; luckily the official employed in the capacity of Turkish secretary of police was an old friend, and after a few expressions of kindness over the customary finjan (cup) of coffee, we were allowed to pursue an uninterrupted progress to the camp, two hours, or from seven to eight miles, distant from the river. The road is carried along an almost level plain with two hills to the right, and a gradual slope towards the valley of the Kesrin to the left. Vegetation had now, for more than a month past, lost the freshness and vigour of spring—the flowering plants were withered and dry; the grass had assumed a russet-brown hue, which was not enlivened by the feathery blue of the olive groves; the fields were wasted, the crops having been cut when green for fodder; and the heather on the hills was buried in dust, which covered every thing, greensward, trees, and hills, and saddened the whole aspect of nature.

The carcasses of camels and horses, some newly dead, but others emitting most noxious effluvia, were encountered in numbers, and fully shewed how severe were the tasks to which the animals were put in order to supply the wants of an army. Nor was the loss on the part of the Egyptians less in this department; for on a subsequent journey, made some time after the battle from Aleppo to Birehjik, I saw the skeletons of nearly a hundred camels on various parts of the road. When

soldiers, occupied in the commissariat, had a horse drop upon the road, they ripped up the skin and cutting a bit, carried it to the camp, as a proof that the animal was really dead. We saw a party engaged in this operation; the animal was panting with thirst, heat, and exhaustion, unable to proceed or to die, and writhing under the knife.

Parties driving their loads to the camp, others hastening with unladen horses for further supplies, a few craven laggards slowly progressing to join the martial band, khawasses on their way to hurry tardy peasants or construct rafts up the river, tatars bound to the mutesellims of distant towns, and the aghas of districts, and officers upon various duties, gleamed through the sun's misty glare, and lent life to the great open furnace in which we all moved.

The *teskereh* we had obtained at the outposts was asked from us on entering the camp, and crossing the valley and rivulet of Nizib, we ascended a low hill, riding round which we dismounted in front of the pasha's tent, easily distinguished by its superior splendour, and by a guard and two guns placed on its threshold. The servants took our horses, and the General, against the Mohammedan law, which forbids rising to infidels, rose to receive us.

After many friendly congratulations, inquiries were instituted as to our objects, which were briefly but sufficiently explained, and our requests for letters, &c., put forward. The Pasha received them with a serious and thoughtful air, and when our explanation was finished, he endeavoured to dissuade us from our journey, which he strongly insisted upon was now fraught with insuper-

able difficulties, and rendered full of danger; he had endeavoured to raise supplies and men from among the subjected mountaineers, but without the least success, and he was at that moment exceedingly irate and vexed with the rebellious inhabitants of Sinjar.

After some further conversation, he promised to assist us, but only on condition that we would consent to spend a day or two with him in the camp. It was in vain that we represented the distance at which our tent was pitched, that we had instruments to carry, and altogether there would be much inconvenience to us in coming out of our way to the camp. These arguments were of no avail: the Pasha appeared rejoiced at having some English friends with him; our things, he said, should be sent for immediately by a trust-worthy person, and we must stop. Finding further objections useless, if not detrimental, I at first proposed that one of us should superintend the transport of the instruments, while the others remained as a sort of hostage, but considering that it was growing late, and whoever went upon the mission could hardly return that evening, I determined upon all going together, and coming back in the morning, and expressed my wishes to that effect to the Pasha. He was not much pleased with this new arrangement, and appeared afraid of losing us, but after a moment's consideration he sent for a colonel of irregulars, and put us under his charge. We accordingly started for Birehjik, and reached the water-side just as the dim veil of night was creeping over the town, and towers and menarehs rose out of the obscurity, like giant forms rearing themselves above ruined piles, dark covered ways, and solemn arches. The outline was beautiful,

even in its indistinctness; and it required very little imagination to people the castle walls with crusaders armed cap-à-pie, or to convert a white menareh into the the pontifical robes of a successor of the apostles\*.

Our companion had orders to find supper for us, and beds in the castle and at the house of the governor, and he was not a little surprised to find us resolved upon still proceeding to our tent; we pursued our way, however, along the foot of the dark cliffs, lighted by troops of stars, and welcomed by the low hooting of the owl, to our tranquil recess, where we roused the weary servants, and were ourselves roused shortly after by the arrival of a caravan of donkies, bringing supper ready made, and a dozen live fowls, for a midnight feast, and as a present from the mutesellim of Birehjik.

At sunrise, that is to say, at three in the morning, when life is truly an enjoyment in the East, an age-struck member of the Serasker's household, who had travelled with me on a former occasion, when we had had some sharp work with the Kurds of the Kara Bel, came and threw himself into my arms, and before I could prevent it, covered me with embraces. Our colonel came with him and drank coffee, during which time our tent and traps were loaded, and a few hours saw us once more seated in the camp of the Osmanlis.

At this period no hostilities of any importance had taken place: Ibrahim Pasha was quiet at Aleppo; some skirmishes had occurred between the irregular troops, but it was impossible to say which party was to blame;

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\* Birtha, with Edessa, Callinicum, and Batnæ, which succeeded to Seruj, was one of the oldest episcopates of Mesopotamia.

there had been a few predatory movements on both sides, and many inhabitants of the territory of Ibrahim Pasha, at Aintab, in Amanus, and in other places, had risen in favour of the Sultan, and had been supplied with arms from the camp; against which proceedings the Egyptian general had remonstrated in form, through the person of a military envoy; yet, notwithstanding these preliminaries to open hostility, this appeared, at the moment, as far removed as ever. The Turkish troops had on no occasion crossed the frontier, where the Osmanli advanced guard was stationed, and Ibrahim Pasha remained quiet in the great city of Aleppo.

After a short visit paid to Hafiz Pasha, his brother, Ibraila Pasha, accompanied us to the tents of the Barons Moltke and Mulbach, where we also met several of the European officers engaged in the Turkish service: M. Lauer, of the Prussian artillery, M. Chateaneuf, attached to the instruction of the same branch, M. Petit, an officer of infantry, who had served in the campaign of Algiers, and a M. Tournami, a native I believe of Tuscany.

These visits concluded, we were taken to the tent prepared for us by the Serasker, which was one of the most luxurious in the camp. It was circular and very capacious, being divided into two parts, the outer canvass walls at a distance of about four feet from the inner, and a circular gallery thus left, in which water being continually poured upon the parched soil currents of air were originated by rapid evaporation, which swept round the sombre and shady precincts, and were allowed entrance to the interior by openings left in the front and in the rear. The central space, besides its canvass walls,



was lined with a pretty pattern of red print, on the floor were carpets, and in front a double row of cushions, with variegated yellow and red silks, on which flowers of gold were exquisitely wrought. Besides our own attendants, two of the pasha's private servants waited upon us, and his kitchen was also made to contribute to our comforts.

Ibraila Pasha was bowing inquiringly, "Did we like the residence appointed for us?" we were delighted with the splendour of our imprisonment, but were still more anxious to contemplate the scene around us; so seated upon the divan, and getting rid of the intrusive servants from the front, we had a few minutes,—and only that,—for visitors soon thronged to the new arrivals,—to eliminate from the crowd and bustle the peculiarities of a Turkish camp.

It certainly was a gay and varied scene, to which the inequalities of the ground, the distribution of the tents among groves and gardens and on the bare hills above, batteries on outstretching peninsulas, guns on upraised mounds, and long lines of horses, added in no small degree. Every thing was here made to answer two or three purposes at once,—a convenient distribution, a strong line of defence, and a picturesque display.

If the vegetation was burnt up, and the soil was sandy, and there was a red-hot glimmer in the air, and a rather oppressive sense of stifling heat in the frame, still a pleasant illusion was produced. The soldiers had become amphibious, and were almost as much in the water as on land, and their green tents gladdened the scene, the more from their contrast with the parched but glittering leaf of the olive groves which extended to the

right and left. But even the shroud of decay which enveloped all vegetation was rendered more dismal now and then by a tall column of dust, that remained whirling round and round with extraordinary tenacity in the same spot, but sometimes advanced fiercely from the heights, breaking over the devoted camp, frightening horses and tearing up tents. There appeared to be something electrical in this phenomenon, which was of frequent occurrence, for the pillars of sand often came on in the still hot evenings, when there was scarcely a zephyr abroad.

We were upon the eastern brow of a low hill, on the summit of which was the tent of the Serasker; by its side were those of his secretary and treasurer, and on the western slope of the same hill, a large tent, which served as a place of prayer and home for dervishes, besides other tents of officers, household, &c.

To our right, and close by, was a small grove, in which most of the Europeans had had at once the precaution and the influence to quarter themselves, while immediately in front was a portion of land, occupied by farriers and workmen of various kinds, more especially a large body of Armenians, who were the sappers and miners of the army, and the chief constructors of intrenchments.

This irregularly-occupied space extended about 500 feet to the rivulet of Nizib, immediately beyond which, to the right, was a level appropriated to the artillery. The guns were chiefly in the batteries, but as there were two sets of ammunition cars, or near 400 rounds of powder and hollow shot to each, this was the reserve, arranged in a great parallelogram, the tents of the men on

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the outside, the horses picketed in lines in the interior, and the neatly painted cars in the intervals between.

Beyond this the ground rose gradually, and here in the centre, opposite to us, was the great road to Birehjik, at the foot of which on one side was a fountain, on the other a menareh and a few houses, with a burial-ground above. At this point a guard was placed, and teskerehs required to go out or enter into the camp, and it was at this point also, that the camp was first gained by the enemy, and a small battery opened upon the inoffensive tents and retreating multitude. Beyond this to the north, and up the course of the valley, extended the village and gardens of Nizib, more particularly characterized by a huge pile of building, which had once been a Christian church, but the style of which was Saracenic. There was also a mound of ruins between the village and the rivulet, to which the timid peasants used to repair to watch events, and perhaps even to speculate upon chances, for no soldiers were to be seen among them.

To the south and to our right, the scene was more animated. The valley of the rivulet extended about a mile and a half to where it joined the Kesrin river. About a mile down, was one of those mounds called tells by the Arabs, and teppehs by the Turks, upon whose summit were three guns and a guard. From the point where we were to this teppeh, was a continued succession of tents on both sides of the rivulet, but chiefly on the right. To the left the tents were also distributed on the hill-side, and occupied even a portion of the upland, while beyond, and near the extreme of the cape, which advanced over the junction of the rivulet of Nizib with the Kesrin, were two batteries,

which were destined afterwards to become the defences of the extreme right of the Turkish line, as they now constituted those of the extreme left of the camp.

The line of front was formed, first by the batteries on the heights now alluded to, secondly by the guns on the teppeh near the rivulet, then by three main intrenchments, with, in each, from ten to fifteen guns, the intervals between which were defended by columns of infantry, whose muskets were left piled up, at the point which they were to occupy in case of attack.

In front of the hill occupied by the General and his staff, was another vale of small dimensions and without water, in which was a vineyard; further on was a plantation of young fig-trees, and another vineyard, and then a waterless vale, in which were encamped the Turkish guard, under Sadallah Pasha, who formed the extreme right of the army. Beyond this was a dense grove of olive and fig-trees, on the outskirts of which were two more batteries, and above the grove a bold rocky hill, called that of Nizib *par eminence*, and which advanced from the chief range into the plain. Three pieces of ordnance were placed upon a jutting crag, high up upon its acclivities, and the extreme summit was made a place of observation.

Such was the distribution of the camp of Nizib. The Kurdish and Arab irregular troops had quartered themselves partly upon the village, but mainly on the banks of the rivulet, near to the teppeh and below the camp. Many of their horses had perished from want of food, and the over-exertions to which they were put, during nocturnal predatory expeditions; and this did not render that neighbourhood particularly pleasant.

The Turkish forces, combined with the two battalions which afterwards came up on the morning of battle, under Suleiman Pasha of Marash, consisted, as far as could be proximately ascertained, of

Seventeen regiments of infantry, of three battalions of 400 men each, which complete would have given 20,400 men, but in reality	-	-	17,000
Seven regiments of cavalry (musasiyah), six squadrons, each 100 men, incomplete	-	-	3,600
Four regiments of sipahis, four squadrons, each 100 men	-	-	1,600
Gunners and waggon train (160 guns)	-	-	3,000
Irregular infantry (1000 came the morning of battle)			3,000
Irregular cavalry	-	-	6,000
			<hr/>
			34,200

There were also about 2000 Egyptians on the field, on the day of the engagement, one battalion of which, of about 800 men, there was not time to distribute, and it remained a short time in the rear previous to disbanding, but without firing a musket.

The advance guard was placed about two hours and a half in front, at the village of Niksar, on the Kesrin, and consisted of about 800 to 1000 irregular horsemen, and a few gunners with tents, and three pieces of ordnance.

## CHAPTER XXIII.



Hafiz Pasha's Tent.

**Prisoners of War. Arrival of the Egyptian Army. Thoughts suggested by our present position. Mohammedan vespers. A Reconnoissance. Skirmish of irregular cavalry—Interrupted by cannonade. A Martial Dervish. Conflagration of the Plain. Fate of Isaïd Bey.**

THE day after our arrival (Tuesday, June 18th), while sitting with the Serasker, a peasant came running on foot with the news of the surrender of Aïntab. He was immediately ordered a backshish, or present, and all were delighted at what they did not understand to be but the trumpet-note for hostilities.

The next morning (Wednesday, June 19th), at an early hour, several Bedwins were brought prisoners into the camp. They had made a descent during the night upon a village near Niksar, which they pillaged, and had wounded several men and women, as a weeping female

was allowed to corroborate. We expected that they would have their heads cut off, but nothing was done to them; there was nothing barbarous in the treatment of prisoners. One of these was a celebrated Bedwin chaoush, or captain, originally from near Tripoli, by name Haji Batran, and an officer high in the esteem of Mohammed, commonly called Majun Bey, the chief of the irregular troops in the Egyptian army. By the result of the battle of Nizib, this man regained his liberty, and was, when I last heard of him, employed upon a mission to the Zor, or tamarisk woods of the Euphrates, to rouse the Anazeh for a Mesopotamian campaign. These Bedwins had fallen into bad hands, for they were in a state of nearly complete nudity.

Early the next morning a battalion of Egyptians, about 800 strong, that had surrendered at Aintab, were marched into the camp. The little drummers, with eyes askance, and a curious expression of half apprehension and half merriment, came in front beating away, but their thoughts elsewhere than with their drums; they were followed by a party of Albanians, dressed in the showy costume of their country, and behind marched the dusty soldiers. The officers appeared to have many acquaintances, for there were embraces and congratulations exchanged. I may have been mistaken, but they appeared to me to be aware of the part they were playing, the soldiery not. Having been drawn up in front of the Serasker's tent, Hafiz Pasha went out to greet them by a nominal inspection, after which a mollah uttered prayers for the Sultan, and an attempt was made to obtain a general cry of Allah, but it was a signal failure. The soldiers were then promised the

arrears of pay due to them for the last eighteen or nineteen months, which was soon afterwards made over to them; a great part were then distributed among the ranks, but many preferred acting as grooms and servants, and I believe all the officers were allowed to remain neutral.

In the mean time, the news of the pre-ordained surrender of Aintab had reached Aleppo, and the same day Ibrahim Pasha reviewed 40,000 troops on the plains of Abu Bekr, immediately after which they started on their march to Nizib. So rapid was he in his movements, his army unencumbered by baggage or tents, with only a little biscuit for all supplies, that the third morning (Thursday, June 20th) from the time when we learnt the surrender of the castle, the Egyptians, driving the Turkish advance guard before them, merely by firing a few guns, and so quickly that tents and ordnance were left in their hands, came down to the banks of the Kesrin, and reposed themselves near the village of Niksar, which had been occupied the same morning by the Turkish troops.

We rode out in advance of the lines to have a peep at the new arrivals. Baron Mulbach was busy in rallying the irregular troops, who were retiring in a confused manner into the camp; but he brought them to order, and made them turn their horses' heads the other way. "Voilà l'ennemi, messieurs," he said, pointing at the same time to a black-looking mass that lay like a huge tortoise upon the dusty brown land. With a glass, however, we could distinguish the soldiers reposing in lines upon their knapsacks, while others were cooking; but there only appeared to be three or four tents (per-



haps those which had been captured the same morning,) in the whole army. It would have required an experienced eye to say what the force of the enemy was. We have previously said, as is now well known, that 40,000 were reviewed at Aleppo, at the moment of departure; but the news of the rebellion in the Amanus had reached Ibrahim on his march, and he was obliged to detach a few regiments to Cilicia, where his possessions were most threatened; and I believe the following is pretty nearly a summary of what remained to fight at Nizib:—

Twelve regiments of infantry, four battalions, each	
of 500 men - - - - -	24,000
Eight regiments of cavalry, 500 men each - -	4,000
One regiment of cuirassiers, 800 men - - -	800
Gunners and waggon train (120 guns) - -	2,000
Four companies of engineers - - - -	2,000
Anazeh, about 1500 - - - - -	1,500
	<hr/>
	34,300

Thus the amount of forces was not far from being equal, but many hundreds of Turks were labouring under diarrhoea, from which same cause there was also a considerable daily mortality; many were boys scarcely able to carry a musket. Above all, the courage and abilities, as well as the constant successes of Ibrahim Pasha, gave a degree of zeal and enthusiasm to his soldiers which was quite unknown among the troops of the Sultan.

We had now arrived at what constituted truly the picturesque part of the campaign; the infantry were ordered to their arms, and the cavalry, all lancers, were grouped in part round the teppeh at the extreme left, while to the right long lines of glittering banners indi-

cated where other squadrons were filing through the olive groves, dim at noon-day. On every side staff officers and pashas were galloping up the hills, or sweeping along the forest of tents, bearing further orders for precaution against surprise, or to reconnoitre a now-visible enemy. It was a moment of exciting interest, and a moving panorama which lent beauty and favour even to so sad a thing as war. I could not help thinking of Akenside's reproach:

Come, then, tell me, sage divine,  
Is it an offence to own  
That our bosoms e'er incline  
Towards immortal glory's throne?

But is there glory, it may be said, in military triumph, or even in death on the field of battle? Most certainly so, if the cause is a virtuous one. There are many sources of national grievances, which lead to war, for they take their origin in the imperfection of our natures, and when such cases do arise it is undoubtedly glorious to see the new duties imposed upon us discharged with unshrinking resolution.

In peace, there's nothing so becomes a man  
As modest stillness and humility;  
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,  
Then imitate the action of the tiger.

True, it is all vanity, and the victor himself is vanquished by the worm; but that when the passions are called into play by an injury done to the nobler sentiments, or to the intellect, man will be roused to become an offensive being, is founded upon his unchangeable mental constitution. And according to his various capacity for harm his incentives will be the greater the more noble is the feeling that has been injured,—his sense of

right and wrong, his patriotism, his love to his friends or kindred, his religion! And is philosophy so niggardly as to deny a tear or a branch of laurel to one who dies fighting for his hearth, his home, or his faith? rather, it is no philosophy at all; for when there shall be no honour in defending that which is good, then will there be no dishonour in doing that which is vicious. The rolling cycles of generations yet to come will witness the same effects produced by the same causes; man will remain as he is now, a breathing creature made up of elements of good and evil, and nations will continue to prosper or fall as the one predominates over the other.

It is pleasant to ride out and come in to our shady tent, to picket our horses at the threshold, and to sit and thus reflect upon the position in which events have placed us; but a little more, and, like a friend who saw a sword and decoration accompany the gift of rank to an officer kneeling before the Serasker, we shall be almost inclined to wish to become warriors ourselves; but the passing hour is not so agreeable to the soldiers,—they are left all day exposed to the hot sun and with little food, for as flour is served out instead of bread, every soldier had to make his own, and now that that is out of the question, one is employed for many, and his progress is generally felt by the others to be very slow and unsatisfactory.

In the cool of the evening we again went out, and advanced to within a couple of miles of the Egyptian forces. The outposts were within gun-shot, and two Egyptian officers, in their white summer dresses, were examining our position close to us. A terrified tatar came galloping from Aintab, but nobody offered him any

molestation. Both armies and scouts were grouped, where possible, under trees or reclining in the sun; the one fatigued with two days' and nights' march, the other with watching and the suspense of fight. Ibrahim Pasha's position was compact and good, with a ravine on one side and the valley of the Kesrin on the other, and a village and vineyards in his rear.

The last tints of a summer sun stained the top of the hills before we retired from our ride; Háfiz Pasha had left his tent, and taken up his station in a central position in front of the lines, and under an olive-tree somewhat isolated from the remainder. The troops called to arms shouted the name of Allah, like a solemn and warlike melody. Three times it resounded along the line of guards, and was then taken up by other regiments one after another till it died away in the distance; a glorious hymn chanted to God, before the setting orb of day, by 30,000 voices. The silence that followed was as suddenly broke by a hundred drums beating from various quarters, which were again succeeded by the loud but more musical inflexions of the trumpet's blast.

We repaired to the Serasker to talk over the events of the day. He was seated upon a carpet and surrounded by his pashas, and a paper lamp swung from a branch over his head diffusing a softened light around. Neither his aspect nor his conversation was at all hopeful or joyous, yet the enemy he had long expected, and even wished for, was there! Perhaps he felt anxious on the score of the behaviour of his soldiers.

The stars had long ago twinkled into space, watch-fires were lighted upon the hills, and a deep, almost palpable darkness, enshrouded everything; trees, and

tents, and horses were blended in the same invisibleness, and the two great armed congregations of men forgot their passions in the obscurity of night, and endeavoured to sleep away anxiety for a morning pregnant with evil for so many.

*Friday, June 21st.* The longest day in the year. Early in the morning the Egyptian army left its quarters near Niksar, with the exception of a regiment with two guns left at the station, and a small party that was detached towards the foot of the hills of Nizib as a diversion to cover the reconnoissance which Ibrahim Pasha was about to make. The main body advanced in three columns over the rising ground which extended along the right bank of the Kesrin. From these heights Ibrahim Pasha was enabled to obtain a good view of the disposition of the Turkish camp, and to discriminate its intrenchments. We were watching his intentions as closely, and with the glass could perceive the Pasha and his staff; Ibrahim himself and many of those around him having telescopes in their hands.

After some time spent in this distant contemplation of one another, some doubts and discussion appeared to arise among the Egyptian officers; and to cover this their irregular troops were ordered to advance and commence a skirmish, while the division to the right, having gained the wood, opened an irregular fire upon a detachment of cavalry which was placed there, and upon whatever stragglers happened to be within reach.

At half-past seven, A.M., the first collision took place between the Anazeh and some of the Kurd irregular horsemen who had crossed the Kesrin to meet them,

but they were not sufficiently seconded, and the Egyptian lines being much the nearest, from whence new horsemen issued forth every moment, they were forced to retire on this side the Kesrin, where, forming into a line upon the heights above the river they opened a fire of musketry, which was observed to put many of the enemy *hors de combat*.

This, however, was not long continued; the greater part of our Bashi Bozuk, or irregular cavalry, had now mounted their horses, and sped out to the engagement. They soon crossed the Kesrin, and for some time the curious system of tactics, pursued by these undisciplined warriors, was displayed to great advantage, in presence of both armies. A horseman gallops, as if towards the foe, an opponent advances to the rencounter; when sufficiently near they discharge their pistols at one another; Kurd followed Kurd, and Anazeh, Anazeh; and the second pistol of the first Kurd was fired with the first pistol of the second Anazeh, while the second pistol of the first Anazeh was fired at the first pistol of the second Kurd, and so on in succession; horsemen continually relieving one another, and each cavalier sweeping round, so that by the time his pistols were unloaded he was in the rear to load again. Success in these manœuvres depends considerably upon the horse, which must be very quick in turning round, or else the cavalier would come unarmed upon a third opponent; and also upon the horseman in the rear, who must be quick enough to take new opponents off the hands of an old antagonist. The horses were, indeed, so well trained, that they often performed their part of the service after they had lost their rider, who had been shot on the first or second

rencontre, but the relief from behind was frequently uncertain and ill regulated.

There was in the staff of Hafiz Pasha, a young man of prepossessing exterior and gentle manners, by name Isaïd Bey; we had formed his acquaintance in the Serasker's tent, and had learnt part of his history; he had once, from mere momentary irritation, been disgraced by an appointment among the mines of Taurus, in those bleak and barren stony districts, where only men as brown and as rude as their own employments take up their residence. But tardy justice had removed him from a position so little congenial to his ambition, and, ever anxious still to show his master how he had been wronged, by a generous devotion, bidding his black servant follow him, and taking a glance at his pistols, he left us and galloped away to join in the fray.

But about this time the affair in the woods to our right became more serious; two regiments of cavalry had moved off to the support of the irregular troops, and the three guns that were on the cliffs of Nizib hill had been frequently discharged. On the part of the Egyptians, Ibrahim Pasha, to support the irregular cavalry, moved forward three regiments of infantry in columns, at some distance from one another, having each a small park of artillery in front. These having gained the summit of a chalk hill, opened fire upon the Kurds, and compelled them to retire to this side of the Kesrin; at the same time (9 A.M.) Mahmud Pasha, who commanded our left wing, moved forward with a small body of infantry, and upon the demand being made, two pieces of ordnance were also sent off on the same service, and four more were dispatched in front or to the right of the enemy.

Hafiz Pasha also wished apparently to amuse himself; so riding from the tree, round which we had all been hitherto gathered, he went to one of the central batteries and ordered a gun to be fired, but even the valley of the Kesrin was at least 3000 yards off, and the shot buried itself in the ground, scattering around a cloud of earth and dust, while the nearest sharpshooters of the enemy were on the opposite side of the valley. Notwithstanding this, two or three more guns were fired with similar results, until M. Lauer, a stern common-sense Prussian, who could not understand this sort of thing, interfered, upon which occasion the Serasker got very angry at his amusement having been put an end to, and the two interchanged expressions of rather haughty contempt for one another.

The guns which had been sent to the left having by this time opened fire within range, the Anazeh were soon dispersed, as, independently of a natural dislike both Kurds and Bedwins have to artillery, they are always quite as anxious for the safety of their horses as for themselves, as these are their own property, and often their only means of livelihood.

The musquetry still continued in the wood, but was distant, the guns that had advanced to the right also opened a fire, which was returned from the Egyptians, when suddenly the grass, withered by a hot sun and long drought, caught fire and spread with vast rapidity, forming a dense mass of fire and smoke, amid which nothing could be distinguished except now and then a horseman still in stern pursuit of an enemy.

There was a martial dervish in the camp who wore a sword, and being tolerated for his many oddities used to



take great liberties with the Pasha; to-day he afforded us no small merriment by his prowess. Drawing his sabre he rushed forward, as if to the enemy, but took care to turn round before reaching the scene of action; he then came galloping up to the Serasker brandishing his weapon, and proclaiming that he had challenged Ibrahim Pasha, as the enemy of God, the prophet Mohammed, and his vicegerent the Sultan, but that no one had dared to fight him. He performed a variety of other equally ridiculous antics. There was also another more harmless idiot in the camp, who was deformed, and subject to religious hallucinations; this man had followed the soldiers from Malatiyeh, he was a great favourite with them, and had received a good Nizam dress. He was admitted into the Serasker's tent, where one of his frequent amusements was to come and stroke me behind when engaged in conversation, on which occasions I could scarcely preserve my gravity, but the Mohammedans considered this as a token of favour and success. I never saw either of these camp oddities after the battle, and almost doubt if they effected their escape.

There was a moment in the present day, when affairs wore a very threatening aspect, and it appeared probable that Ibrahim Pasha was not merely engaged in a reconnoissance, but wished, as he had done with Reshid Pasha on a former occasion, to draw the Turks from their intrenchments. It is generally attributed to Suleiman Pasha (Selves) that the attack upon the Turkish lines was deferred, and the position of the camp was turned; but if Ibrahim Pasha had intended hostilities on this occasion, he would not have advanced

his troops along the right or far-off bank of the Kesrin; he would have come with his customary fearlessness in front of the cannon, and when I consider the display of boys that filled up the intervals between the intrenchments, and the little energy shown in the final combat, I have little doubt but that he would have been equally successful had he attacked the Turks in their much vaunted position.

As it was, the Egyptian army retired behind the smoke of the conflagration that now spread over great part of the plain, the troops and ordnance were called in, and the fire being stopped by the river a light breeze carried the smoke away, and evening saw the Egyptians in their position of the morning, and the Turkish troops a little more encouraged by the day's reprieve that had been obtained, and by the advantage that was taken to make the transactions of the day appear as acts of cowardice on the part of the Egyptian commander.

We retired to our tent to see if anything would be forthcoming from the culinary department, for we were not a little apprehensive that amidst these stirring scenes the attention of the Serasker's cook might have been taken away from its proper objects; but we were in reality more anxious on our horses'\* accounts. They had been out with us all day, and there was no barley, nor even chopped straw, to be got, so we were at length obliged to send two servants to cut barley in a field, at a distance from the camp, which was carried into execution with some success after nightfall.

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\* The Serasker had presented us with three horses, one for each, the day after our arrival.

Panting with heat, but too excited to feel fatigued, we had thrown ourselves upon our cushions of yellow and gold, when there came, rather dancing by than walking, and carrying a dead body, four of those indescribable beings who devote themselves to the last offices of humanity, and are to be found in cities and in the camp. The body they were now carrying was at once seen, by the dress and European boots and spurs, rare things in the Turkish camp, to be that of a superior officer. I could not find heart to speak to the wretches that bore it, but after the Osmanli fashion shook my head inquiringly. "Isaïd Bey," growled, rather than answered, one of the amiable porters, still hurrying on. Poor young man! We subsequently learnt from his servant, that he had killed two opponents, but on sweeping round to re-load was himself shot through the body. It was scarcely two hours since he had parted from us full of life and vigour, and he was now extended between his bearers, two to his head and two to his feet, motionless as the reclined statues which repose upon the gothic tombs of our own brave ancestors.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

Position of the Turks turned by the Enemy. Hafiz Pasha's Irresolution. Position of the two Armies. Midnight Cannonade. Personal arrangements. Preliminaries to the Engagement. Arrival of Reinforcements. The Kurds pillage the Tents. Egyptian Prisoners disband. Progress of the Battle. Right and left wings driven back. Final defeat of the Turks.

*Saturday, June 22.* THIS is the third day, and the past night is the second, that the troops have remained under arms outside of the camp, exposed to sun, under which the thermometer rose to 125°. During the night a small detachment of cavalry came over from the enemy; great secrecy is preserved regarding the desertions that occur on our side, but they are said to be numerous. The Serasker gives each deserter 100 piastres, or about one pound sterling, and orders them food and repose.

A report also came during the night that the Egyptian army had left its position, and moved off in a retrograde direction. At the same time Reshid Bey, a Turkish officer, who had been educated in France, and is now Pasha in Syria, received a letter written in French, and announcing that Ibrahim Pasha had retreated on the road to Aleppo, leaving tents, cattle, &c. on the field.

The early dawn of morning cleared up the meaning of these feints to draw the Turks out of their intrenchments; soon after daylight the Egyptians were discovered at a considerable distance. They had gone off truly to the south, but only to get round a hill which

was necessary to be encompassed to enable them to travel out of the range of our guns, till they got into the rear of our position, which the indefatigable Egyptians performed in one long day's march, which began two hours before daylight, or at one in the morning, and was completed one hour before sunset, without, by some strange and inexplicable infatuation, any one thing being done on our part to prevent it.

Finding themselves now observed, and their object no longer to be hidden, they set fire to a village, and their progress was partly hidden by the smoke; at the same time a detachment of our cavalry, that had been sent out at an early hour to support a reconnoissance, returned, and stated that about a thousand men and two guns still remained in the position of the night before. The batteries at our extreme left now received reinforcement, and two regiments of cavalry, and a party of irregulars, were sent out beyond the Kesrin to support a further reconnoissance. For our parts, we repaired to the batteries at the left, and for some time watched the progress of the enemy; tired of this, we joined the Pasha's staff, and with him visited the lines and batteries; during this progress a chief mollah, for there were two about the Serasker's person, knelt down in prayer in front of one of the batteries, and this caused a general stop for a short time. This mollah had great influence with the Pasha, and was generally consulted upon all matters. There was also in the staff a Russian agent, a native I believe of Aderbijan; he wore the kalpac, as also did his servant, who always followed him, and both in true Oriental style were ridiculously over-armed. This man was well received by the Pasha,

but was silent and haughty. There was another Russian in the camp, also much in favour with the Pasha, of a more jovial and courageous temper, and who sometimes came near us to interchange ordinary civilities.

The Prussian officers came in from various recognitions, and strongly recommended the Serasker to attack the Egyptians during their march, for if they were allowed to gain a position between us and Birehjik the intrenchments of the camp would no longer be of any use; but the Pasha did not appear to coincide with them, or could not make up his mind to leave a place he had taken a great fancy to. At one time he was assured by the same gentlemen that the enemy were in a ravine, a position most favourable for cutting off a large body of troops, but it was to no purpose.

At length, three hours before sunset, the advanced guard reached the valley of the Kesrin, by a ravine, beyond which was a bridge. The Kesrin is a small river, and is nearly everywhere fordable in summer, but still the bridge presented an easy and important point of defence, and was only about a mile from the batteries of our extreme left; but the passage was left undefended, and company after company, and squadron after squadron, filed along close to our camp, as if at a parade.

When we saw circumstances in this position, it became necessary to take some definite steps to secure at least our baggage. I had taken every little occasion that presented itself of late to urge to the Pasha the necessity of our departure, and I now determined to come to a definite explanation as to whether or not he would allow me to leave the camp, while the road to Birehjik remained open, which we could scarcely suppose it

would be a few hours longer. Accordingly, Mr. Rassam and I started for the now well-known olive-tree, and on our road we met Baron Mulbach with his interpreter, bound to the same quarters. I told him my intentions, and he said he also was going to speak upon serious matters, and he would be glad if I were present. I accordingly hurried on before him, and, certainly under no pleasant circumstances, urged the necessity of our immediate departure. The Pasha was much affected at what looked like a not very honourable desertion. I felt it my duty, however, to be firm to my purpose, and offered that Russell and I should remain with him, if he would only let Mr. Rassam go away with the baggage.

At this moment, the Barons Mulbach and Moltke came up: the latter had had some previous conversation; he was angry and did not sit down. Mulbach's interpreter was as timid as dragomans generally are, and Mr. Rassam was kind enough to lead the conversation. It consisted, on the part of the Prussian officers, in a simple and definite statement of only two alternatives: an immediate attack upon the Egyptians, or a retreat to the intrenchments of Birehjik; the attendants and officers around the Serasker recoiled, and stared to hear the Europeans in what they deemed an unnecessary hurry. The mollah grinned ghastly. Hafiz Pasha looked perplexed, and turning to me, asked my opinion. I at once said I was no soldier, but Baron Mulbach had fought at Jena and at Auerstadt, and was an officer of much experience, as Baron Moltke was of acknowledged ability, and their opinions ought to have great weight. He struck his breast, and his eyes were suf-

fused with tears. "I cannot retreat," he said, "I am ashamed to retreat!" This was at once overruled, and led to a long conversation on pretexts, which history did not fail to provide us in superfluous abundance; amid which, however, the truly distressed and wavering Pasha rose from his carpet, and walked quickly to and fro. After leaving him for some time to his thoughts, I again approached him, and asked, "Will you give the *teskereh*?" "What, have you so little trust in the *Osmanlis*?" he said rather peevishly. "No, I remain, but Mr. Rassam goes this evening. May your secretary write out the *teskereh*?" He softened, and, stopping a few minutes, said, "Await: the example of your departure will do much mischief; I will go with you myself at midnight." I hastened to inform the Prussian officers of the Serasker's resolve; but the mollah had overheard it, and approaching him, whispered something in his ear: there is no doubt of what his words were. "If you attempt to retreat, your army will disband." Poor Hafiz Pasha had no alternative left, so rousing himself as a man, he buckled on his sword, became cheerful, as his determination was taken, and calling to the Baron Moltke, he mounted his horse, and, followed by a numerous staff, went out to choose a new position in front of the enemy.

Baron Moltke was joined by M. Lauer, and they were so exceedingly irate against the Pasha, that they would hardly speak to him; but he persevered in his intentions. The troops were moved from their stations, the heavy guns were dragged up the hill side. Armenians were set to dig new intrenchments, the moon shone brilliantly over the arduous labours of the night,



and by two o'clock in the morning, and an hour before day-light, the distribution of the troops was effected. The cavalry occupied the wings, the infantry was disposed in columns or lines according to the necessities of the soil, and batteries were placed at the most promising intervals. The Serasker had a tent pitched in front of the lines at day-break, and taking advantage of the circumstance, one of the Prussian officers tried to remove his effects to Birehjik, but they were sent back, and profiting by the example I did not attempt to do any thing surreptitiously.

*Sunday, June 23rd.* The position now occupied by the Turkish forces formed part of the upland that extended from above the rivulet of Nizib to the river Euphrates. At its northern part, and at the foot of the hills, were groves of olives, the trees of which were diffusely dispersed, while to the south the plain, sloping slightly towards the valley of the Kesrin, was broken up, and denuded into numerous ravines with gentle acclivities, which stretched down to the banks of the Kesrin. Ibrahim Pasha and his army were gathered together, like a lion and his whelps, in a confined space formed by the meeting of two or three ravines on the camp side of the river. His troops appeared to have been much fatigued with the very long march of the day before, for he allowed them to rest all the day; this was also advantageous to the Turks, who had for the most part been in arms all the previous night. Mirza Pasha, who was now in the dangerous post of our extreme right, informed me of a reconnaissance which Ibrahim Pasha had made of our new position, in front of the line to-day. I saw several

Turkish lancers go over to the enemy; the desertion from the enemy which took place during the march had also been considerable. I smoked a pipe with some of the pashas; except Sadallah and Mirza Pasha, they appeared to have no zest for the fight. "Praise be to God and we shall beat them," was the most prevalent doctrine that obtained in the army.

A long line of camels arrived to-day with wheat and barley. "For how many days?" asked the Serasker, for the camels came up to the lines instead of going into the camp; "For two," was the answer; he looked dissatisfied, and yet it was one day more than was wanted.

In the evening, Suleiman Pasha of Marash, an intrepid and courageous man, came up with a reinforcement of cavalry; his infantry was to arrive in the morning.

This officer, on his arrival, urged in the strongest manner, as had been done by the Prussian officers, an immediate attack; not only as the initiative is always more favourable to an army than the defensive, but because the position of the Egyptians was easily assailable. Ibrahim Pasha had felt this all day, and, impatient at the repose of his soldiers, had pranced up and down in the waters of the Kesrin for hours together.

The only steps, however, that Suleiman could get the Serasker to take, was a feint to be made under cover of night, the chief object of which was, by throwing confusion into the enemy, to facilitate the desertion of troops; for Hafiz Pasha had got it into his head, that if an opportunity could be given, the greater part of the Egyptian army would come over to the Sultan.

It was midnight, and we had retired half dressed to

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take a little repose, for the night before had been one of bustle and disturbance, when we were roused by the long deep booming of distant cannon; a rolling fire was kept evidently from two different quarters, and the dark veil of night that spread over the two armies appeared as if lit up by a conflagration. This continued for a short time, and then as suddenly ceased; we waited on the tiptoe of expectation for further symptoms of hostilities, but none occurred, and it was only afterwards that we learnt the objects of this midnight cannonade. It was reported to have thrown the greatest confusion into the enemy's lines, and only to have been stopped by the earnest entreaties of the mollah to spare the lives of the faithful. From the Egyptians I heard another tale; that for one shot sent among them, they returned twenty, and that it is rather to this that the discontinuance of the firing was to be attributed; but when I saw the encampment in the day, the guns were distributed around it by pairs, and it would have been difficult to bring many to bear upon a new point in so short time, nor do I think, from all I could hear, that Suleiman Pasha was a man to be so easily silenced without an order from the too-confident Serasker, for coming events had not cast their warning shadow before him.

At the very earliest break of day, when light was just creeping over the chalk hills of Birehjik and the sun was tardily following in the van, almost every tent in the camp of Nizib was already emptied and abandoned. Every man had crowded to the field of battle, and there only remained the Serasker's secretary and treasurer, who, with a few soldiers and khawasses, were left to keep guard on the money, and a party of horse artillery,

busy in harnessing and preparing the reserve ammunition for the demand of the moment.

By singular good fortune, Mr. Russell had secured during the night, the services of a seruji, belonging to the post, with six horses. He belonged to Birehjik, but now no longer able to get there, was prepared to make himself useful in a flight, in any direction that might save himself and his steeds. Every thing was carefully packed up, but as there was a chance that our large travelling bags might still be lost, two small bags were entrusted to the care of our faithful Greek servant, containing the sextant and Kater's circle, and one of the post horses was placed at his command for an emergency. Another Arab servant had charge of Mr. Rassam's desk, which contained our reserve money and some of his private things. We each lashed a great coat behind our horses, and in addition to our arms and ammunition, we had a shirt, a pair of stockings, and a comb in our pockets, besides a small sum of money distributed, in case of accident, to each.

Things appeared thus tolerably compact for a flight; so mounting our horses, we all rode out to see the preliminaries of the engagement. Day after day of postponement and reprieve had succeeded to one another, but after the midnight salutation, which had been given to the Egyptians, it was not to be expected that another sun would set, without witnessing an issue to events so long pending. We directed our steps to the extreme right, from whence we were nearer to and could better see the movements of the enemy. They were to our surprise breakfasting very quietly on biscuit dipped in water in the hollow below. Taking advantage

of the further delay thus afforded them, the Turks were also running down to the rivulet to fill their cans with water. In the battery on the headland we found M. Tournami; he was a brave old man, and although very eccentric, was still most anxious that every thing should go off well; he was running to and fro on the battery, and I wished him success.

The old man survived the battle, but I know not if he has survived his indignation. I met him afterwards in the retreat, when he amused me much by his *naïve* recital of the part he took in the engagement. "Monsieur, c'étoit comme de la pluie, comme la grêle! Oh! les poltrons! je ne me battraï plus pour les Turques, non je mangerai de l'herbe dans ma patrie!" and he stretched out his hand to suit the action to the word.

After a few minutes' conversation with Mirza Pasha, we rode along the lines to see how the soldiery appeared affected. They were totally buried in destructive inéртness, a mixture of apathy and pride, which no gleam of hope and confidence came to illumine like a moral sunshine. The scene was quite heart-breaking; but the evil of the war (besides that it might have been prevented, by a timely interference,) was also that it was founded on circumstances in which the numbers took no interest. What was it to the soldiers, if the Sultan had one great province more or less, in his vast dominions? The enemy was also of the same faith as themselves, and few that were on the field had ever met them before, or bore rancour or hatred, or even ill-feeling towards an Egyptian. There had not even been any of the usual little incentives put into play to excite their feelings, and there existed nothing but the sense of duty, and a

decent regard for honour, to keep the men to their posts. The Egyptians, it might be said, had not greater incentives to the struggle; this is true,—but they were perpetually talked up to a contempt of the disgraced of Homs and of Koniye, and they were now deeply irritated by the occurrences of the past night.

Our reflections thus indulged in, in front of the Turkish lines, were interrupted by the appearance of the Serasker and his staff: “Aha, bey,” he said, “so you are come to assist at our wedding!” a man always jokes when he has something vitally serious upon his mind. Ibrahim Pasha, the day he left Aleppo, requested our consul there to be particular about a certain *flower*, which he wanted. Napoleon was very fond of these little effects, and immortal Shakspeare has pourtrayed them with his usual truth and energy.

A few moments after our joining the Serasker, two battalions of infantry from Aintab, about a thousand irregular Kurdish musketeers, and a battalion of Egyptian prisoners, came round the foot of the hill of Nizib, and filed over the bridge of the rivulet to join the Turks; it was a gay sight, their guns glittering in the morning sun, their red tarbooshes and silken tassels waving in the wind, and drums and trumpets mingling their martial sounds. Hafiz Pasha went a little out to meet them, but he did not speak a word of encouragement. There was no time to distribute the Egyptians, so they were left in the rear, the Kurds were sent off to the extreme left, and the infantry was marched to the rear of the lines. A reinforcement, however small, coming at such a time, would, with any other people, have been a source at least of a momentary agreeable

sensation, but the same sombre indifference was persevered in as ever, an indifference which sprang from the dogma of fatalism, which trampled upon the energies of the soldiers and officers, and prostrated, as such a doctrine must naturally do, all incentives to good, and all the nobler sentiments that can inspire the human mind.

Baron Mulbach had addressed me in the course of our ride, to request, that his secretary, who had charge of his effects, and his dragoman, might be allowed to put themselves so far under our protection, as to follow whatever steps we thought it prudent to adopt with the course of events. I, therefore, got Mr. Rassam to ride back to the camp, and to see that they were like ourselves prepared for any sudden emergency. Mr. Russell and myself proceeded to explore the extreme left, where we wandered among fields of barley newly cut or trodden down, and groves of olives, behind every tree of which was a Kurd, while the irregular cavalry was gathered in more open spaces. There was loud and harsh quarrelling going on among these people, the natural result of having no acknowledged commanders.

Weary with suspense, and wishing to feed the horses, we returned to our tent; but at the same moment the Egyptians left their quarters and advanced steadily up the ravines, trying to get as much as possible to the left and in front of our lines before the battle should commence; this was not to be done, however, without exposure, and we had scarcely dismounted, when the sound of cannon once more brought us to our saddles, and leaving Mr. Rassam and the servants to load the mules, we rode off to see the progress of events, it being

understood that upon the first symptoms of our party giving way, Mr. Rassam was to start, and Aintab was to be our place of meeting, but we fully anticipated being able, when there were any signs of retreat, to rejoin the baggage ourselves.

It appears that shortly after we went away, the Kurds at the extreme left having returned in confusion to the camp, which they immediately began to pillage, our friend very properly made an attempt to depart, but he was opposed and surrounded in his tent by the bayonets of the Kurds, as was also the secretary of Baron Mulbach, and it was only some time afterwards, when the attention of the robbers was occupied by the tearing up of the treasury-tent, and the distribution of its contents, that he and the other gentlemen and the servants were able to mount their horses and to effect their escape.

In the mean time, Russell and myself having gained the hill-side, came upon the rear of the army just as the action was becoming general. We observed M. Petit at this time part from a German doctor and make off to the left, whence, as the troops in that quarter were soon after driven back, it appears that he became at an early hour a prisoner of the Egyptians. As we advanced over the hills, we perceived that the main body of the cavalry was drawn up in columns under Sheriff Pasha, in rear of the Turkish guard, and where the Serasker had taken up his position. It has been said that the Turks committed a great error in firing too high, but if so, the Egyptians appear to have been equally to blame, for balls were falling plentifully around us who were in the rear of the cavalry. There was a ravine to our right, in



which was a road, and up this the drivers were hurrying with the reserve cars of ammunition ; we observed that the heights above this commanded a better view, and crossed the ravine, which was, however, made very hot by a battery that had come up the acclivity, and opened a sharp fire immediately in front ; many of the cars were struck and exploded in the air, sending up a tall dense column of white smoke, while the affrighted horses, throwing their riders, or these being killed by the explosions, sped without guides along the ravine, rushing to the water's brink, where the cars buried in the mud, and their own panting thirst, made them bring up. At this time the battalions of Egyptians in the rear disbanded, and also retired to the banks of the stream. Already also by this time, a common trick in all engagements, four to five men were to be seen going away with one wounded ; they were passing in abundance. I asked the doctor what was to be done with them : he avoided the question ; in fact, there was not one out of the many hakims that had long enjoyed the Sultan's pay who gave any assistance on the day of battle. He soon after left us to go and save what he could of his baggage, while we remained at our station immediately behind the Turkish guard.

M. Petit, who certainly had means of observing the movements on the side of the Egyptians, has described them as having persevered in their attempt to reach the extreme left of the Turkish lines, but that in doing this they were so severely galled by our batteries, that they were at length forced to turn round and march upon their enemy, manœuvres which they accomplished, amidst a galling fire, with the greatest coolness and

discipline. To the truth of this statement I cannot attest; the firing appeared to us to be pretty equal on both sides from the moment that the engagement set in, and the extreme right was certainly exposed at once, and at the beginning, to a bold and determined attempt at dislodgment. M. Lauer assisted in one of the batteries in this part of the field, M. Tournami in another; and Mirza Pasha, one of the generals commanding in the same quarter, fell early in the engagement. The service in the batteries was either unskilfully or too hurriedly performed, for every now and then an ammunition car blew up, scattering death-fragments around, and almost clearing the whole side of an intrenchment.

The Kurds we said had retreated at the beginning of the fight; and when two battalions of Egyptian infantry, with a small park of artillery, came up to the woods, they found no enemy, and proceeding on and on, they gained without opposition the point in front of the village, where the teskerehs were taken on entering into the camp. Russell could hardly be brought to believe that events had already (it was about an hour since the fight had begun) gone so far; but I could distinguish the Egyptian dresses, with which my eye was more familiar, as the troops came down the hill, which they did in the form of an acute angle, the point of which was formed by a tall man, who led with sword in hand. This person I since ascertained was a renegade Maltese, and he obtained the rank of kaïmakam for his services on this occasion. At the same time, a detachment of Egyptians had been despatched up the bed of the Kesrin, so as to bring them, under cover, in the rear.

of the batteries of our extreme right, but on turning into the valley of Nizib they were opposed by the three guns upon the teppeh, which were, however, carried by the bayonet.

Grieved as we were at the progress of events, and anxious for the success of the day (and amidst all evil forebodings we had never ceased entertaining some latent hopes), still it was now fully time to beat in retreat, and give assistance to the baggage department; but we had already deferred this too long, if it had ever (which it could not) have been of any avail.

Long before we had gained the valley of Nizib, the flight had almost become general, guns and cars were rattling across the encampment, and there was a dense multitude of soldiers, baggage-horses, and camp-followers, that rendered it impossible to proceed in any direction which was opposed to the stream of living and flying beings. It was curious to observe the different excitability of the Egyptian and of the Turk in the present position of affairs. Many of the latter were riding away almost as unconsciously as if nothing had happened; an officer we were acquainted with, calumniating his now unfortunate leader, said as an excuse for his retreating, "Hafiz Pasha is no pasha!" but some Egyptian officers were hurrying away, shouting, sword in hand, as if leading to an attack.

The dust and consequent obscurity created in the valley by this mingled host, was now broke through by the flash of guns and the discordant cries of the wounded, of persons run over by the affrighted horses, and the rattling din of the cars was half smothered by peals of cannon close to us, while the whirling shot came

sweeping by, ploughing earth and dust from our feet. I began to doubt if my poor horse would remain to carry me away, or have perchance a master to carry. We persevered, however, in endeavouring to force our way to the vineyard at the foot of the Serasker's Hill ; here we could distinguish the battery which the Egyptians had opened near the fountain, and which was answered by the two guns from the front of Hafiz Pasha's tent, firing away right across our point of repair, which was in a line between it and the enemy. We felt that our friend could not, unless dead, be any longer there, so we turned round, and gaining the grove of fig trees, there waited the progress of events. The firing from the Pasha's tent was soon put a stop to by the customary termination of a grand explosion of ammunition, after which the few that remained made off.

All around was one great expanse of flying men and horses ; some drivers, no longer able to take their guns and cars along the unequal ground and through the wood, were cutting the traces and effecting their escape upon the horses ; the hill of Nizib and the heights beyond were covered with large bodies of mounted Kurds, who had long ago provided for the safety of themselves and steeds ; but, on the battle-field, the strife still continued between the Turkish guards and the Egyptians, and a last effort still remained to be made. It was a most painful thing to see the brave Guards left without support to battle against a whole army. . My friend felt as keenly as myself, but was more excited ; several times he attempted to rally the fugitives, but I saw an expression in their countenances such as only dastardly cowardice can give birth to, and there was no

possibility of mistaking its meaning. It was evident that all interference was fraught with imminent danger, and I persuaded him to be quiet. Poor Hafiz Pasha had seized upon the standard of the Guards, and endeavoured to urge this small remnant of fighting men to a decisive charge; but abandoned on all sides, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, they could do no good, and stirred not. The cavalry under Sheriff Pasha had withdrawn itself in the most shameful manner at the time that it ought to have supported the left wing. A determined and well-sustained fire of musketry was kept up a short time longer on both sides, and then all was swept away as if a hurricane had been in movement across the plain. The Pasha was carried away by the mass of fugitives who fled along the valley of the Kesrin and towards Niksar. It was a quarter past ten o'clock in the morning when firing first began, and it was half-past twelve when we turned, with heavy hearts and an uncertain future before us, up the side of the hill and away from the plains of Syria.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

Line of Retreat. Turn off for Aintab. Attempt at Robbery. Descent of a Ravine. Night's Bivouac. Retreat obstructed by the Kurds. Sufferings of the Disabled. Pons Singæ. Reach Besni. Renewed opposition from the Kurds. A Murdered Christian. Arrive at Malatiyeh.

As we proceeded on our melancholy way, we found knapsacks, cartouch-boxes, accoutrements, muskets, and portions of dress, strewed plentifully along the road-side; some had taken the precaution to arm themselves with bayonets, but others had thrown down the whole machinery of war, as uncongenial weapons, and especially troublesome on a long foot journey. Luckily a few held by their firelocks, and others took advantage of a stray horse or donkey, or of a steed whose owner lay low, to make it carry the arms of a multitude. The number of muskets that fell into the hands of the enemy was very considerable; we saw at Aleppo, some months after the battle, a pile at least containing six thousand, most of which had been taken out of the rivulet of Nizib, for the Kurds got the greater part of what were left on the road. One of the peculiarities of the battle of Nizib was, that there was no pursuit.

One poor creature had died with his chin resting upon his hands, and his elbows upon his knees; and he sat in this position by the road-side; another fine young man turned pale and fell from his horse; he was carelessly put off the road into a bush; his trowsers were bathed with blood, and it was evident that he had been

mortally wounded in the thigh. He recovered for a moment, opened his eyes and gasped for breath, but soon fainted for the last time.

The chalky soil reflected the powerful beams of the sun, and lent further intensity to the heat. The fine dust rose in clouds, sometimes veiling the crowd from sight, then again leaving banners of white and red, and the tassels of black ostrich feathers attached to the spears of the Kurds, to toss above the flying multitude. Few spoke to one another. We observed close to us a young officer, upon whose carpet we had the day before smoked the chibuk of Eastern sociality—he now avoided recognition. Every one seemed engaged in securing his own safety, with as much secrecy as possible, all avoiding to shew the least perturbation or dismay, and none appearing to have doubt or distrust towards another, for fear he might be supposed to have something to lose, but on and on, in silence and in selfishness, the great crowd of pashas and officers, Kurds and khawasses, priests and soldiers, doctors and camp-followers, servants and slaves, made their way regardless of one another. All ties were rent by disgrace and misfortune; the servant knew not his master, nor the soldier his superior; there was no distinction of persons or rank, the best mounted and the strongest sped foremost, and especially no one regarded the fatigued that tarried, the incapable that lagged, or the sick and the wounded that dropped in sad succession.

Thirst already began to be felt in all its horrors; we passed one small puddle—a mere solution of dirt—but it was surrounded by so many, that to wait our turn would have necessitated us to stay all night. We had picked

up a soldier's can, as we thought it might be useful, but it had such a greasy odour, that, although not fastidious under existing circumstances, we were compelled to throw it away again. At length we came to a village, situated in a valley watered by a rivulet. Our horses and ourselves got a long and apparently unfinishing drink, but the villagers had fled or hid themselves, and no bread was to be procured.

We had hitherto been carried away, almost without reflection, by the onward course of the multitude. From the present village there was an ascent by a gentle slope to a stony upland of basalt; the road was becoming difficult, and evening was fast approaching, when we observed towers as if of a castle, a few miles to the right, and upon the same level as ourselves. I knew there was no castle on the road to Aintab, and a moment's reflection convinced me that it must be the castle of Rum Kalah, on the Euphrates, that now presented itself to us. After inquiring of two or three soldiers without their condescending to answer, we at length learnt from one more amiable than the rest, that our suspicions were just. Now our rendezvous was Aintab, and as we naturally concluded that Ibrahim Pasha would either march himself or send a detachment the next day to that town, it was necessary to go there that night or not at all; and more particularly as Mr. Rassam, not reflecting upon these circumstances, might remain there till entrapped by the Egyptians, we resolved to leave the road and bear off in what we thought to be the best direction.

There was no path, nothing but huge blocks of basalt and a few shrubs of prickly oak, amid which the



horses made their way with difficulty. We had not proceeded far when we saw a Kurdish tent thrown down, and near it some men and women busy in driving off cattle. We were not surprised at this, as they might be fearful of being plundered by a retreating army. On seeing us approach, they attempted to make their escape, but we rode up, at once to tranquillize their fears and to ask for a little milk. They pointed to two tents, which we now first saw standing in the distance, and said we could procure milk there. One of the men volunteered to accompany us, and we walked with him leading our horses. On our road we were soon afterwards joined by two more. These began to exhibit much restlessness, and looked frequently behind them. At length they made a dead stop as if to wait for somebody. We endeavoured in vain to get them on, for time was precious. At this moment two more well-armed men came running up almost breathless. The last that came was a tall stout man with breast almost bare; this fellow seized our horses which happened to be near to one another, and held them by the reins. We scarcely knew what to do—we doubted but that there was mischief in the wind, but still we thought there might be some mistake; at all events, if we commenced a fight without sufficient reason, the numerous Kurds who formed part of the retreat, if not the Turks themselves, would assist in slaying two infidels, and we felt that we were not out of hearing of guns, from the motley crew we had just left. Under these circumstances we attempted a sort of parley, they demanding who we were and whither bound, and on our stating that we were going to Aintab, they evidently looked upon us as persons about to make

over to the enemy. In the mean time we had produced our firman to the chief, as he appeared to be, and its contents were discussed without the form of a perusal. This being terminated, a search was commenced of our persons, during which two watches, one from myself and one from my companion, changed proprietors, but it was in vain they sought for the customary belt round the waist; they were not acquainted with the mysteries of breeches' pockets. These proceedings had illuminated our understandings like a torrent of light, as to what we had to expect. The moment arrived when this became no longer a doubtful matter. Having in part completed their robbery, they hesitated about what further to do. They were all armed with pistols and swords, and the man who held the horses appeared inclined to urge their being had recourse to, but the hesitation of the moment decided the whole affair, for Mr. Russell observing that the man who had got his watch was skulking off, stole away to his horse's side, and cutting the strap which swung his gun to the saddle, had it in a moment bearing upon the fugitive. At almost the same instant of time I had jumped upon my horse, and seizing a pistol from the holster, was in the act of cocking it, when my friend cried out, "Shall I shoot that fellow?" "By all means," was the answer; luckily he did not hear it, for as he afterwards said, he would have pulled the trigger. The man, however, observed the gun remained steadily bearing upon him, and began to retrace his steps, while my pistol being upon the fine open bosom of the leader, led him to exclaim several times, *Zara yoke*, "Never mind." Our watches were returned, and as in the scuffle some papers

had fallen from my breast, we made the Kurds gather them up, then turning our horses, but keeping our guns to bear upon the foe, we effected our retreat to the road, taking care when we arrived among our old friends not to look as if anything had happened. It turned out afterwards that this occurrence was more advantageous to us than otherwise, and that, as is often the case, there was a kind providence in an apparent evil. Immediately beyond this encampment of Kurds was a deep stony ravine, which it is very probable we should not have succeeded in passing, and if we did, it could only have been after a toil which would have brought on night, when, according to all chances, fatigued, and weary of watching, we should have fallen easy victims to the stern marauders of these lonely rocky wastes.

We continued for a short distance, along the same stony upland, till we came to a steep and narrow ravine, the sides of which were strewn with large irregular masses of rock, and clothed with a luxuriant vegetation of oak and hardy evergreens, that twisted their fibrous roots between rocks and into crevices. There was no road visible, and every one proceeded as he thought best. Our horses of high Cappadocian breed took the largest rocks at a leap, lighting sometimes upon a space scarcely a few feet square, or held up almost entirely by some gnarled oak, and we reached the bottom with only a few injuries; I myself had a severe kick on the shin; but it was even worse with the multitude, upon whom every now and then horses and riders came rolling over once or twice, before a footing could be recovered, while laden horses had much more awkward falls, and many a sad accident took place; still the scene was very picturesque,

such a dense mass of men and horses descending in what appeared to be three distinct lines down a precipice, which might have been thought insuperable to a single man. On arriving at the bottom, every one began to seek, in the dry and stony bed of the ravine, for remnants of water. We were lucky enough to find a small cavity, by lifting up a stone, which contained enough for two, but had scarcely time to congratulate ourselves, when a fat general of cavalry (Sheriff Pasha), abandoned by his servants, leading his horse and covered with dust and perspiration, came up begging for a participation.

The ascent was more toilsome and laborious than the descent; the horses could no longer leap over the detached masses of rock, but slipped down their smooth surface. Every rider had to look out for himself and for his horse, to speed on at one moment, to wait anxiously at another. Some poor animals fell as many as three successive times before they could pass one short space. At length, the summit was gained, and again we found ourselves travelling along a grassy and partly wooded upland covered everywhere with large detached stones.

Evening was approaching, and the Kurds, who belonged to the irregular cavalry, began to stop, turn back, and then pass on, evidently hovering about in search of prey. They soon distinguished my companion and myself as Franks, and Franks generally carry watches, and sometimes money; but whenever we observed a set who particularly watched or followed us, we became equally careful in avoiding them, and still more cautious in not getting surrounded. An unfortunate European medicus, who was not aware of their

tactics, was plundered the first evening. He thought he was travelling along very quietly and unregarded, when, suddenly at a turn in the road, a party of Kurds who were in front stopped short, and when he attempted to retreat he found that another party was in his rear. He was then immediately despoiled of almost all his wearing-apparel, and his horse was taken from him, so that he had to continue his march in a few tattered garments, and in shoes, which the jagged rocks soon tore to pieces. Seeing the poor fellow in this plight the ensuing day, and observing that he was an European, Mr. Russell, with a benevolence which none of the Turks exhibited towards one another, lent him his horse to ride upon.

Just as the sun was about to set we got a crust of bread from a soldier, but we could not eat it, our mouths were so parched. As darkness increased, we ceased to converse except in whispers; by this means we avoided being recognised as Franks, and got off the scent of the Kurds. After another hour's journey we came to a steep cliff, down which we had to lead our horses in the dark. The crowd was going in various directions. Discordant cries were heard on every side, and they were answered by shouts of triumph from the invisible depths below. This announced water, for the voices of those below were clear and full; of those above, hoarse and weak. Our horses exerted themselves wonderfully; leaping or sliding, as the necessities of the case demanded, down they went, regardless of rocks or trees, and after scarcely more than half an hour's perspiring toil we found ourselves on the wooded banks of a rivulet of clear water, and most lovely to our eyes. Already

some advanced parties had kindled fires in the jungle, or grouped themselves in little spaces of greensward. We turned from these into a deeper gloom, and ascended a short way up the stream; after a satisfactory drink we tied our horses beneath a wide-spreading plane-tree, leaving them to sup upon its leaves. We ourselves divided the crust of beneficence; it was small, but the first food we had taken that long day, during which we had been on horseback from an hour before sunrise till two hours after sunset; and the most faithful dog is not more patient of suffering than a Cappadocian steed. There was no restlessness nor regrets on the part of our fatigued and unfed friends, so leaving them to their reflections concerning barley and oats, we made pillows of our saddles, and wrapping ourselves in our cloaks, after uttering a prayer to the Father of all, were soon unconscious of all mundane grievances\*.

So soundly did we sleep by the rivulet's murmuring side, and shaded from the falling dew by the magnificent expanse of plane-tree, that, when we awoke, we found it was daylight, and ourselves almost alone. We were, however, soon mounted, and overtaking the laggards of the train; we also soon passed the main body, who were toiling up a rocky ascent to the right, and pursuing our way up a lateral ravine we ascended by a tortuous course, and gained, even before the multitude, a great plain,

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\* The horse given to me by Hafiz Pasha was originally intended for the Sultan. He strained himself so badly in the ravines, that he was a long time in recovering. At Constantinople I parted with him with regret to Admiral Walker, and when I last saw him, he was in good health and excellent condition.

at first covered with rocks and shrubs, but beyond, becoming cultivated, with many villages dispersed, and ultimately terminating in a long range of partly naked, partly wooded, limestone hills.

This we at once recognised as the Araban Owahsi, a district I had visited on a former journey from Marash to Rum Kalah, and whose inhabitants were identified in my memory with certain acts of lawlessness and violence; nor was their character contradicted by their behaviour on the present occasion. The villagers had uniformly deserted their abodes, and were congregated in two separate bodies. Those who were on horseback were on the plain, from whence they apparently watched our progress. The footmen had perched themselves on the rocky crags, not far from where we had to enter upon the hills, and were ready to dispute our progress.

Under these circumstances the Turks, without any one to give orders, adopted a tolerably good plan of defence. The horsemen remained on the plain, riding along parallel to the direction of the hills, while a party of infantry, who had still their muskets, approached under shelter of a village to the foot of the crags. They then kept advancing in skirmishing parties, maintaining a pretty sharp fire upon the Kurds, who were soon dislodged from their fastnesses.

By this means the road was cleared for the remainder, and after a journey of about ten miles we had crossed the plain, and entered upon a hilly district of limestones with occasional groves. The suffering, however, from fatigue, want of water, and exposure to the sun, now became very great, and many most painful scenes were

presented to us on the road-side. Some were begging for water, others wept in grief as they dragged their sore feet and jaded limbs behind them, others fell down and shrieked in despair; still, almost regardless of these horrors, each and all sped onwards. Indeed, we ourselves suffering, what relief could be given to others?

At length, upon turning out of a grove of trees, just after mid-day, a river was seen slowly flowing along the bottom of an adjacent vale. The multitude appeared as if inspired with new life; some crippled by blisters and cuts began to run, others wept for joy. Upon this river were two or three ivy-clad arches of an antique bridge, which stretched half across its waters. It was the ancient Pons Singæ. Heedless of the depth, our horses, no longer amenable to restraint, precipitated themselves at once into the river.

I forget how we drank from our horses' backs; I only remember that one long draught was not enough, but that we remained a long time, over our knees in water, drinking and drinking again. This is curious, for we had water in the morning, and I was accustomed when travelling scarcely ever to drink, from morning to evening; but it was not only us, but every one was similarly circumstanced, and many so much more grievously; it was most probably owing to want of food.

Our thirst being quenched we repaired to a field of wheat, the first we had met upon the road. It was fully ripe, and while we ourselves fed upon a few ears we turned our horses adrift on the crop. At this moment a Turkish soldier came by, who happened to be driving a mule laden with biscuit; observing the simplicity of our repast, he was led to give us a little bread;



we tendered a piece of gold, equivalent to four shillings, for more; he was astounded, and brought us more, but refused the gold. We went down to the water again, and dipping the bread made a comfortable if not luxurious meal; but our horses were less fortunate; for, either by accident or wilfully, the field of corn was set on fire; the straw was dry, and the ground parched, and, breasted by a huge cloud of smoke, and crackling furiously, the flames came on like a galloping horse. Nothing was left but to escape before the road became impassable, and refreshed and re-invigorated we proceeded on our journey.

We soon entered upon more hills of chalky soil; the road not bad. Here we met many Kurds going in an opposite direction, and anxiously asking for the Serasker. These revengeful clans nearly got him into their hands during the retreat.

Towards evening we came to another field of barley; besides giving our horses a hasty feed, we cut the corn down with our swords, and made a bundle for emergencies. We shortly afterwards passed by a village where was a spring. The sheikh was standing with a few peasants by the road-side, begging for contributions to cover the depredations of the retreating soldiery: strange to say, he appeared actually to have received some money. We added our mite for the barley which we had been forced to take for our safety, but could get no bread.

After night had come on, we came to another river, which we forded. There were now few persons on the road, and we had some difficulty in making out our way. At this moment a small party of lancers overtook us,

and we joined company. An hour before midnight we stopped at a field of barley, and fed our horses; here, during our rest, two horses were stolen from the lancers. We slept a wink upon the stubble, holding the bridle in our hands, and then starting again, arrived before daylight at Besni.

It was a strange scene to see the inhabitants and soldiers sleeping in groups upon the roofs of the houses, disposed like terraces upon the hill-side; the mesjids and sepulchral chapels were converted into stables, and there was not an inch of ground to spare. We lay down in the street and fell asleep, but were soon awoke by daylight, when we repaired to the same Christian house where we had stopped before; and here we were delighted beyond the possibility of expression by being afterwards joined by our lost friend Mr. Rassam, who, unable to reach Aintab, had also been borne along by the current to this place: so it fared likewise with our Greek servant, who dropped in, in the course of the morning; but the Arab, with the money, government post-horse, and Mr. Rassam's baggage, never made his appearance any more.

Many of the Europeans came into Besni in the course of the day, stripped to their shirts and trowsers. A German doctor had been sorely pressed by the Kurds, but having a double-barrelled fowling-piece had got off safe, for on firing one barrel without effect, a Kurd had persevered in his attack, when he received the contents of the other.

An attempt was now made to re-establish some sort of order, that the remainder of the retreat to Malatiyeh,

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which had still to be carried through the heart of Taurus, might be effected with as little loss as possible. Accordingly, no one was allowed to start till the ensuing day, when, a little before daylight, rendezvous being given outside of the town, all were to go off together. At midnight a Frenchman rose from an adjacent roof, and called for his horse and servant. I asked him where he was going. "C'est mon étoile!" he said; "I feel that I must go." In the morning we found him at the rendezvous; so he gained nothing by his fidgets.

On reaching the side of the mountain of Khurkhun, previously described, the Kurds opened an ineffective fire upon us from the heights above; this was speedily answered by the Turks, and the skirmish had a picturesque effect in such a position, heightened by the depth of sound which the mountain echoes gave to the irregular discharge of musketry. Pelveh was deserted. In the valley of the Ak Su we were lucky enough to find some pastoral Turkomen, from whom we with some difficulty procured a kid. At night, as we were now a large party of Europeans, we took one great roof of a house to ourselves, in the village of Erkenek, situate, as previously described, in one of the most beautiful of the alpine glens in Taurus. A professional gentleman, with few remaining clothes, but who designated himself as a Neapolitan marquis, operated as butcher; barley was found for the horses, and great was the feasting at sweet Erkenek.

Next day saw us on the road again. We had the difficult pass of the Gök Tenah to get over. In some places the path is so narrow that only one person could

proceed at a time. Weary of the delay which this occasioned, many clambered up the almost perpendicular cliffs by the side, and endeavoured to get round. I could not tell why the Turks were, against their usual practice, trampling over the body of a man which lay stripped in this narrow pass. When I came up, the explanation was offered to me at once: it was the body of an "uncircumcised dog," murdered and stripped by the Kurds; had it been a Turk, he would have been put on one side of the road.

We passed by Surghu, with its beautiful rocky springs, and drew up a short time on the outskirts of a forest, which fills up the valley of the Sultan Su, girt by the snow-clad and conical heights of the Akjah Tagh on the one side and the more rounded outline of the Baghli Khanli on the other. There were here a few pieces of ordnance, which had come from Constantinople, and were on their way to Nizib. The pashas present determined on conveying these back, the more especially as news had come that the Kurds of Akjah Tagh intended opposing us in the forest in front.

The troops accordingly formed in some sort of order, and the pashas went in front, but we passed through the forest without interruption, and arrived in the same order at Gozenek. Many efforts were made here to preserve the gardens and property of the peasants, and so energetic had Saadallah Pasha become, that he armed himself with a gun to enforce his orders. We dined after dark with Sheriff Pasha, who illuminated us by his sentiments regarding battles, which he thought would soon be fought with cannons only; we agreed with him in wishing it might be so, and that their

movements and firing should also be executed by machinery, and battles fought by engines instead of human beings.

The next day we reached Malatiyeh. On the road Reshid Bey shot his white charger; he had had four horses the day of departure, only two remained, the rest having broken down upon the road; the white was his great favourite, and he would not leave it to be ill-treated by the soldiery.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

JUL 5 1919



Town of Julamerik.

TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES  
IN  
ASIA MINOR, MESOPOTAMIA,  
CHALDEA, AND ARMENIA.



BY

WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

IN CHARGE OF THE EXPEDITION SENT BY THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,  
AND THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,  
TO THE CHRISTIAN TRIBES IN CHALDEA.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# CONTENTS

## OF

### THE SECOND VOLUME.

---

#### CHAPTER XXVI.

PAGE

Roads rendered dangerous by the revolted Kurds. Leave Malatiyeh. Travel up the Euphrates. Arab Kir, an Armenian Town. Illness of the Party. Country between Arab Kir and Divriki. Description of Divriki. Meet with a party of Kurds. Kara Bel Mountains. Valley of the Upper Halys. Town of Sivas—Cabira and Sebaste. Antiquities. Lucullus at Cabira. Siege of Sivas by Timour	- 1
--	-----

#### CHAPTER XXVII.

Journey from Sivas to Tokat. Ancient Commana Pontica. The Yeshil Irmak—ancient Iris. Country of the Amazons. Country of the Chalybeans. Valley of the Iris. Town of Zela. Caesar's Victory. Situation of Amasiyeh. Tombs of the Kings of Pontus. Osmanli History	- 16
--	------

#### CHAPTER XXVIII.

Start from Amasiyeh. Oriental Ideas of Quarantine. Samsun—ancient Amisus. Gozo—Thermæ Pharnazonitarum. Merzivan—Pharnezion. The Lover's Khan. Disbanded Troops. Valley of the Devrek (Doros), in Cimiatiene. Town of Tosiye—Docia. Tcherkesh—Antoniopolis. Boli—Hadrianopolis. Arrival at Constantinople	- 29
--	------

II.

a

337884



## CHAPTER XXIX.

PAGE

Delay at Constantinople. Start by the Sea of Marmora. Site of Helenopolis. Pass of the Draco. Lake of Ascanius. Isnik—ancient Nicæa. Mohammedan History. Military operations of the Crusaders. Curious Hydrographical Errors. An Oriental wit. A Traitor Greek. Sugut, first principality of the Osmanlis. Eski Shehr. Manufacture of Meerschaum	-	-	-	-	-	-	41
--	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

## CHAPTER XXX.

Seyyid el Ghazi. Phrygian Tombs. Town and Plain of Bula-vadin. Towns at foot of Sultan Tagh. City of Koniye—Iconium. Mohammedan Buildings. Kara Bunar (Black Spring). Crater of a Volcano. Entrance of the Cilician Gates. Pass of the Golek Boghaz. Defences of the Egyptians. Change of Vegetation. Ruins in Taurus. Scenery of Passes in Taurus. Cilician Gates. Reception at Adanah. Egyptian Generals. Antiquities	-	-	-	-	-	-	58
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Misis—ancient Mopsuestia. The Jaihan—Pyramus. Amanian Gates. Bayas. Saracenic Structure. Syrian Gates. Alexandretta. City of Antioch. Tower with Inscription. Remains of early Christianity. District of Dana. City of Aleppo. Travel to Birehjik. Town of Urfah—ancient Ur of the Chaldees, and Edessa of Osrhoene	-	-	-	-	-	-	87
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

## CHAPTER XXXII.

Journey across Northern Mesopotamia. Mountains of North Mesopotamia. Ruins of a Chaldean Town—Sina or Sinna. Ancient Menareh on the Plain. Town of Mardin. Der-i-Zafaran (Yellow Monastery). Ruins of Dara. Nisibis. The Mygdonius. Trajan's Fleet. Cross the Desert of Sinjar. Arrival at Mosul	-	-	-	-	-	-	107
--	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

PAGE

City of Mosul. Modern Government. Famine and Conflagra- tions. Romish Chaldeans. Antiquities. River Tigris. Calendar of Nature. Hurricanes. Mons Nicator and Gangamela. Battle of Arbela. Ruins of Nineveh. Mag- nitude of the City. Circuit of the Walls. Commentary on the Book of Jonah. Ancient City confined within the Walls. Temples and Palaces. Fulfilment of Prophecies. Identity of Nimrud, Larissa and Resen. Castle of Xeno- phon. Mes-Pylæ, now Mosul. The Syrian Nineveh	- 124
---	-------

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

Start for Al Hadhr. Baths of Hammam Ali—Tisasphalta. Chase after Wild Boars. Fountains of Bitumen. Kalah Sherkat—Ur of the Persians. Bivouac by the River's Banks. Khawass killed by the Arabs. Cross the Desert. Arrive at Al Hadhr	- - - - - 147
--	---------------

## CHAPTER XXXV.

Reception by the Shammar Arabs. Inscriptions on Stones. Singular Sculptures. Jewish and Arabic Inscriptions. Roman Frieze. An Astronomical City. Its Chaldean origin. Resists the Romans. River Tharthar. Start from Al Hadhr. Arab Tribes. Geographical Botany. Vege- tation of the Desert. Our Visit returned by the Shammar Chief	- - - - - 163
--	---------------

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

Start for Kurdistan. Plain of Mud. Plants and Animals. Sheikh Adi, Temple of the Izedis. Origin of the name Izedi. Worship of the Devil. Tendency to Christianity. A remnant of the lost Tribes. Izedi Sepulchres. Enter the Mountains. Bivouac by a Spring. Valonia and Galla. Vale of Amadiyeh	- - - - - 179
---	---------------

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

PAGE

Fortress of Amadiyah. Present Condition. Chaldeans. The Assyrian Ecbatana. Hostility of Chaldeans and Mohammedans. Pass of Geli Muzukah. District of Berrawi. Chaldean Bishop. Respect shown to the Clergy. Domestic Scene. Ministration of the Lord's Supper. Chaldean Churches. Appearance of the People. Church Questions. Villages and Population - - - - -	195
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Approach to the Tiyyari country. Village of Lizan in Tiyyari. Converse with the Tiyyari people. Evening Prayers. Spiritual Christianity. The two Natures of Christ. Superstitions. Start from Lizan. Villages of Tiyyari. Elevated Platforms for sleeping on. Lead Mines. Bivouac at a Zoma, or Summer Quarters. A Reprobate Chaldean. Summer Quarters. Descent by a Glacier. Pass through a Glacier. Mountain Valley. Ismael, King of the Tiyyari	215
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

Berdizawi—Little Zab. Kurd Bey of Leihun. Poverty of the Kurds. Town and Fortress of Julamerik. Mar Shimon, Patriarch of the Chaldeans. Conversation with the Patriarch. Enmity of the Kurdish Bey of the Hakkari. Detention of the Patriarch by the Turks - - -	240
--	-----

## CHAPTER XL.

The Chaldeans as a Nation. Assumed Israelitish origin of the Chaldeans. Jewish Testimonies. Halah, Habor, Reseph, and Haran of Scriptures. Jewish origin of the Syrian Christians. Language and Name. Rites and Rituals. Physiognomy of the Chaldeans. Manners and Customs. Early Converts in the East to Christianity. Non-Conversion of the Ten Tribes - - - - -	256
--	-----

## CHAPTER XLI.

PAGE

Chaldeans not Papists. Not Nestorians. Purity of the Chaldean Church Doctrine. Chaldean Bishoprics. Patriarchate of the East. Chaldean Councils. Collections of Canon Law. Ecclesiastical Year. Liturgies. Baptism. Absence of Monastic Institutions. Ignorance of Clergy and Laity. Necessity and importance of Friendly Assistance. Tribes and Villages of Chaldeans. Population	- 272
--	-------

## CHAPTER XLII.

Start from Julamerik. The Jellu or Jawur Mountains. District of Dez Chaldeans. High Uplands of Kurdistan. Murder of the Traveller Schultz. Old Armenian Monastery. Superstitious Stone. An Insolent Kurd. District of Salamast, in Persia. Lake and district of Urimiyeh. The American Mission. Persians of Urimiyeh	- 288
--	-------

## CHAPTER XLIII.

Start from Urimiyeh. Timidity of the Persians. Town of Ushnei. Pass of the Keli Shin. Ascent of the Peak of Rowandiz. Prospect from the Summit. Persian Fire-Temples on High-Places. Descent of the Mountain. Fort of Sidek, or Sidaka. Approach to Rowandiz	- 306
--	-------

## CHAPTER XLIV.

Town of Rowandiz. Kurd Bey of Rowandiz. Road carried down a Precipice. Peculiar Hydrography. Comparison of the Great Zab and Tigris. Descend to the plains of Adiabene. Occurrences at Mosul. Visit to Eski Mosul (Old Mosul). Mosul Ashirat of Arabs. Numerous Wild Boars. Mr. Rassam, Vice-Consul at Mosul. Astronomical Observations	- 319
---	-------

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

---

	PAGE
The Town of Julamerik - - - - -	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Map of Kurdistan, Chaldea, &c. - - - - -	<i>to face</i> 1
Interior of Monastery at Sivas - - - - -	1
Tomb of a King of Pontus - - - - -	16
Lefkeh - - - - -	41
Phrygian Tomb - - - - -	58
Tower of Antioch - - - - -	87
Ancient Menareh on the Plain - - - - -	107
Head of the Time of the Ata-Bey's - - - - -	124
Restored Palace of Hatra - - - - -	163
Izedi Temple of Sheikh Adi - - - - -	179
Fortress of Amadiyah - - - - -	195
Sleeping Platforms of the Tiyari - - - - -	215
Armenian Monastery - - - - -	288
Izedi Tomb - - - - -	319
Castles of Fenik (Phœnica) - - - - -	335
Armenian Cottages - - - - -	364

# TRAVELS IN ASIA MINOR.

## CHAPTER XXVI.



Interior of Monastery at Sivas.

Roads rendered dangerous by the revolted Kurds. Leave Malatiah. Travel up the Euphrates. Arab Kir, an Armenian Town. Illness of the Party. Country between Arab Kir and Divriki. Description of Divriki. Meet with a party of Kurds. Kara Bel Mountains. Valley of the Upper Halys. Town of Sivas (Cabira and Sebaste.) Antiquities. Lucullus at Cabira. Siege of Sivas by Timour.

*Sunday, June 30th.* THE day after our arrival, Hafiz Pasha made his appearance at Aspusi, having travelled by a different and more easterly road, accompanied by a small body of about a thousand soldiers; they had been much harassed during three days by the incessant attacks of the Kurds of Kakhtah and Gergen Kalehsi,

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anxious to revenge themselves, in the hour of disaster, upon the Pasha personally, for the wars which he had formerly carried into the heart of those rude mountains. Mr. Rassam and myself went immediately to see him, leaving Mr. Russell to look after our very limited baggage, which lay in the open air.

After expressing much anxiety for our absent friend, concerning whose safety we, however, soon satisfied him, the Pasha asked me, what I proposed doing under present circumstances; to go forward, he said, was quite out of the question, at least for some time to come, as the Kurds, who occupy every pass of the Taurus, were in revolt everywhere. I said I was fully aware of this, and having lost nearly all my instruments, had made up my mind to go to Constantinople, from whence I should have facilities, which did not exist at Malatiyeh, of entering into correspondence with the Society, and seeing if they would replace my losses, by which time the country might also have become quieted. He said, he feared at the present moment, that it would be almost as difficult to retrace my steps to Constantinople, as to advance forward to Dyarbekr, but that he would give me whatever assistance was in his power. He then asked me, when I proposed starting. "At day-break next morning," I said. "Come to me then," he answered. I wished to be excused from this, as it would be so early, but he said he should not sleep. The Pasha was very low spirited, but bore up against his misfortunes; his brother Ibraila Pasha had been weeping, apparently, all night. A severe trial, however, soon presented itself: the servants announced Mehemet Ali Bey, now Pasha of Top Khani in

Constantinople, who had arrived two days before the battle, with the firman of Sultan Mahmoud, conferring on Hafiz Pasha the high dignity of Serasker of Asiatic Turkey. The meeting was a painful one, as all were well aware that the honour came too tardily; none at that moment knew, however, that the Sultan himself was no more. Afterwards we all three went to pass the evening with the two Pashas; Hafiz expressed much anxiety for the fate of the Prussian officers, who, somehow or other, it appeared afterwards, found their way to Marash.

*June 31st.* At the earliest dawn we were again with the Pasha, who had, apparently, only reposed on his divan. He now gave us a tatar, and a letter for the pasha of Malatiyeh, to supply us with horses under every circumstance. We then took our departure, and rode in a couple of hours to the town, where, on visiting the governor, we learnt the sad intelligence, that the great road to Sivas, by Delikli Tash, was occupied by the Reshwan Kurds, and that a tatar despatched the previous evening had not been able to get beyond Hasan Batrik. Under these circumstances, we sent back our tatar to Aspusi, to claim the guard of horsemen which the Pasha had promised us in case of necessity. A little after mid-day, Hafiz Pasha arrived at Malatiyeh himself, and proposed to us, that we should join the party of the mutesellim of Arab Kir, who was returning to his government with a strong escort; the route would be a little longer, but would be safer and less liable to detention. We agreed to this arrangement, but the mutesellim would not start till dusk, for greater secresy, and it was after eight when we at length left Malatiyeh.



In about an hour and a half, we came to the bridge on the Tokmah Su, where was a strong guard, and about fifty tents belonging to Mustafa Pasha of Erzurum. At midnight we arrived at Mor Hammam, a village near thermal springs, beautifully situated upon the great curve which the Euphrates makes round the rocky point of Munshar, which, on the opposite side of the waters, bore the remnants of an ancient castle, beneath which is a village called Kalah Keuy. The inhabitants of Mor Hammam are Turkomans, and having, since the battle, been much annoyed by predatory visits from the Kurds, they had been out this day upon an offensive excursion, and had made seventeen prisoners, whom they kept shut up in their mesjid. Although we were a strong party, and had an Osmanli mutesellim with us, they did not hide their contempt of a government which afforded them so little real protection, yet is always so ready to collect its taxes. They several times bade us go on to another village, and almost refused us any food; we spread our carpets, however, regardless of their ill nature, and were soon buried in sleep.

The next morning, we started with dawn to enjoy the cool of the day. Our road lay along the banks of the river, which is here studded with islands; the rocky hills of Munshar occupied the right bank, and stretched up to Kapan Maden. After a ride of about two hours, we forded the Chamurli Su (Mud River), which is but a small river fifteen yards wide by a foot in depth. Shortly after this we left the river banks, and advanced over a grassy uncultivated country, and a little after 8 A.M., it became so hot that we were glad to repose ourselves under some trees, not far from the village

of Urah Oghlu. At 1 P.M. we started again, and soon entered upon a rocky district with which I was familiar, from a former journey made from Dyarbekr by Kapan Maden to Arab Kir. We passed the night in the village of Hambram, of about twenty houses.

*Wednesday, July 3rd.* We travelled only three hours and a half to Arab Kir, where the mutesellim welcomed us with Eastern formality to his house. We begged, however, to be allowed to retire to his gardens, which were cooler and more pleasant, and our request was acceded to. Arab Kir, more commonly called Arab Kail, is a small town with a population of about 8000 souls, of whom 6000 are Armenians. The town is built in a narrow and deep valley, at the head of which are the black basaltic mountains called Göl Tagh and Kara Baba. Every house has its garden, so that the town extends nearly two miles along the valley, and has a very pleasing appearance; the flat roofs are covered with micaceous shingle which glitters in the sun. As may be expected, where there are so many Christians, there is much industry. This place is also celebrated in Aleppo, and other large towns, for supplying servants, who, after a few years' service, return to establish themselves in their secluded and picturesque native town. The climate here is delightful; there is snow all the year round on the neighbouring mountains. The gardens produce all kinds of fruit and vegetables in abundance, the market is otherwise well supplied, and the town is unmolested by Kurds or by local schisms.

What a change a few days had made in our circumstances! Here we were luxuriating in the mutesellim's gardens upon fried eggs, mulberries, and sour milk, (a

most refreshing thing in hot weather,) whom a few days ago (and under the excitement of ill-treatment) a bit of bread would almost have tempted to a robbery! None but those who have been in similar situations can tell how the dwelling for days among looks of scorn and hatred, constant rudeness, and occasional acts of open violence, can steel a man's heart, even one whose

Natural mood

Is gentleness, which sorrow hath made gentler,  
and lead not only to indifference and contempt of danger, but to the occasional sinful feeling of defiance. The only drawback to our present repose, which brought us to more humane feelings, was the bad health of our party. The hot rays of the sun had been unrefreshed by any breeze for two days, and both Mr. Russell and the tatar were completely invalided, and the medicine-chest was gone. Our horses had also suffered severely in the passage of the ravines before described; mine had a sore back, and an abscess had formed in the thigh, and I could not walk from the kick I had received.

The next day a guard of thirty men having been collected by the mutesellim's kindness, we started over the Arab Baba, and the cool air of the mountains tended much to revive the sick. From this chain we descended to a fine stream, thirty yards wide by two feet deep, and abounding with fish. The country around was mountainous and highly picturesque. Forging the river, we did not follow our former road, which lay up the valley of a stream coming from the high conical mountain bearing the Kurdish name of Sari Chi Chak (the Highest Peak), and which crosses the mountain, and then turns westward to the valley and village of

Berastik ; but keeping right on before us, we ascended a wooded chalk country, from which we gained grassy vales and uplands in a basaltic district, which forms the easterly continuation of the Sari Chi Chak. Kurds from the Akjah Tagh had led their flocks to pasture in these hills, and we with some difficulty found out the tents of these people, and where their bey resided. We were received, however, with apparent hospitality, and coffee was handed round in cups in embossed silver holders; and a sheep was killed for the soldiers.

Beyond this district we entered a deep pass in trachytic rocks, and fording the stream of Berastik, we ascended hills of more gentle slope, made one more descent, fording the river of Karsi, and then ascended the Erumbat Tagh, from whence we descended to the vale of Divriki, where we arrived after dusk, having accomplished a ride of about eleven hours or thirty-eight miles. We were well received in a palace-like house, which belonged to a bey, to whom we were introduced by our tatar. Everything was in the first style of luxury; warm water was brought to us to wash ourselves, large chandeliers illuminated the apartments, and we were shown into a different room for supper, after which our host paid us a visit, and to whom we expressed our obligations for his attentions.

Divriki is a town of about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom 2000 are Christians. Like Arab Kir, every house has its garden, so that the town occupies a wide extent, but it surpasses Arab Kir in the beauty of its situation. The valley is wide and open, bounded to the north by the rounded but lofty summits of the Dumbugh Tagh, to the south by the Erumbat, to the west it rises

gradually towards the snow-clad summits (in July) of the Yumur Tagh, while to the east it is shut up by lofty and rocky precipices. The valley is watered by a small stream, in the bed of which occur vast boulders of magnetic iron ore. This stream, joins immediately below the town, the Keumer Su, which, issuing from a narrow pass in the Dumbugh Tagh, enters the vale of Divriki, makes a curve to the south-west towards the town, and then loses itself in a dark inaccessible glen, bounded by giant precipices. The rock to the west, which overhangs the town, bears the ruins of a large castle, with double walls, and of Saracenic origin. There is also a small castle on the cliffs on the opposite side of the water. The porch of the mesjid at Divriki is one of the most beautiful specimens of the florid Saracenic, perhaps, to be seen in Western Asia. There is also a mihrab, or pulpit, which is only equalled for exquisite workmanship by that of the Al Towelah, in Mosul\*.

The relay of horsemen given to us by the mutesellim

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\* The mihrab is so much revered by Mohammedans, that a light expression concerning it by a poet cost him his life. It is related, that this unhappy bard being a kind of Oriental Petrarch, was bantered by his acquaintance for still loving a mistress who had grown old and lost her personal attractions. The poet excused himself in a distich which said, "Though the mesjid is destroyed, the mihrab still remains unhurt." This, which undoubtedly alluded to what was indestructible and most admired by the poet, the mental qualifications of his fair, was understood in a different way by his enemies, who regarded it as a blasphemy, and the kadi was so moved on hearing it, that he sentenced the lover and poet to lose his head.

of Divriki amounted to only ten men, which we were very glad of, as we were accustomed to the road, and did not now anticipate any further difficulties. The ascent of the Dumbugh Tagh on leaving Divriki is steep and tedious. The pass is called Bel y Oghlu; the rocks consist of euphotides abounding in iron, and on the north side, of granites. The descent led us to the banks of the Keumer Su, which we crossed by a bridge, passing the village of Seliski, where I had slept on a former occasion, and the inhabitants of which were engaged in smelting iron; it was now deserted. Entering upon a district of gypsum, we arrived at another valley, with its stream, where we overtook a party of travelling Kurds. Our horsemen soon recognised sundry animals of burthen, which did not belong by right to the travellers, and before a word could be spoken, bore down upon them with their swords drawn, and at full speed; no blows were given, however, and after much wrangling and disputation, two mules were given up. It was difficult to tell at the end who were the robbers, the Kurds or our guards, there were so many protestations on both sides. From this place we ascended by a hilly country at the foot of the Kara Bel to the yaila, or summer tents, of the Kurds, whose winter village, or kishlak, is called Yarbasan, and where on our former journey Mr. Rassam and myself had a quarrel with the Kurds, which, from the irritability of our khawass, had nearly had serious results. On the present occasion we were, however, well received, and the evening temperature on the mountain was low and highly refreshing.

From Yarbasan we continued the ascent of the oak and pine-clad Kara Bel, the ancient Paryadres, which

we passed over at a line of level rather lower than on the previous journey, and more to the eastward. The elevation at Yarbasan, by barometer, was 4219 feet; that of the crest, 5790; where we crossed at the present time it did not exceed 5000; there was also greater variety in geological detail, but the main features remained the same. On the northern slope of the hills, in a pleasing upland valley, surrounded by forests, we found the summer tents of the villagers of Tuz le Goli (Village of the Salt Lake), which is in the valley of the Halys below. We found great difficulty in obtaining a change of horses from these peasants, who not only disregarded our force but also all authority of every kind, using, whenever high names were quoted, exceedingly bad language against them. The Kurd sheikh of Yarbasan had also accompanied us thus far, and exerted himself to the utmost; after waiting three hours I resolved upon putting the luggage on our own horses and walking to the valley which when they saw we were about to put into execution, horses were produced, and we continued our journey, descending by the ravine of the Shat el Kaya, or the River of the Rock, till we reached the village of Tosangi, which was long after nightfall; having travelled altogether ten hours or thirty-five miles.

Tosangi is in the upper valley of the Halys, which is here about seven miles wide by thirty in length, and bounded on the south by the Kara Bel and on the north by the Tekeli Tagh, which curves round to unite with the Kara Bel by the chain called the Gemin Beli Tagh, above the head-waters of the Halys, which has its sources from the east in the hilly country that effects the union, from the south in the Kara Bel and from the

north in the Gemin Bel. The upper valley of the Halys is already filled up with saliferous sandstones, and marls, and gypsum.

*Sunday, July 7th.* We had a short and easy ride of six hours along the valley of the Halys to Sivas. While passing Tuz le Hisar (Castle of Salt), we met a tatar, who brought the news of the Sultan's decease. On our passing the bridge we measured the width of the Halys, which had been neglected on a former occasion; it was 215 feet. We found the city of Sivas, as might be expected, in a state of great excitement at the concurring events of the loss of the battle of Nizib and the death of the Sultan, but there were few expressions of patriotism or loyalty to be heard. The Christian part of the community were regretting most, as was generally the case, the onerous taxation they had borne for six years to found and support an army which had been destroyed in a few hours. The proud Turkomans sullenly denied all sympathy with the Sultan or the army: "What have we to do with them?" they said. The few Osmanlis insinuated that if they had been there things would have gone on differently: "Yes, we the Sakhalah (the bearded men)," stroking their long facial appendages, "will go and fight." We stopped the next day at this town in order to visit the pasha, who had particularly requested to see us. In the course of the evening about thirty soldiers of the defeated army arrived; they were the first, and had all been stripped by the Kurds, who had only left them shirt and trowsers.

Sivas is a large town containing a population of 16,000 souls, of whom 4000 are Christians. It is the seat of a pasha, very centrally situated, and would afford,



now that steamers ply to Samsun, a very excellent depôt for English manufactures and goods, which would find a ready market. The business done in the bazaar as it is, is considerable, and the Christian merchants are rich and industrious. The city is not very healthy, being low, and the streets narrow and dirty; but there are many good positions in the neighbourhood.

The old walls of the city no longer exist; but there are ruins of two castles of different eras, one of which appears to have belonged to the kings of Pontus, to have been strengthened by the Romans, and dilapidated by the wars of the Mohammedans, who again built it up upon former ruins; the other is a more rude structure, apparently of the Turkish era. There is a want of wood in the environs which adds to the naked aspect of the town, but there are some gaudy Mohammedan tombs in the neighbourhood, and also a large Christian monastery to celebrate the well-known martyrdom of the Forty of Sivas. We visited this monastery, and thought a sketch of one of its interior chambers worthy of preservation as characteristic of these buildings.

Sivas, or Cabira, and afterwards Sebaste, was the city second in importance to none in the ancient kingdom of Pontus, as it is now the first in the pashalik of its name. Cabira appears to have been so named from the worship (the same as that of the *Divi Potes* of the Romans), which characterized the place. Strabo describes it as being forty stadia from the Paryadres, which is the case. It is situated nearly equidistant from the Paryadres (Kara Bel) to the south and the Scydises (Chamlu Bel) to the north. According to Appian, Mithridates used to winter his army in this

city, where he also built a castle. In the campaigns of Lucullus, Plutarch relates that that general, leaving the army before Amisus to Murena, marched against Mithridates, who was encamped on the plains of the Cabiri (Appian also notices it as a district, *ἐκ Κα Βειρυσ, ἢ Cabiris*), and who was so confident of victory that he challenged the Romans, and even passed the Lycus, engaging the Roman cavalry and putting them to rout. Led, however, by Artemidorus, the Romans arrived by narrow passes (no doubt the ravines of gypsum immediately north of Sivas), to a height, where in the morning they appeared above the enemy's heads. It was here that occurred the curious accident that saved Lucullus from an assassin's hand. A number of combats ensued, which terminated in the Asiatics ultimately abandoning the city as no longer tenable, and Lucullus entered Cabira, where he found much treasure.

Cabira soon afterwards changed its name, and was called by Pompey, Diospolin; and Pythodorus is said to have given it the appellation of Sebaste; Pliny writes Sevastia, which name, but very slightly corrupted, has remained ever since.

Under the Byzantine Empire, Sebaste was an episcopal seat, and considered to be in Lesser Armenia, for Socrates mentions one Eustathius as bishop of Sebastia in Armenia.

At the period of the early inroads of the Turkomans Diogenes Romanus had his head-quarters here; but a short time after the sacking of Iconium, Manuel Comnenus was defeated in the same neighbourhood, and made prisoner, in which state he remained until, by a curious reverse of fortune, his captor, falling under the

displeasure of the Sultan, went over with his prisoner to the Greek emperor.

The Seljukian Sultans first established themselves at this town, and only afterwards removed, when flying before Gengiz Khan to Koniye, where they founded the Allau-d-din dynasty of kings.

Sivas fell under the power of the Circassian mercenaries of the Mameluke Sultans, and they in their turn were driven thence by one of the Alai-Doulet Princes of Kaiseriye (A.D. 1403, HEG. 888).

The citizens rebelled against this yoke, and Amasiye having at that time gone over to Bayazid, the Osmanli Sultan marched against Sivas, which was given up by the inhabitants, and he left his son Suleiman to govern the country.

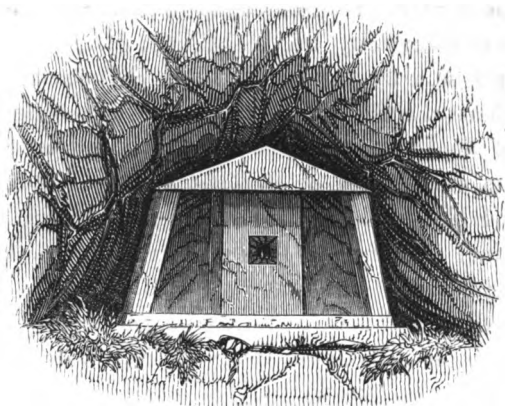
On the inroad of Timour, the first Tatars who arrived at Sivas were cut off by the Turks, who, to show their contempt of the enemy, left the gates open, but were soon obliged to shut them so hurriedly, that they left some of their own horsemen outside, who were slain by the Tatars. Timour himself soon followed and sat down before the city seven days; on the eighth, the walls and towers having been undermined in several places, they were thrown down. The terrified inhabitants then offered to give up the town, but it was too late; the Tatars rushed in, spared neither age nor sex, and razed the city to the ground, saving the governor only, in order to depute him to Bayazid, to report what had become of his strong city of Sivas. It is said that 12,000 Turks lost their lives at this siege.

On the partitioning of the Osmanli and Turkoman

kingdoms, that followed the final overthrow of Bayazid, Sivas was allotted to the Sultans of Koniye, whose generals fortified themselves amid the ruins of this once flourishing city, till Mohammed I., Sultan of the Osmanlis, sent a general of the name of Bayazid, against the last of the Turkoman chieftains, who being made prisoner, and the city subjected, was well treated by, and taken into the service of, the Osmanlis.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.



Tomb of a King of Pontus.

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Journey from Sivas to Tokat. Ancient Commana Pontica. The Yeshil Irmak—ancient Iris. Country of the Amazons. Country of the Chalybeans. Valley of the Iris. Town of Zela. Cæsar's Victory. Situation of Amasiyeh. Tombs of the Kings of Pontus. Osmanli History.

THE road from Sivas northwards leads up narrow ravines, with water courses much charged with lime, and depositing large accumulations of travertino. We ascended from these ravines to a nearly level upland, along which we travelled several hours without anything to attract our attention or excite interest. We made the first nine post hours in six and half, and arrived at the village of Karkhun, close to a lofty and remarkable conical mountain, designated Yulduş Tagh (Star Mountain). According to the Antonine Itinerary, there were

two stations between Sebastopolis (Turkhal) and Sebastia (Sivas), viz., Virisam and Phiarisi, the latter of which corresponds by position and the distances given with the existing post station.

*July 10th.* This day we rode to Tokat, nine post hours, done in about seven. On passing the mountain-chain of the Chamlu Bel, corresponding to the ancient Scydisse, we observed on an isolated brook several pelicans and black storks. Do these birds breed in the mountains? An epidemic was raging among the cattle. The rapid descent effected from the Chamlu Bel to the sweet valley of Tokat, manifested itself at this season of the year in a striking manner by the natural productions. Cherries were already gone by, while apricots, plums, French beans, common beans, and spinach were in season.

Tokat is a large town beautifully and picturesquely situated in a rocky and wooded ravine, out of the centre of which rises a bold naked mass of rock, bearing on its summit the ruins of an ancient castle. The houses are mostly two stories high, all tiled; the streets are neat and clean, the market place open and roomy, and the gardens are numerous and inviting, the vines being trellised as in parts of Italy. The town is also watered by a rivulet; and while it most resembles an European town of any in Lesser Asia, it would also make the pleasantest residence in the country.

It is essentially an Armenian town, the number of houses being, from information received at two different visits that I have made to this place, 2000 Armenian houses and 800 Mohammedan, or a total of 2800 houses. It is very remarkable how much the population of

Asiatic towns has been overrated by travellers, and few more so than that of Tokat, for which take the following estimates as collected by Balbi.

Gardanne, 3300 houses, at 5 souls to each	-	-	16,500
At 10 souls, as put by Balbi	-	-	33,000
Salvatori, 3330 houses	-	-	16,500
Anonymous Itinerary	-	-	50,000
Dupré	-	-	60,000
Kinneir	-	-	60,000
St. Martin, 16,000 houses ?			
Fontanier, 18,000 houses ?			
Morier, 20,000 houses ?			

If we granted a population of 10 souls to each house, the population would only amount to 28,000, but many houses are ruinous; most of the Mohammedan houses contain a very scanty population; those of the Christians are more peopled, and many houses contain several families, hence the round number of 20,000 perhaps best represents the population of Tokat.

At Tokat are the furnaces for refining the copper from the mines of Arghana, and which have been lately superintended by a well qualified gentleman from Vienna. There are many manufactures in the town, of cloths, silk stuffs, cottons, carpets, and especially vessels of copper. It is the seat of an Armenian bishop.

Tokat was in ancient times a place of much importance as a seat of worship, and known as the *Commana Pontica*, in contradistinction to the *Commana Cappadocia*, both, according to Strabo, being consecrated to the same goddess Bellona :

\* \* \* \* Vel exsectos lacerat Bellona Comanos.

VAL. FLACC., lib. vii. *Argon.* v., 636.

The power and dignity of the hierarch was so great,

that he was esteemed next to the king. Cicero notices the place as “fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi.”

When Pontus became a Roman province the Commana of Pontus changed its name to Manteium. Pliny says, “Commana, now Manteium, that is, “the Oracle;” and Socrates styles it, *Tò Μαντινιον*. During the widowhood of Eudocia, and the minority of her sons, it fell into the hands of the Turkomans, whom Diogenes Romanus sent an army to drive out of it, under the command of Ruselius. This general succeeded; but shortly afterwards, the troops going out to forage, they were cut to pieces by the Turks, by whom the city was recaptured. Diogenes sent Bryennius, and afterwards Basiliacus, to its relief, but without success; and the former was at length made prisoner, and taken before the Turkoman chief, called Ak Khan (White Khan).

The Turkomans of Tokat threw off the Persian yoke in the time of Gengis Khan, and their chief styled himself Sultan, among whom we find one called Ahmed Alau-d-din, in the time of Bayazid. In the year 1471 Yusuf Bey, a general of Uzun Hasan (Long John), Prince of Kaiseriye, invaded the district of Tokat, but was defeated by Mustafah, general of the Sultans of Koniye. It ultimately fell into the hands of the Osmanlis, in the time of Selim I. (A.D. 1514, HEG. 921).

Old Sir Paul Rycaut calls it Mantiziocert, an Armenian termination to its first Roman name, but it was better known by its Byzantine name of Eudocia, Eudoxina, or Eutochia, and from whence apparently its modern designation of Tokat.

*July 11th.* We turned this day down the beautiful valley of the Yeshil Irmak (Green River), which, near



Tokat, is full of gardens, and crowded with villages and country houses.

The Yeshil Irmak, the ancient Iris, has its sources in the union of the Chamlu Bel and the Akloh Tagh, at the head of the valley of Tokat. Flowing hence it enters a wide and marshy plain, from which it turns northward, by narrow ravines, past Turkhal and its rocky castle (Sebastopolis), till it again enters a fertile open valley, near Amasiyeh, where it is joined by a tributary from the west, corresponding to the ancient Scylax. The united rivers flow through the centre of the town of Amasiyeh, below which they receive the waters of the Karmili Su (Schonak of some writers), the ancient Lycus, which is itself composed of two streams, the Ovah Admish and the Kalkhat Chaye, that unite considerably below the lofty and romantic city of Kara Hisar.

The united Iris, Scylax, and Lycus flowed, according to Strabo (who was a native of Amasia), through the Campus Pharnacæam, which appears to be the same as that into which Mithridates endeavoured to draw the Romans. The river then entered the country of the Themiscyri to pour itself into Pontus, ten miles below the town of Charshambeh, a town that was originally built by Mithridates, according to Appian, for his queen Eupatoria, and was named after her. Pompey took a fancy to the same town, and embellished it, calling it Magnopolis, and attached certain territories to it, whence Strabo says it was in Magnopolitide.

It is related by the commentators of Apollonius, that

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\* Transgressus Lycum fluvium in campum patentem provocavit Romanos.—PLUTARCH, in *Lucullo*.

the Amazons had a city on the plain of Themiscyra, their chief residence being, however, in the valley of the next river, the ancient Thermodon, and the modern Termeh Su. The existence of these chivalrous females appears, however, to be entirely fabulous, as it rests entirely on the authority of the historians of the Argonautic expedition, Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus and was sung to the Romans, by Propertius,

*Qualis Amazonidum nudatis vellica mammis*

*Thermodontæis turbæ lavatur aquis.*—Lib. iii., Eleg. xiv.

And by Virgil, who is more tasteful,

*Quales Threiciæ quum flumina Thermodontis*

*Pulsant et pictus bellantur Amazones armis.*—Lib. xi., v. 659.

They were, however, never seen but by the Argonauts; for in the battle between Pompey and the Albanians, which took place on the Thermodon, though Plutarch relates, that it was supposed that the Amazons were also engaged, as the Romans met among the plunder of the field bucklers in the form of a half moon, and such buskins as poetry had depicted the Amazons to be accoutred in, yet it is acknowledged that no bodies of woman were found among the dead. Indeed, already at that time it was attempted to be shown that they did not inhabit these countries, but that part of Caucasus which stretches towards the Hyrcanian Sea, so that they may be represented by the modern Circassians, more celebrated for love than war.

On the plain of the Thermodon, called by Apollonius, that of Dæantes, from the brothers Dæas, was also a city called Chalybia. It appears that that industrious and ancient people, the Chalybdes, had several towns besides this settlement on the Thermodon; and

Pomponius Mela relates, that they even had possession of Sinope and Amisus, the two richest ports on the coast. This interesting nation is supposed by Colonel Chesney to be a remnant of the Chaldeans of old\*, their name being corrupted, and they are on that account deserving of a moment's notice from us.

It is certain that their geographical distribution was very wide. Stephanus notices them on the Thermodon; Apollonius describes the Argonauts as navigating a day and a night from the Thermodon before they came to the land of the Chalybiæ; and we have the important authority of Xenophon, that they extended much farther east, and that they occupied the mountainous country east of Trapezon. According to Herodotus, they were reduced by Cræsus, king of Lydia, and a statement of Strabo's confirms that of Xenophon. In modern times they have been found as far east as Lazistan by my friend Mr. Thomson, of the Persian Embassy, and Mr. W. J. Hamilton found them in the mountainous regions of Pontus, engaged in their ancient employment of digging iron from the soil, an occupation noticed by Xenophon, and alluded to by Apollonius and also by Valerius Flaccus.

To return from this digression upon Amazons and Chalybeans, the rich and fertile plain through which the Iris flowed on leaving Commagna Pontica, was known to the geographer of Amasia by the name of Daximonitide, and in it we passed the village of Tunguz, and then Bazar, a large village, with market-place, and growing

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\* Strabo positively designates them as Chaldeans.

much hemp in the neighbourhood, and a little beyond is the cassabah of Yirmurta (Eggs). Altogether this is a most productive and populous district; but the same valley, immediately beyond where the river leaves it to enter the Turkhal hills, changes its character altogether, and becomes in its centre a mere marsh, with occasional lakes, and beyond an extensive greensward, void of trees and habitations, nowhere cultivated, and only here and there relieved from its naked monotony by an encampment of wandering pastoral Kurds. This is the Gadura of Strabo: "*Veterem regiam nunc autem desertam.*" We crossed hence a low range of limestone hills; the character of the country again changed, it became cultivated and fertile, and we found ourselves passing the gardens and then entering the town of Zela, which preserves the name it was known by to the Romans.

It is still a large populous and busy town, containing 4000 houses of Mohammedans, and 150 of Armenians; we were kindly received in an odah attached to the church of the latter. The chief business here is the manufacture of cord and rope, but there is also a considerable demand for manufactures. The houses are good, mostly of two stories, and have tiled roofs as at Tokat. The castle is in the present day but a poor and ruinous edifice. It occupies a hill of no great height, but which domineers over the town, as described in the Commentaries of Cæsar.

It appears from the notices of historians that Zela was a place of great antiquity. It is described by Strabo as having owed its origin to Semiramis and having a temple to Anaitide (Anahid). The power and riches

of the Pontiff of Zela\* are described as great, and a vast concourse of people had gathered round it. Hirtius, in his History of the Alexandrine Wars, describes the situation of the town at length and accurately. The castle, he says, is built above the waters on a mound, and the town upon several hills around the castle, that are deeply cut up by valleys or ravines. Indeed, the whole valley of Zela is hilly, but domineered over by adjacent hills of greater height. It was on one of these hills, three Roman miles from the town, that Mithridates defeated the Romans under Triarius, who was killed in the battle.

While Cæsar was spending his time with the beautiful and intellectual Cleopatra, Pharnaces the son of Mithridates recovered all Pontus to its ancient sovereignty, driving the Roman governor, Domitius, before him. The activity and energy displayed by Cæsar, under such circumstances, are truly remarkable. It must have been a long and difficult march, full of fatigue and privations to the soldiers, from Syria to Zela. On such occasions the Romans appear, by their indefatigability and indomitable courage, to have almost merited the countries which their ambition had subjected. The account which Cæsar gave to his friend Amintius of his easy victory over Pharnaces, is known to every school-boy, and as Plutarch remarks, the three words having

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\* Ptolemy, Cæsar, and Plutarch, write the name of the city Ζηλα, and Zela; Pliny and Hirtius write Ziela; the former places it by mistake on the Thermodon. Dion Cassius writes Ζελεια. The Ecclesiastical Notices of the Byzantine Empire place it in Heleno-Pontus.

the same form and termination adds grace to their conciseness.

*July 12th.* We quitted Zela, by gardens of luxuriant vegetation and well watered, entered ravines rocky but verdant with overhanging trees, and ascended thence stony hills, covered with prickly oak and other shrubs. After a ride of some hours we discerned the valley of the Iris to our right, this river flowing through a narrow wooded ravine. Shortly afterwards we descended into the valley of the river, where it opened some miles previous to receiving the Scylax, and was everywhere occupied by mulberry plantations, vineyards, gardens, and country houses. On a previous journey, I had gone from Tokat to Amasiyeh by Turhal, also called (in the Jehan Numa) Keshan Kaleh-si, and from thence by the hills and valley of Uzun Boghaz (Long Pass), or Injeh Bazar (Small Market), the approach by which to Amasiyeh is much less picturesque and striking, than when following the road from Zela. We travelled three hours along these gardens, altogether eight hours from the one town to the other.

On approaching Amasiyeh, the valley narrows considerably, and is ultimately shut up by lofty precipices, that rise from 800 to 1000 feet, almost perpendicularly above the river, leaving but a small strip of land on either side, upon which the houses of this ancient city are crowded. Ferahad Tagh, which has an aqueduct hewn on its acclivities, to which is attached a poetical local tradition, is the first mountain that presents itself to the south; it is succeeded by two others which form a kind of bay, up the acclivities of which the houses rise for some distance. On the opposite,

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or north side, is a still bolder and almost equally lofty mountain, on the summit of which are the ruins of an extensive castle, the stone ramparts of which are carried up and down precipices, and over crags, where it would be thought the foot of man could hardly ever have ventured.

Below these ruins, on the vertical face of the precipice, and in an apparently almost inaccessible position, are the colossal tombs, generally admitted to be those of the kings of Pontus. Like the tomb of Icesius, they are square, or nearly oblong masses, hewn out of the solid rock, with a small central aperture, and more or less rude pilasters of large proportions, and supporting equally rude semi-circular arches. They are four in number, and we took a sketch of each of these remains of Pontic art. One of them has a triangular front.

Amasia was the residence of the kings of Pontus, and the capital city of their kingdom\*. Coins of the time of Marcus Aurelius, Severus (Hadrian), Caracalla, and Alexander Severus, all record it as the first city in Pontus. It was a metropolis during the Byzantine Empire, but fell at an early period into the hands of the Turkomans, for we find in the time of John Comnenus, the Sultan of Koniye dividing his possessions among his three sons, to one of whom Amasiyeh was allotted.

It was first reduced under Osmanli dominion by Bayazid, in the year of the Hegira 794 (A.D. 1392). At the death of Bayazid, one of his sons, Mohammed,

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\* Strabo writes it Amasæ; Pliny and Hierocles, Amasia; Ptolemy, Amasiæ; Procopius, Amasea.

who appears to have exerted himself much in clearing that part of the country from the Tatars who had followed Timour, called himself Sultan of Amasiyeh, but soon afterwards acknowledged fealty to his elder brother Suleiman. On the death of this prince, however, Mohammed seized on Brusa, and having defeated Musa Chelebi, was declared Sultan of the Osmanlis by the title of Mohammed I. The Sultan afterwards built a stately palace at the seat of his early fortunes. During the reign of Murad II., that prince's fifth son, Ahmed, ruled at Amasiyeh, and was succeeded by Alau-d-din, second son of the same Sultan. Ahmed was buried in this city. During the lifetime of Mohammed II. his son Bayazid, after Bayazid II., was governor of Amasiyeh. In the time of Selim I. his brother Ahmed ruled at the same place, and during the same reign a fearful tragedy was enacted in this hitherto happy and flourishing town.

It appears that on the revolt of certain Turkomans, Ferhad Pasha was sent to Amasiyeh, and pretending, or having really found, that rebellion existed among the inhabitants, he impaled 600 persons of note; others he beheaded, and the rest were dragged through the streets at horses' tails. Horrors of this kind have left an indelible stain on the Osmanli name; the memory of the fact has been kept up by the name of an adjacent mountain where the tragedy was in part enacted, and as the wealthiest inhabitants and oldest inhabitants in the neighbourhood are still Turkomans, they preserve from generation to generation the same feeling of latent hostility to the Osmanlis. While we were at Amasiyeh we lodged in a large mansion of one of the old Turko-



man beys, built on the river's edge, the tenant of which received us out of pure hospitality. There was no sympathy expressed at the present untoward position of affairs; but when a bey arrived, which happened the same day, from Constantinople, and brought intelligence that the new Sultan, Abdul Medjid, had promised, as soon as his relations with foreign powers would permit him, to resume the old costume, to discard the unfortunate nizám, and return to the old order of things, a momentary gleam of sunshine and of re-awakened energies came over the countenances of these old bearded and bigoted Mussulmans.

In the earlier part of the reign of Suleiman I., his son Mustafa was Prince of Amasiyeh, but his conduct on the first Persian campaign having subjected him to suspicion, he was put to death. It was upon this occasion that Suleiman enacted the law, which has ever since been adhered to, that the sons of emperors should not in future hold any governments, and from that period Amasiyeh became a mere pashalik, whose local history is never distinct from that of the remainder of the empire.

The modern town of Amasiyeh contains a population of 18,000 souls, of whom about 5000 are Armenians (Fontanier says 10,000 houses), chiefly employed in the manufacture of silk. The general character of the town is that of opulence, and there are many handsome mansions of haughty Turkoman and Osmanli beys. It is governed by a mutesellim, under the Pasha of Sivas, and is also the seat of an Armenian bishop. Besides its castle it contains the ruins of a temple, and a handsome jami, built by Sultan Bayazid.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

Start from Amasiyeh. Oriental Ideas of Quarantine. Samsun—ancient Amisus. Gozo—Thermæ Pharnetonitarum. Merzivan—Pharneton. The Lover's Khan. Disbanded Troops. Valley of the Devrek (Doros), in Cimiatiene. Town of Tosiye—Docia. Tcherkesh—Antoniopolis. Boli—Hadrianopolis. Arrival at Constantinople.

As we left Amasiyeh, we met a train of artillery, the guns drawn by buffaloes, on their tardy way to reinforce the Serasker. Quitting the valley of the Yeshil Irmak, we ascended by a ravine with gardens to the plain of Merzivan, leaving the town of that name some miles to our left, whence we advanced at first, over barren hills, into the interminable wooded ranges of hills, that occupy the whole littoral of the Asiatic peninsula. After a ride of eight post hours performed in seven, we arrived at the village of Ladik, one of the several ancient Laodiceas. This poverty-stricken village, consisting of only a few cottages, made a remarkable Mohammedan display, for it possessed a jami with two menarehs and another with one. The roofs of pieces of deal board held on by stones were also in some houses replaced by tiles, a sign of some improvement; there were the ruins also of a Greek church. We found a European living in the village, who was engaged in collecting leeches, a trade which has of late years been attended with such success, as to be now farmed out by government.

The next day (July 14th), we continued our ride through the same wooded hills, occasionally broke up by

valleys, with villages, rivulets, and some cultivation. In the evening we arrived at Kawak (Poplar Village), a post station in the forest, where we had to seek for rest in the menzil-khan, but in vain, the number of insects putting it out of the question.

*July 15th.* Still through the same hills and forests. As we approached the sea, the valleys became deeper, and hence the hills appeared loftier, and here we found, as on other parts of the coast, that these secluded vales were occupied by colonies of Greeks, who tilled, with most praiseworthy industry, the steepest acclivities, gradually clearing away the forests, and perching their picturesque-looking cottages like eagles' eyries, high up upon the mountain side.

We arrived late in the evening at Samsun, where we were lucky enough to get a cleanly room. Early next morning a medical officer called upon us, to say that the plague was prevalent in the neighbourhood, and that we must perform quarantine; we naturally inquired how this was to be done, when we were politely informed that it might be accomplished in our own apartment, which we were not to leave for two days, and to see as little company as possible. When the medical gentleman was gone we began putting the quarantine in force by going out to inquire after the steamer, when we learnt the sad intelligence that the *Seraf* steamer had gone ashore, and was now in the hands of a gentleman sent down by Mr. Black, of Constantinople, to take charge of her. Two days had elapsed beyond the usual period of the arrival of the other steamer, and great doubts existed as to when she might again appear off this station. I was not well, and returned under these

circumstances to our odah. Messrs. Russell and Rassam went, however, on board the *Seraf*, where the gentleman in charge of her was polite enough to offer us a passage, if we would run the chance, in the then disabled state of the vessel, to put into Sinope. I preferred, however, hastening on, on horseback, which was kindly acceded to by the rest of the party, and we started from Samsun the same evening, accompanied by the tatar who had been sent with us by Hafiz Pasha. It was, perhaps, lucky that we adopted this plan, for the *Seraf* did not arrive at Constantinople till a long time after us, and after having lost the chief engineer, an Englishman, and I believe others, by the plague breaking out on board.

Samsun is a very pretty port, small but cleanly, with an exposed harbour. It has a good khan, market-place, serai, jamis, and several forts, not, however, of very ancient date. Near to it is a large village, or suburb of Greeks, called Kadi Keuy (Judge Ville). The population of the town and suburb is estimated at 7500 to 8000 souls. It is now the seat of a British vice-consul, who with enterprise may monopolize the markets of Amasiyeh, Zela, Tokat, and Sivas; which again supply the towns and villages around.

Samsun was one of the ancient Greek colonies, founded on the shores of the Euxine; it owed its origin, according to Strabo, to the Milesians, and was called Amisus\*. Plutarch is thus wrong in calling it a colony

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\* Arrian like Strabo writes it Amisus; Pliny in the neuter gender, Amisum liberum, made free by Lucullus. It is so also on the coins of Hadrian, Ælius Verus, and Caracalla.

of Athenians, planted at a time when their power was at its height, and they were masters of the sea. The Athenians only fled thither from the tyranny of Aristion, and were admitted to the privilege of citizens.

It is said to have been reduced by the Persian forces, under a general of Ardashir's (Artaxerxes), called by the Greeks Datamon. It was after this, like the other Greek cities, free till conquered by the kings of Pontus, who sometimes made it the place of their residence, as we learn from Cicero. The soldiers of Lucullus called it "a rich and flourishing city." The Roman general spent much time in its siege in vain, and he left Murena before it, when he marched against Mithridates.

We rode only three hours this evening through the forests, and brought up by the side of a spring; my illness had increased upon me, and I passed the night in constant sickness. The next morning (July 17th), we rode five hours to Kawak, where we changed horses; we then deviated from the road by which we had come hither, taking a more westerly course, but still through the same forest-clad hills, with deep muddy roads, that are almost impassable in winter time. After a further long ride of eight post hours, we arrived at Gozo, the Thermæ Pharnazonitarum, and which, from the extent of its ruins, appears to have been the most frequented baths that I have met with in Lesser Asia. There are, even at the present moment, no less than three large Mohammedan edifices, two of which succeeded one another, following the course of the waters, which changed their outlet and broke out in a lower part of the valley. But not only have they changed their place, but their temperature has also, in modern times, like

the hot springs of Antioch, fallen off considerably ; and they are no longer in such great request. We bivouacked here in open air, and passed a pleasant night.

*July 18th.* The country between the Thermæ Pharnetonitarum and the town of Pharneton, the modern Merzivan (which is a mere corruption of names), becomes more hilly with deep rocky ravines. The interval was, however, effected in four hours' ride, and at the menzil-khan we changed our horses, and our tatar, the one from Malatiyeh, left us to return to Hafiz Pasha, while we luckily found another on his way to Stamboul, who joined company with us. Merzivan is a large town with a population of 8000 Mohammedans and 3000 Armenians. It has khans and a goodly market, is surrounded by orchards and gardens, while the plain around is covered with villages and celebrated for its corn.

We encountered an evil here, which we could hardly have anticipated; this was a portion of the disbanded army of Izzet Mehemet Pasha of Angora, who had left that city early in spring by order of the Sultan to join his forces to those of the Serasker; but, jealous of being placed under the command of a pasha junior to himself, Izzet had procrastinated on the road, so that he was only at Derendah (previously noticed), at the time that the fatal battle of Nizib took place. He took this opportunity to declare that there were no more rations, and that the soldiers might seek their homes; this, however, they did not do without plundering the treasury, besides carrying away their arms, and a more ribald, troublesome, impudent, and reckless set of beings than we now fell in with, can scarcely be imagined. At one time while riding onwards, two of them stopped and pointed

their guns at us, uncertain what to do. We rode on, however, as if they were not worthy of notice, and this saved us, for before their minds were made up, we were already at a distance; while, had we resented the attack, or attempted to wrangle or retaliate, they would certainly have shot some of the party.

We arrived in the evening at Menzil Ashiki (the Lover's Post-house or Khan), beautifully situated in a wooded glen, and inhabited by men who act as guards in a pass formerly celebrated for its robberies. Mr. Rassam and I had spent a night at this place but a few years back; the men remembered us, and for a small backshish gave us up the best part of the only room in the khan. This, however, brought upon us a host of ill feeling, and some of the wearied and travelling soldiers did not spare their words or threats. Hardly had we got rid of one party than another came, and each had always some ringleader more ferocious than the rest. The guards endeavoured to keep peace by saying, "A Frank bey, a great bey going to Stamboul from Hafiz Pasha's army;" but it was often in vain. "Look at them," exclaimed a cavalry soldier; "they have not only rest, but food and milk, and we have not a crumb; for a trifle these good things should be mine," laying his hand on his sword and his eyes beaming with passionate excitement. At midnight our tatar, not liking the appearance of things, stole off, and Mr. Russell, who had been very watchful, observed this and urged me to do the same; I, however, recommended him to keep quiet, not to get excited, and all would be well yet; and we got through the night safely, although never was khan more misnamed than on this occasion.

*July 19th.* The next morning we rode six hours through crowds of soldiery, who, however, offered us no further interruption, to Osmanjik. We only waited an hour here to refresh ourselves and change horses, after which we pursued our journey, crossing the bridge and travelling eight post hours to Haji Hamsah, along one of the most beautiful passes of the Halys, where it is hemmed in by lofty mountains with sloping acclivities, always wooded, and only interrupted here and there by precipitous cliffs and rock terraces. Haji Hamsah is a post station of about 500 houses, part of which are inclosed within an old walled-in fort. It is a prettily situated place embosomed among gardens. We slept on one of those open platforms that are so frequently placed before coffee-houses for the faithful to smoke on. In the evening, Rassam had a violent altercation with a Turk who indulged in opprobrious language towards us, but it happily terminated without blows.

*July 20th.* A little beyond Haji Hamsah, the great Constantinopolitan road quits the Halys, to follow the long and remarkable valley of the Devrek Chaye. This valley is, in its lower part, one of the best cultivated and most productive rice plantations in Asia Minor; the villages are numerous, and often picturesquely dispersed in lateral ravines or slopes of the mountains; in places, however, the valley narrows, and becomes rocky and unfertile, in others it is sadly exposed to the devastating influence of mountain torrents, which, in times of great rains or of storms, come down as resistless sheets of water, where, in fine weather, there is not even a brook, carrying everything before them, and leaving behind so many broad pathways, strewn with masses of rock and



piles of stones. At the head of this long valley are the towns of Kara Weran (Black Ruin), and Karauler (The Blacker), on a rude and stony basaltic district. In the valley below is the small town of Koch Hisar, surrounded by populous villages or suburbs. Below this, again, is the thriving town of Tosiye, surrounded by gardens and country houses, and at the mouth of the valley is Haji Hamsah. It is altogether about seventy miles in length. To the north it is bounded by the mountain chain of Al Goz (Olgassys), which separates it from the valley of the Gök Su (Amnias); and to the south by the Kush Tagh (Bird Mountains), which divide it from the head tributaries of the river Sakkarieh, described in our visit to the Ishik Tagh. Nearly at the head of the Al Goz is a lofty and remarkably sharp-pointed mountain, to which we took bearings from the mines of Bakir Kurehsi, and which was known to the ancients by the name of Mons Conica.

This great valley, that of the river Doros, in Cimatene, was not unknown to the ancients, although by some strange inadvertence omitted in the Tables. According to the notices of Ptolemy, to the east and south-east side of Olgassys were Andrapa and Neo-Claudiopolis, while beyond Mons Conica were Sacorsa and Moson. It is evident that the two former places must be sought for in the lower part of the valley, and correspond to Tosiye and Haji Hamsah, in all probability; but where distances are not given, and neither name, tradition, nor inscription preserved, we cannot do more than venture a conjecture. Sacorsa and Moson would, for the same reasons, appear to be represented by Kara Weran and Karauler, both of which, like Tosiye

and Haji Hamsah, are ancient sites; but Colonel Leake has already identified the latter with the Anadynata of the Tables, and which it appears to be, from the distances given to Gangra.

We rode nine hours to Tosiye, and slept in the menzil-khan. This is still a goodly town, with a population of about 20,000 souls, out of which 3000 are Armenians. There are many jamis and mesjids, khans, hammams, and a good market. In this valley, near to the town, is a high artificial mound; this was probably the site of the castle in which Diogenes Romanus took refuge when liberated by Sultan Hasan, and during the prevalence of the faction of Michael. At this time Tosiye was called Docia. It fell, however, into the hands of the Turkomans of Koniye in the time of Manuel Comnenus, and was an important post in the wars of the Turkoman princes among themselves; when it was captured by the Osmanlis, which was not until the reign of Mohammed I., it was ruled by the Isfindaberg princes of Kastamuni.

*July 21st.* We rode nine hours further up the valley of Devrek to Koch Hisar (Ram's Castle), a common name in Lesser Asia. We only stopped at this place to change horses and the seruji, which latter transfer was peculiarly desirable, as we could not get him to move at anything beyond a walking pace, and which had led us to quarrel with him on the road. We rode the same afternoon eight post hours further, in all seventeen hours, or fifty-nine miles, to Kara Weran, a small town, rendered remarkable by the ruins of an extensive castle of black basalt, crowning the heights of a not very lofty or precipitous hill of the same rock.

*July 22nd.* We travelled three hours to Karauler, sometimes called Karajiler, where we arrived at day-break, and before any one was up at the menzil-khan, so we had to sit and take a cup of Turkish coffee while waiting for horses. From Karauler the waters flow west to the river of Hammamli and the Filiyas. Our road hence to Tcherkesh lay over a nearly level plain; we met many Persians and other travellers going to the fair of Yaprakli, held in September. The Ishik Tagh, where we had passed the previous formidable winter, lay close to us to our left.

Tcherkesh is a small town; the bazar, which consists of one long street, and the jami, khan, &c., are walled in like a fort; the dwelling-houses are without and to the south of this inclosure. We were here happy enough to obtain a small piece of meat, which we carried away with us. Tcherkesh has been identified by Leake with the ancient Antonopolis or Antinoöpolis. Immediately beyond the town are the ruins of two stations or guard-houses, evidently Roman; and in a pass in the hills beyond, as a contrast, a modern Osmanli guard-house, as usual converted into a coffee-house. Here we ascended a range of hills, the only spot where I ever found the gooseberry-bush growing wild in these countries. The view from the crest of this range was extensive: the river of Hammamli flowed at our feet in a narrow and deep bed; beyond was an extensive and fertile tract of country, replete with villages, and backed by our old friends, the Sarkhun Yailasi, and hills at the head of the valley of Boli.

We descended to Hammamli, where the river is crossed by a wooden bridge. This is a mere post-

station of about a hundred houses, with the ruins of a serai and fort, once in the possession of Haji Achmet Oghlu, successor to Derah Oghlu, and a partisan of Chapwan Oghlu's, who attempted to re-establish Turkoman supremacy in these quarters. The reduction of this place is said to have been effected only after much bloodshed and with considerable difficulty. The horses were out at pasture, so we were delayed some time; we then started by Bayandir, identified by Leake with the ancient Potamia, now a mere village of a hundred houses, and the first in going west, where geese are met with. From hence we ascended to a valley at a higher level, having a small lake in its centre, and arrived in the evening at Keredeh, the ancient Carus, after a ride, from before daylight to sunset, of twenty post hours, or seventy miles. Keredeh is a busy little town, with a thriving market, and has a population of about 15,000 souls, of whom 3000 are Christians.

*July 23rd.* Passing a small reed-bound lake, we descended to a plain with much rice cultivation, numerous villages, and a large lake beyond. We ascended thence by rocky, but wood-clad hills, to a guard and coffee-house, which was in part built of marble slabs, covered with Greek inscriptions. After a ride of ten hours, we arrived at the town of Boli, the ancient Hadrianopolis, and situated in a rich and fertile valley, bounded by well-wooded ranges of hills, the prolongation of the Yaila Tagh, and part of the Bithynian Olympus. At Boli we found a Frank medical man superintending the quarantine, but he did not throw any obstacles in the way of smoothing the difficulties of the question by a timely fee; and while some poor travelling Armenians

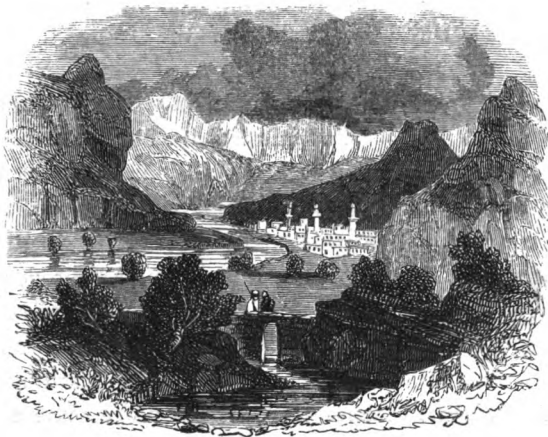
were hurried for three days into confinement, we were visited in our room, and provided with a sanitary *teskereh* to pass the bridge of Bostanji Bashi.

In the present day, Boli contains about 1500 houses, and a population of 10,000 souls. The Christian population chiefly live in the suburbs, and amount to about 3000. (Balbi gives a population of 50,000!) The chief trade is in cotton and leather. It is the seat of a Greek bishop, and the residence of a Ferik pasha. Little is said by the ancients of Hadrianopolis; but it is mentioned in the Ecclesiastical Notices as a metropolis.

*July 24th.* This day we rode from Boli to Duzcha, twelve post hours, or forty-two miles. The road, after quitting the vale of Boli, was carried through one continuous hilly forest. At Duzcha we joined our former line of route, so that I need no longer refer to details, beyond stating that, on the 25th, we arrived at Khandak (twelve hours); the 26th, at Sabanjah, also twelve hours; the 27th, on arriving at Ismid, we got into carts and rode on to Kartal, having made nineteen hours, or sixty-six miles, leaving only four hours for the next morning to arrive at Scutari, and be ferried over to Pera.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.



Lefkeh.

**Delay at Constantinople. Start by the Sea of Marmora. Site of Helenopolis. Pass of the Draco. Lake of Ascanius. Isnik—ancient Nicæa. Mohammedan History. Military operations of the Crusaders. Curious Hydrographical Errors. An Oriental wit. A Traitor Greek. Sugut, first principality of the Osmanlis. Eski Shehr. Manufacture of Meerschaum.**

WE arrived at Constantinople with a single spare shirt each, and only the clothes that we had on our backs, and our dusty and toil-worn appearance was so forbidding, that people were at first afraid to receive us in their houses. We hastened, on our arrival, to communicate to the Societies the intelligence of our disastrous return from the interior, and to pray their further assistance; for before we could start again we must be stocked anew with clothes, linen, and other wearing apparel, as well as saddles, saddle-bags, beds, carpets,

tent and camp furniture, and all the other paraphernalia of a long expedition, which were all gone, with what constituted the very vitality of the Expedition, the greater part of the instruments, upon which our main utility depended, and which could only be replaced from England. Our books, notes, medicine chest, and various minor losses, entailed by the loss of our baggage, naturally could not be expected to be at once replaced. The Societies acted in a generous manner on the occasion, and met my bills drawn to meet these emergencies, although they were in excess of the funds placed at my disposal. Lord Ponsonby, then her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, also came forward in the most handsome manner to assist us in the same emergency.

New misfortunes, however, awaited us; our long and hurried ride, in a midsummer sun, want of rest, and the sudden change, probably, to the higher diet and tranquillity of Constantinople, soon threw us all three into a severe and dangerous fever. Mr. Russell fell sick first, I followed him, and Mr. Rassam came last. We were laid for upwards of a month in our beds, unable to give one another the least assistance, and our convalescence, as is so generally the case with the fevers in these countries, where much depletion is necessary, from the visceral engorgements by which they are accompanied, was very slow indeed. Mr. Russell was so debilitated as to lead him to wish to return home, a feeling which I was less inclined to oppose, as, after he had well recovered himself there, I was in hope that the Societies would again send him out in charge of the instruments, to join us on the coast of Syria. He

accordingly left Constantinople by the French packet, on the 7th October, but did not return.

It was the end of that month before our arrangements were so far completed as to enable Mr. Rassam and myself to start again; and we engaged a tatar to accompany us, as in the still disturbed state of the country we thought, as we were about to take the lower road through Syria, it would expose us to much inconvenience and annoyance to have every day to fight our own battles for quarters, and which experience had taught us was a constantly reiterated grievance.

The 2nd of November we made good our start from Pera, in a small sailing boat, which was to take us up the Sea of Marmora, as far as Hersek, on the promontory opposite to Harakah. We had a pleasant passage of about five hours, and on our arrival found that the tatar and servant, who had gone by the land road to Harakah, with Mr. Rassam's horse and Russell's black charger, which he had designated Kara Nizib (Black Nizib), had not yet arrived; so we were fain to sleep in this poor village, of about ten houses, with a jami and ruinous menareh.

Hersek, however, is a village of some antiquity, corresponding to the ancient Pronectus, if not Helenopolis; and it was formerly supplied with fresh water by an aqueduct, upwards of two miles in length. The neck of alluvial mud and sand on which this village stands, extends upwards of two miles into the sea, and was originally the delta of the small stream called the Dervend Su, from the pass through which it flows, designated the Girl's Pass (Kiz Dervend) The number of lagoons in the neighbourhood renders the place so



unhealthy that few persons beyond the attendants at the post-house reside there.

Colonel Leake identified this place with Helenopolis, where the Crusaders encamped under Peter the Hermit, when they met with a reverse in the pass of the Draco, supposed to be the same as the Kiz Dervend; but this is doubtful. Nicephorus Callistus says, that Constantine called the town of Drepanum after his mother, Helenopolis, and according to Stephanus, Drepanum was near the Gulf of Astacenus; Cellarius thought that it might lie between Chalcedon and Nicomedia, but this is not the case. The Greek bishop of Nicomedia asserted to us the identity of Sabanjah and Helenopolis, and his authority ought to be of some value, as Helenopolis was an episcopate of the Lower Empire, and the modern Greek Church preserves the notices of its former episcopates; but I suspect in this case that the details given by Anna Comnena and Procopius, combined with other circumstances, are decisive as to the pass of the Draco being the same as the Kiz Dervend, if the site of Helenopolis is not so positive. What, for example, could have induced Constantine to name a paltry village in a marsh after his celebrated mother? while the possession of a country residence at the beautiful Sabanjah might well have entitled it to that distinction.

*November 3rd.* Early the ensuing morning we started, by a stone causeway, over the marsh, which abounded in wild fowl, and in less than an hour we arrived at the entrance of the gap in the Gök Tagh which allows of the passage of the Draco. It was at first an open and wooded valley, but after about an hour and a half's ride, it narrowed considerably; the course of

the river became at the same time very tortuous, and the bed was hemmed in by naked sandstone cliffs. At the end of these, where the ravines again opened to an expansive valley, there were the ruins of a wall and defences, which had formerly shut up the road through this difficult pass. This may very likely have been the point where the fatal ambushade, narrated by Anna Comnena, awaited the Crusaders, for Procopius particularly notices that it was at a point where the river bends much.

A little beyond this we crossed the river by the bridge of Walda Kupri, and gained the village of Dervend (the Pass), surrounded by gardens, where we were detained the night for want of horses.

*November 4th.* The morning was very fine, and our road continued along the same valley, with its now fading plantations of mulberry-trees, whose yellow leaves contrasted well with the more sturdy and lasting foliage of the mountain acclivities. About an hour brought us to the crest of the hills, from whence we obtained our first view of the Lake of Isnik, or of Ascanius, the most picturesque sheet of water in Asia Minor. Its claims to distinction are certainly of a high order. It is mountain-environed, and the offsets of Mount Olympus tower over it to the north-west. These mountains are also covered with trees, but distance renders their effect obscure and dim. There are no islands of importance. Some villages are prettily situated on its shores, and there are some plains with verdant groves. There are also marshes of reeds and sedge-grasses swarming with wild duck, teal, and coots, while the giant pelican breasts the central wavelets or soars in aërial circles over the

wide expanse of waters. Groves of silver-leaved olives rejoice upon reaches of sand-hills piled up by the frequent storms that burst from the mountain heights. The ruins of Nicæa stand apart on the banks of the lake embosomed in the most luxuriant verdure, a landscape of the first order.

We descended from the hills to the plain of Nicæa, *planities magna et frugifera* in Strabo's time, and although now neglected, still verdant and beautiful in the produce of a redundant nature. Two hours' ride brought us to the walls of the city. These are for the most part double, and belong to different periods, being made up of old materials rudely piled together with alternating lines of tiles, the original walls being similar to those of Constantinople. At irregular distances are oblong or round towers, the former mostly built of hewn stones of white marble, the latter with red tiles. This perishing rampart is much covered with climbing and creeping plants, and around and about overgrown or masked by a vigorous vegetation. Three square towers and their connecting walls are, according to Mr. Fellowes, built of the ruins of one magnificent temple.

These walls inclose a nearly quadrangular space upon the banks of the lake, which appear to have been formerly all built upon, but in the present day the town of Isnik does not occupy one-fourth of the precincts, and all that is not occupied by buildings is level with the ground. As we rode over these ruins the shy woodcock sprang up under our feet in what had once been the very heart of the city, and as we approached the modern town, dervishes skulking into fallen monasteries, or dwelling in sepulchral chapels like owls in

ruinous recesses, and sanctified mollahs calling from crumbling menarehs, announced too plainly the character of the present possessors.

There are, however, some industrious Greeks still in this now fallen city, and they have an old church that is kept in good repair. Several of the gates are interesting relics, and have inscriptions on the porches; there also exist the remains of an aqueduct and of a great edifice with subterranean passage, called by the Greeks the Palace of Theodorus, and by Kinneir considered as an amphitheatre. Mr. Fellowes was much struck with the taste displayed in the decorations and architecture of the Yeshil Jami (Green Jami).

But while the eye is dwelling upon the fallen monuments of its prosperity, and tracing amidst the confused mass of its extensive ruins the sites which were devoted to exhibitions of genius or prowess, to the Christian philosopher Nicæa exhibits a higher theme for reflection and calls forth from his bosom a holier sympathy; for here, where the Mohammedan now reigns, the disciples of a more merciful Lawgiver issued that symbol of catholic faith, which the universal church, by the voice of synods and councils, has confirmed throughout the world; the first general council of Christians was, it is well known, held in this city in the year of our Lord 325.

Nicæa in its remote history is said to have been first a colony of Bœotians, when it was called Ancore. It then attracted the notice of Antigonus, who named it after himself, Antigonía, a name which Lysimachus abolished, and after embellishing it, called it after his wife, the daughter of Antipatris, Nicæa. There is a

pretty allegory on its name, contained in the fragments of Memnon of Heraclea, as preserved by Photius. The Bithynian historian says, Nicæa was so named from a nymph, daughter of Cybele and the Sangarius.

Peter the Hermit and his companion Gaultier, having been passed over the Bosphorus, by the duplicity of Alexius, lay two months in the neighbourhood of Nicæa, during which time they took from the Turks the fortress of Xerigordus of some, Exorgum of others.

On the coming up of the main body of the Crusaders under Godefroy de Bouillon, regular siege was laid to the city, but which progressed slowly, as the besieged received supplies and reinforcements across the lake. This means having, however, been cut off by the assistance of boats furnished by Alexius, the city was yielded up the 5th of July, 1097, after a fifty days' siege.

The Crusaders willingly resigned to the Greeks the charge of this, their first conquest against the infidels, and during which they had suffered much, especially from the ambushade in the Kiz Dervend; and when in after-times the Crusaders, under pretence of avenging the death of the young Alexius, placed Baldwin on the throne of Constantinople, Nicæa became the seat of the kings of the Lascaris family, who governed in that part of Lesser Asia.

Anna Comnena gives a different account of the military operations in Bithynia, in 1096. According to this princess, Peter was encamped at Helenopolis, and it was from thence the Normans proceeded to ravage the country around Nicæa. In a second expedition they occupied the fort of Xerigordus, where many were afterwards taken prisoners; a false report led the other

Crusaders into the pass of Draco, where an ambuscade awaited them, from which, what few saved themselves, got on board ship.

The Latin authors, Albert of Aix la Chapelle, and William of Tyre, lead the Crusaders to Nicomedia, and from thence to a place called Civitob, or Civito, on the sea side. The French troops spreading themselves, took possession of an abandoned fortress called Exerogorgo, where they were captured by the Turks. Soon after this event there was a general action in the field, at the northern extremity of the plain of Nicæa, where Walter the Moneyless and other distinguished leaders were slain, but the chief slaughter occurred in the passages of the mountains, of which the Turks had made themselves masters.

The siege of this city by the Osmanlis, under Orchan, was commenced in A.D. 1329, but it lasted two years, during which the inhabitants were exposed to all the evils of war, famine, and pestilence, before the city was given up.

Orchan entered the city in the year 1330, and as it is stated, the wives of the Greeks, who had perished, having bewailed their widowhood in his presence, the Sultan commanded the Osmanli courtiers and nobles to marry them, and to treat them as honourably as Mohammedan women.

This method which Orchan took to supply his army with wives, to extend the Mohammedan faith, and to ensure the population of his conquests, does not appear to have been disagreeable to the degenerated Greeks, for the annalists tell us, that the fame of Orchan's clemency flying over the neighbouring regions, not only the

Nicæans, of whom great numbers had fled during the siege, but also the inhabitants of other cities and towns not yet subdued by the Osmanlis, flocked to Nicæa; by which means, in the space of one year, the city so abounded with inhabitants, that it seemed to rival even the city of Constantinople.

In the reign of Mohammed I., and about the year 1418, an impostor, who pretended to be an elder son of Bayazid's, supposed to have fallen in the battle against Timour, laid siege to Nicæa, but was vanquished and made prisoner.

In the year 1423, and in the reign of Murad II., the Greeks incited a younger brother of the Sultan's, by name Mustafa, and of whom George Phranza says, "his looks alone indicated him to be an emperor," to aspire to the empire. He was supplied with all necessaries by the Greeks, and Nicæa was fortified as the seat of the future war. On the twenty-fifth day of the siege, Murad took the city by assault, and his brother being made prisoner was strangled in his presence.

On the death of Mohammed II., Bayazid, afterwards the second Sultan of that name, preferred the peaceful retirement of this beautiful city, to the throne of the Osmanlis, which he a long time refused.

*November 5th.* We left Isnik by a beautiful wooded pass with rivulet, eastward of the lake, and passing Dereh Keuy (Valley Village), turned up the hills to our right, or south, and gained a narrow pass with guard-house, on the descent from which the vale of Lefkeh was observed opening before us in great beauty.

In this valley and immediately below us, the river of Yeni Shehr (Neapolis), the ancient Leuce, falls into

the Sakkariyeh (Sangarius), and the great road is carried over the former river, near its junction, by a bridge of one arch. The river Sangarius, after receiving the Pursak Chaye—the ancient Thymbrius, which flows past Kutayah (Cottiaëum) and Eski Shehr\* (Dorylæum)—enters

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\* Yeni Shehr (New City) was saved from the plunder of the Tatars, by the wit (truly Asiatic as it was) of a man celebrated in Turkish history, by the name of Nasruddin. This man was sent on embassy to Timour by the affrighted citizens, when the Tatar host appeared before the city. As he was leaving his house, being in some doubt as to what kind of present would best propitiate the Tatar, for it appears that they had nothing but fruit to give, he determined to consult his wife. Accordingly he asked her, "Which will be most grateful to Timour, figs or quinces?" "Quinces," replied his wife, "as being larger, more beautiful, and therefore in my opinion likely to prove acceptable." Turkish women are to the present day remarkably fond of quinces. But with the customary deference of a Mohammedan to his wife, Nasruddin reflected that "How good soever advice may be in dubious affairs, a woman's advice is never good, and therefore I will present figs and not quinces." With this determination he hastened to Timour, who ordered him to be introduced bare-headed, and observing his baldness, commanded the figs he brought as a present to be thrown at his head. The servants began to execute the order with due punctuality, Nasruddin at every blow crying out very composedly, "God be praised." Timour, curious to know the reason of this expression, was answered, "I thank God that I followed not my wife's counsel, for had I, as she advised, brought quinces instead of figs, my head must have been broken." Nasruddin became from this moment a person sought after in the court of Timour, but he appears to have been endowed with sentiment and feeling as well as Asiatic wit, for it is related of him, that Timour, on leaving Yeni Shehr, having encouraged him to ask for a present, he requested ten golden crowns, with which he erected a stone gate in the middle of a field. Being



into a rocky district, then passes through a limestone glen, where it receives the river of Bilehjik and Vizir Khan, and then curves round, to flow past the town of Lefkeh, immediately beyond which it receives the river of Yeni Shehr.

In the analysis given in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* of this portion of my journey, the editor applies what I have said of the river of Lefkeh to the Sakkariyeh. In my report I say that I descended into the valley of the Lefkeh Su, and the editor remarks, "Mr. A. says it is here called Sakkariyeh, and supposes it to be the main stream of that river."

It is a still more extraordinary thing, that I should also be at variance upon such a leading point as this, with Colonel Leake, who actually passed through the vale of Lefkeh, yet did not recognise the Sangarius there, except noticing that the natives told him it was there.

His map is absolutely incorrect, for having omitted the Sangarius, he has no river flowing past Lefkeh, while that river washes the whole length of the town. The only river he has marked, is the river of Yeni Shehr (now called, of Lefkeh), which he says is the ancient Gallus, and which he relates having crossed on a bridge, and so did I, for there is no bridge on the Sakkariyeh. But this bridge is, strange to say, only fifty to one

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asked the purpose of so extraordinary a gate, he answered, "The fame of this gate shall be transmitted to the latest posterity, with Timour's victories, and whilst the monument of Nasruddin's actions shall move the laughter of those that visit it, Timour's exploits shall draw tears from the remotest regions."

hundred yards from where the Lefkeh disembogues itself into the unnoticed river, three or four times its width, and which constitutes the main stream of the Sangarius. To endeavour to render this question more intelligible, I have subjoined a rough sketch of the vale of Lefkeh, from near the junction of the rivers.

The modern town of Lefkeh contains about 400 houses, of which 100 are inhabited by Greeks. It is a bustling little town, and its market is much frequented by the neighbouring villagers. Situated in the very heart of the earliest dominions of the Osmanlis, it is noticed by Oriental historians as paying tribute at the time that Osman published his first edict against Christianity.

We did not stop in Lefkeh beyond the time necessary for changing horses, when we pursued our way over a cultivated country till we came to a range of precipitous limestone hills, with the river of Bilehjik flowing at their foot amid extensive plantations of mulberry-trees. We turned through a deep rent in these hills, and a few miles beyond found ourselves, at the fall of evening, in the town of Khusrev Pasha, or Vizir Khan, containing one hundred Greek and fifty to sixty Mohammedan families. The mulberry-groves of this neighbourhood furnish annually 4000 okahs of silk to the Brusa market.

*November 6th.* The ensuing day we still ascended the vale of the Bilehjik river, till we left it on our right hand to ascend to a hill country, whence we could perceive the remarkable little town of that name, perched upon a crag, overhanging the valley of the river. This town possessed much interest in our eyes, as being

the scene of one of the first of those exploits which paved the way to the rapid supremacy of Islamism over Christianity in these countries.

According to Turkish historians, in the year of the Hegira 698, Michael, surnamed Koseh, that is, Goat's Beard, governor of Bilehjik, invited Osman, then bey of Shughut, to a feast on the occasion of his daughter's nuptials. Whereupon, other Greek chieftains concerted measures to seize the person of Osman; but this having been communicated to the Turk by Michael, he used stratagem for stratagem, and ordered some hundreds of soldiers to conceal themselves near the place, whilst forty well-armed young men, dressed like women, were to enter in the evening into the castle of Yar Hisar, and in the night set fire to it. Osman himself repaired with a slender retinue to Shakur Bunar (Sugar Spring), where the nuptial feast was to be held. The forty disguised soldiers entering Yar Hisar set the town on fire, and in the confusion seized the gates and fortifications, while Osman, perceiving by the flames that his stratagem had succeeded, gave the signal for the soldiers in ambush to take their arms, and all the Greeks present, except Michael, were either made prisoners or slain. Among the captives was the bride Lulufah (by the Greeks called Kalophira), whom Osman afterwards married to his son Orchan, by whom she had Suleiman and Murad, which last was Orchan's successor to the throne.

The Christian historians do not narrate this circumstance of a noble Greek bride thus becoming by accident the mother of a future race of Osmanli sultans; they make Michael governor of Kirmen Kaleh, and the marriage festival was that of the governor of Bilehjik

with the daughter of the governor of Yar-Hisar, and Osman surprised Bilehjik first. The conduct of Michael is, however, related as the same, and he appears to have been a traitor both to his countrymen and his religion, for he was one of the first, on the publication of Osman's edict against Christianity, to become a renegade; and he also assisted by his intrigues in producing the downfall of Brusa.

In the evening we arrived at Sugut, pronounced Shugut or Shuyut, the first residence in Lesser Asia of the founder of the Osmanli dynasty. According to Demetrius Cantemir, Ertogrul, the son of Suleiman, who was drowned in crossing the Euphrates, having assisted the Sultan of Koniye in his wars, had this place given to him by the Turkomans as a beyship, and was buried here; the same historian calls it Suguchik. Rycaut says, Osman, who was the grandson of Suleiman, had at the commencement of his empire, only the city of Suguta "as one poor lordship."

In the present day Sugut is a pretty little town of about 400 houses, nearly equally divided between Christians and Muselmans. The jami, where repose the ashes of the father and brother of Osman, is the object of much veneration. The houses of the Christians are all of two stories and contain several families; hence the Christian population exceeds that of the Mohammedans and is richer, the Turks being as usual, rulers, priests, coffeehouse-keepers, barbers, tobacco-dealers, and idlers.

*November 7th.* Travelled over the wooded heights of the Tomanji Tagh, the ancient Tmolus (noticed by Homer), and sometimes called by Turkish historians, Karajah Tagh, which has led to many mistakes, for

Sultan Onghi, now called In Onghi, one of the early gifts of Alau-d-din to the Osmanlis, is not in the actual Karajah Tagh, but at the southern foot of these hills near Bosavik.

It took us three hours to cross this range of hills, when we entered upon an open but undulating country, only cultivated in the valleys. On one of these bare and exposed heights we observed fragments of columns and hewn stones, apparently the ruins of a Greek church. An hour beyond we began to descend towards a very extensive and fertile plain, in a remote part of which we could just discern the site of Eski Shehr, but it took us three more hours before we reached the bridge upon the Pursak Chaye, which leads into the lower part of the town.

Eski Shehr (Old Town) is divided into two parts, one of which, the smallest, contains the market, a large khan, and a few other buildings; the other portion is at the foot of some low hills, half a mile beyond, and here all the space that is not occupied by houses is covered with graves, which fill up streets and even yards and gardens.

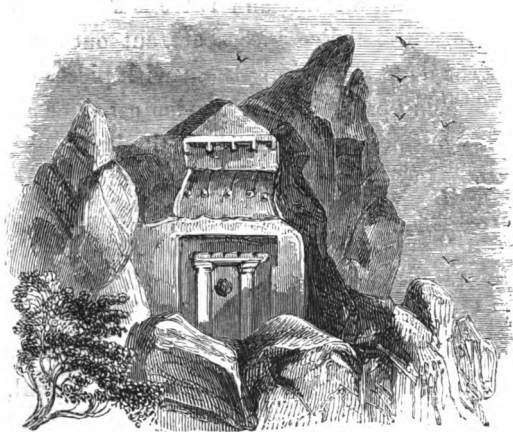
I visited here the manufactory where the mineral, called by the Germans *meerschaum* (sea-foam or spray), not from its white colour but from its peculiarity of swimming in water, is prepared for exportation, for pipes are not made out of it at Eski Shehr. I found the stone to be a hydrated silicate of magnesia, the coarser specimens of which, when carefully examined with a glass, showed each separate grain to be clear and transparent, and only decomposing on its surface into a kind of porcelain or kaolin; but the varieties most sought

after were uniform, homogenous, with a cerous lustre, and easily cut with a knife, and there is a large quantity rejected before the choice pieces are cut out for polishing, which is done by rubbing them with pieces of cloth previous to being packed up in wooden cases for exportation. This business, is as usual, in the hands of Christians; the Turks content themselves with taxing their industry.

As Dorylæum, this city was fortified by Manuel Comnenus, but soon fell into the hands of the Turkomans, and when Osman was bey of Sugut it was ruled by a delegate of the Sultan of Koniye, who was head of all the country round, and who became a rival, even to warring, in a love affair with young Osman.

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## CHAPTER XXX



Phrygian Tomb.

Seyyid el Ghazi. Phrygian Tombs. Town and Plain of Bulavadin. Towns at foot of Sultan Tagh. City of Koniye—Iconium. Mohammedan Buildings. Kara Bunar (Black Spring). Crater of a Volcano. Entrance of the Cilician Gates. Pass of the Golek Boghaz. Defences of the Egyptians. Change of Vegetation. Ruins in Taurus. Scenery of Passes in Taurus. Cilician Gates. Reception at Adanah. Egyptian Generals. Antiquities.

THE great plain of Eski Shehr is about eight miles in width by thirty in length, level and uniform, without trees or groves, but generally cultivated, and has many villages. The ranges of hills which bound this plain are also of tame rounded outline, and treeless, which adds to the monotony of the scenery.

*November 9th.* On our ascent of these hills we found meerschaum *in situ* in siliceous beds. We entered a country of uplands, generally cultivated, without wood, and sometimes breaking off in low rock terraces. Further

on the hills became covered with shrubs, and the country, from cultivation, changed to wide grassy plains.

The sheep of this central upland of Strabo's Phrygia Epictetos,—which has an average elevation of 3000 feet, besides being open and exposed,—have clean and light fleeces, and the goats have, as in similar situations throughout Western Asia, an underdown, although their fleece is not so silky as that of the true Angora or Kurdistan breed. These goats are further remarkable for their short horns and their various colours, being generally reddish brown and black, but sometimes black and white, or reddish brown and white.

We descended from these uplands by a valley with small river, on the opposite side of which, at the foot of some rocky cliffs, and extending up a ravine in the same, was the little town of Seyyid el Ghazi, celebrated for a tomb, on which the name of Midas is still to be deciphered. The town itself contains about 600 houses of Mohammedans, by whom it is much venerated, on account of the saint who lies entombed here. His imam, and an attached tekiyyeh or dervishes' monastery, in not quite so ruinous a condition as usual, are picturesquely perched upon the cliffs above the town.

It was at Seyyid el Ghazi that Suleiman, in his second campaign against the Persians, received his son Selim, governor of Magnesia, and who, on this occasion, to fulfil the ambitious wishes of his mother, the Russian sultana Khurrem, whom the French made a native of their own country under the name of Roxellana, was sent into Europe to assume the reins of government.

*November 10th.* Proceeding up this ravine, we gained a dark country of basalts, with shrubs, and beyond this



a more fertile district of limestone, covered with wood of higher growth. A small fertile valley in the midst of this wooded district contained a village of about 100 houses, called Bardak Chili Keuy (Partridge Ville), where are remains of ancient buildings, and the fronts of some of the houses were supported by rows of pillars belonging to the architecture of the middle ages. The mezar of this village was also remarkable for the lofty slabs of stone which ornamented the graves.

Forests of tall pines crowned the heights we crossed beyond this village, while to the left, at a few miles' distance, was the chain of the Emir Tagh, with square-topped and rounded summits, also well wooded. We then passed a cultivated plain with dispersed country houses, entered again into a sandy pine forest, and ultimately arrived, amidst pouring rain, at the wretched village of Khusrev Pasha, the Khosrau (Chosroes) of the Persians.

This village contained about 200 houses, and a large central Christian church, which, as at Nizib, had been converted into a jami, with an attached menareh. We were quartered here in a wretched room over the menzil-khan.

*November 11th.* We continued our journey through forests which skirted the foot of Emir Tagh. We soon entered this range of hills by a narrow glen, dark from overhanging pine-trees. We then winded some time among hills, till the view opened upon a noble and expansive vale, surrounded by the wood-clad hills of Emir Tagh, deciduous oaks predominating on the acclivities, pines on the crest. This range was indeed tame in outline and not very lofty, but from its abundant

wood and varied verdure, always pleasing, and occasionally beautiful.

In the valley below we found a number of caverns, chiefly artificial, which, as usual, had served at once as habitations, chapels, and sepulchres. Some of these presented a style of rock architecture which appears to be peculiarly Phrygian, and which, when ornamental, is frequently characterised by the presence of lions sculptured in bas relief. I took rough copies of several of these, one of which has been engraved at the head of this chapter. In a more advanced state of the arts, after their connection with the Romans, we find architraves and cornices, with friezes, which partake of a decidedly Roman character, and of which many examples exist in ruins visited by Messrs. Mitford and Layard, to the westward of this, at the villages of Tushanlu and Aiazin, the ancient Jasni.

Near the ruins of a village further on, we examined several other large caves. These were in a valley separated from the former by ridges of rocks. Beyond this we entered upon wooded hills and ravines, which led us ultimately to a cultivated upland, at the entrance to which was an isolated hill, absolutely dotted with grottoes. This was the district of Bayad, or Biyat. Crossing this upland, we passed over an offset of the Emir Tagh, from whence we observed that the highest summits of that range to our left were already clad with snow; we descended upon the great plain of Bulavadin, which is covered with grasses feeding scarcely anything but herds of gazelles and flocks of bustards.

Mr. Rassam suffered severely during the day's journey from malaria, apparently induced by exposure to

rain, and during the latter part of the day he became so bad, that I had to go forward to the town of Bulavadin and procure assistance to support him on his horse into the town, where I got possession of the odah of the post-house.

Bulavadin contains 3000 inhabitants, of which but very few are Christians. The houses are poor mud cottages of only one story. There are five jamis, khans, and a market-place, and a solitary menareh stands on the plain, at some distance from the town.

*November 12th.* Mr. Rassam was sufficiently recovered to be able to continue the journey, but as his progress was but slow, I had time to beat the marshes, in which we found the plain gradually to merge, for game, and not without plenty of amusement, for ducks, teal, and snipe, besides innumerable waders, and a large quantity of raptorial birds, were to be met with at every step.

Two and a half miles south of Bulavadin we passed a central water-course, nearly stagnant, flowing slowly to a lake, which occupies the lower part of the plain, and which has no outlet; the plain of Bulavadin, at an elevation of 2900 feet above the level of the sea, resembles in this peculiarity of having no outlet to its waters, the plains of Ak Shehr, Ilghun Su, Koniye, Nigdeh, Koch Hisar, and Kara Hisar, and lies between the ridges of mountains which divide the waters that flow towards the Black Sea from those which flow towards the Mediterranean, and which, in this case, are the Emir Tagh on the north, and the Sultan Tagh to the south. The lakes of Bulavadin and Ak Shehr, generally reputed to be salt, are, from all we could

learn, fresh, and abound in fish. The Sultan Tagh, although not very lofty, is remarkable for its bold alpine character, and massive rocky outline. Its general elevation appears to be from 1000 to 1500 feet above the level of the plain, and about 4000 above the sea. Its highest point, above Ak Shehr, was at this season of the year just tipped with snow.

Our route was carried across this marsh on a raised causeway, for more than five miles, and about nine miles from Bulavadin we approached the foot of the Sultan Tagh, and passing two large villages, situated at the entrance of ravines in the hills, we arrived at the large and tree-embosomed cassabah of Ishakli, where we passed the night, Mr. Rassam still very ill.

*November 13th.* We quitted Ishakli, by streets knee-deep with mud, and at the gate of the town found a tomb guarded by a dervish who was begging for paras. We travelled only twelve miles, to spare our invalid, to Ak Shehr (the White City). The road lay always along the foot of the Sultan Tagh, almost every ravine in which was occupied by a village, the gardens of which extended from the acclivities of the hills, to a distance of a quarter to half a mile. Some of these villages had jamis, and most of them were pleasingly and many picturesquely situated.

Ak Shehr is a small town of about 500 houses, 50 of which belong to Armenians, situated in a ravine of dimensions rather larger than usual. As our tatar sought for a Christian house for us, we found greater difficulty than the few previous evenings to obtain quarters, the Armenians avoiding the act of hospitality, even when well paid for it, by every subterfuge in their

power; and when we did, at length, obtain a room with an outer open space for the tatar and servants, I was much amused, to see a group of these prostrated people indulging in all kinds of evil surmises and scurrilous conversation on our account. If a simple act of kindness, such as to bring a cup of water, was asked of a man, he would walk sulkily away; if of a woman, she would turn her back in contempt. A traveller is really excusable sometimes, in being a little rough with such boors.

*November 14th.* We left Ak Shehr by a wide-stretching grassy plain, passing Karyat, a village on a hill, where the same plain yielded a little corn, but extended far beyond, naked, uncultivated, and monotonous, till past Arkal Khan, a large village with a market and some ruins; it becomes more hilly on the approach to Ilghun, remarkable for its two small lakes, and stream running between them, as marked on the maps, but respecting the junction of which I had no opportunity of satisfying myself. At the entrance of the town of Ilghun are some sacred edifices of the Mohammedans; the town itself is poor enough, contains about 400 houses, almost entirely Mohammedan, and has a market, bezestein, and khan.

*November 15th.* We travelled over an uninteresting country three hours and a half, to Khanun Khan (Lady's Khan), a village of about 250 houses, with a large khan, in the walls of which many stones with Greek crosses and inscriptions are dovetailed. Two hours from this, we arrived at Ladik, a village of about 60 houses, built upon a teppeh within a recess of the mountains, and sometimes called Yurukan Ladik (Ladik

of the wandering Turkomans), and also Lazikiyeh Karaman (Karamanian Laodicea). A portion of the burial-ground of this ancient Laodicea Combusta is still designed as the Gawur's Mezar, but there are few remnants of ancient times. A curious stone upon an adjacent height is called Kiz Kayasi (Girl's Stone).

*November 16th.* An hour from Ladik we passed a Greek village in ruins, entering thence a pass amid low hills, beyond which was the plain of Koniye, along which we travelled three hours, always in sight of the city of the Sultans of Rum, before we reached it. I had sent the tatar on ahead to obtain lodgings for us, and rejoiced at arriving at this town, as Mr. Rassam's attacks of fever returned every day, and here I could stop a short time and put him under treatment. We were received in an Armenian house, where we had a cleanly apartment, and, what was still more desirable, retirement.

Koniye, as one of the great cities of Asia Minor, not far from Smyrna, and on the great road, has been much visited by European travellers, who have each, from the days of Niebuhr to those of Colonel Leake and Mr. Hamilton, contributed their remarks upon its past and present condition.

After visiting many of the great towns of Asia Minor, Angora, Kastamuni, Kaiseriye, &c., Koniye certainly appears the most fallen and ruinous of all, and yet it stands among the first in its early renown for size, population, and riches. Strabo particularly alludes to its being well built; and Pliny styles it, *urbs celeberrima Iconium*. In the Acts of the Apostles (xiv. 1,) we find it noticed as frequented by a great multitude of

Jews and Greeks; and in the Ecclesiastical Notices, according to Cellarius, it is placed first upon the list as a metropolis.

Its fortunes were most varied, but it was not till it became the residence of the Turk Sultans of the Seljukiyan family that it attained all its eminence and grandeur. The Crusaders under Godefroy de Bouillon were well received and hospitably entertained here, but the next crusade under Conrad (1146) was more unfortunate, for although they had obtained a previous victory over the Turks, they besieged the city in vain, and were obliged to retire. The rulers of the Lower Empire often mingled in the quarrels of the Seljukiyan Sultans with the other Turk princes, and John Comnenus met with a disaster under the walls of this city. The city was sacked by Timour, but restored to its sultans. The last Sultan, Alau-d-din II., died the prisoner of Michael Paleologus, and on this occasion Osman, bey of Shugut, was declared Sultan of the Turks, but Karamania did not become an actual possession of the Osmanlis till the time of Mohammed II.

With the exception of its walls, the distribution of which is singular enough, it is to the Mohammedan period that it owes the most remarkable of its existing remnants, the most striking of which are its jamis; of these, the Sherif Altun is the largest, that of Sultan Alau-d-din next, and after it the jami of Sultan Selim, of the Osmanli dynasty, whose building exploits would have delighted the heart of a Procopius. The style and decorations of these jamis are often very beautiful, and constitute graceful and finished specimens of Saracenic architecture.

Many of the sepulchral chapels are of great sanctity, and are to the present day objects not only of veneration, but of pilgrimage. In the journal of the sixth campaign of Suleiman (1634), we find the Sultan halting here to visit the tomb of Mevlana Jelalu-d-din Rumi, author of the *Mesnavi*, a much-admired ethical poem in Persian, and head of the Mevlavi order of Dervishes. Many of these chapels are, however, now in ruins.

There are at present within the precincts of Koniye the remains of upwards of twenty madresehs (colleges), a number nearly equal to that of Baghdad, the city of the Khalifs themselves. Many of them are still held in high estimation among the Mohammedans, and are now, as formerly, the apologies for worse than monastic indulgence and sloth. Under the name of students in grammar, in law, and in theology, a host of idle and ignorant pretenders receive from a variety of benefices, the advantages of food, and dress, and the comforts of a home for life. The studies themselves have scarcely any regulation, the professed intention and purpose alone being sufficient to sanctify the individual, and render him eligible to the advantages of the foundation.

I rode, while at Koniye, to a Greek village, with a monastery, said to be of some antiquity, and situated on Mount Siliya, in the neighbourhood, expecting to obtain some local traditionary lore, but I was disappointed.

Ali Pasha of Koniye had at this time in command about 6000 regular troops, at his own disposal, and shortly after the extraordinary onset of the allied fleet on the Syrian coast, the Pass of Taurus being left undefended, these troops marched down into Cilicia, and took possession of Adanah and Tarsus.



Mr. Rassam happily got completely re-established at Koniye, and on the 22nd November we started on our way over the wide and level plain on which the city is situated. On the plain, the beautiful bird called the Aleppo plover, with a spur to its wing, first makes its appearance in going eastward. It soon almost entirely supersedes the lapwing, and is met with as far as Persia.

The soil of the plain became soon very saline, and communicated its peculiar character to the vegetation. It afforded us much amusement to observe the sudden impulse with which the camels of passing caravans rushed towards the now frequent tufts of mesembryanthemum and salicornia, reminding them of plains with which they were probably more familiar than with those of Asia Minor. After travelling about five hours we came to a marsh, where the road was covered with small frogs, as if they had been showered down from the sky, but in reality they had only issued from the waters; and various birds of prey were enjoying an abundant repast of them.

In another hour we arrived at Khakun, a village of poor herdsmen, in the marsh, and where we reposed for the night.

*November 23rd.* We started at an early hour in the midst of a dense mist, which only allowed us to distinguish that we were travelling through the same marshy ground. About seven miles from Khakun we came to Ismil, a large village upon a dry gravelly plain, just without the marsh, and not far from the range of basaltic hills called the Karajah Tagh. There were large flocks of plovers on these plains. We continued

along the foot of the Karajah Tagh about fifteen miles, when we came to a break in these volcanic mountains, which allowed us to see Hasan Tagh, at a distance of from fifteen to twenty miles from us, when it is generally marked from forty to fifty on the maps; and I also recognised some of my old points near the lake of Koch Hisar. On the opposite side of the break is the small town of Kara Bunar (Black Spring), above which the Karajah Tagh rises again, and stretches to the east to the vale of Nigdeh, and is continued northward by low rounded hills, to the foot of Hasan Tagh.

The town of Kara Bunar is inhabited chiefly by Turkomans, who feed their flocks in the Karajah Tagh in summer, but emigrate in winter towards various points of the great plain of Koch Hisar. The houses are almost all of one story, rather from fashion than want of means, for many are well furnished, according to the taste of the country. Sultan Selim built a handsome jami here, but it is falling into ruins; attached to it there is a large well-built khan, once covered with lead, the greater part of which has been long since converted into bullets. There are also some saltpetre works at this place.

The town of Kara Bunar is strikingly situated. Extending southward from Karajah Tagh, there are, first, a rocky cone with naked stones like ruins; then a pair of twin conical summits of volcanic cinders; and further on, a higher cone of similar character, with a truncated summit,—a feature which here belongs to all the hills of volcanic cinders. Beyond these truncated cones a rocky range of low hills sweeps round till it finally terminates in a low conical mound, on which

are the ruins of two towers overhanging the town of Kara Bunar, which is thus in the heart of a little dark, stony, and sterile district of its own.

*November 24th.* About three miles from Kara Bunar, after ascending the hills of volcanic rock, we found a remarkable and very beautiful crater, with a heap of cinders in its centre that rose above the lips, forming a truncated cone. The cone is about one hundred feet high and the outer walls about sixty in depth. The bottom of the channel left between the outer walls and the central cone is in part filled with water, and in other places afforded a fine crop of grass for numerous horses and cattle that were quietly feeding there.

Our journey continued hence along the foot of the Karajah Tagh till we gained the great plain of Tyanitis, on descending upon which we found a little water. A large partridge of the plains fell a victim to his thirst here, for rushing past us like a bolt he settled close to us by the water, and before he had time to recover himself to a sense of the position in which he was placed, I shot him.

In the midst of this marshy plain, over which we had now to travel, and where a central channel drags its slow current lazily along, is the village of Har Khan, inhabited by herdsmen. Hence we had alternately marsh and dry ground as far as Eregli, which is situated at the foot of the hills, which begin to rise gradually from thence till they terminate in the snow-clad summits of the Bulghar Tagh.

Eregli is but a poor town, containing 800 houses of Mohammedans and 50 of Armenians, and has a small market. Being embosomed in trees, it has as usual

from the distance a pleasant and inviting appearance. We were lodged in an Armenian house, the tenants of which were not inhospitable.

*November 25th.* Instead of starting hence, as I expected, to the east to enter the mountains, the road lay in a north-easterly direction along the hills bordering the vale of Tyanitis and the giant Hasan Tagh to our left. This fact explained to me at once the reason why, and which was scarcely explicable on the old maps, Cyrus and Alexander should pitch their tents at Kilisa Hisar, the ancient Dana and Tyana. The northerly direction followed by the road from Eregli to gain the Cilician gates shows, that, except from the position of the Turkish posts, there is no necessity to go to Eregli on the way through Mount Taurus, and further, Eregli is itself inaccessible in a straight line, the same as that we reached it by from Koniye, on account of the extensive and almost impassable morasses of Har Khan, and which were only passable for horsemen at the time we went through them.

At a distance of twelve miles from Eregli we came to a small village called Kayan, when our road changed as if bent upon carrying us into the heart of the mountains. A flock of large vultures were gathered here round a carcass. Four miles from this village the waters began to flow eastward, and soon afterwards collect in a small rivulet, which finds its way through Taurus to the bed of the Seihun. This is a peculiarity in the hydrographical features of this part of Taurus, not hitherto pointed out. In the evening we arrived at Kolu Kishla (Blowing Winter Quarters), a cleanly aggregation of Turkoman houses, with a large khan

and a post-station. The peasant boors here behaved rudely, and as their position was on the frontier, would not acknowledge the power of the tatar to obtain quarters. We succeeded at length in getting a room, in which we had scarcely been installed, when a villager, under some pretence or other, came battering the door open, for which he got a good castigation, to the surprise of certain sedate old Turkomen who were sitting smoking on an adjacent roof.

*November 26th.* This day we followed the valley of the rivulet of Kolu Kishla, which gradually widens and contains one or two villages at the foot of the hills; and gardens, with vineyards of groves and walnut-trees, ornament the rivulet's banks. About three miles and a half downwards this valley terminated in a more extensive one with larger rivulet, beyond which was a rocky range of hills clothed with wood, and there was only one more valley, that of Alaguga, between this and the central and most lofty chain of the Bulghar Tagh.

After following this larger valley for six miles, the road turned over rocky hills to come down again upon the central vale, where it is joined to the right by the rivulet of Alaguga; the two rivulets united flow through a somewhat narrow pass, and their point was at this time the seat of the chief defences erected by the Turks in the Pass of Golek Boghaz. The valley was crossed by a palisade which stretched up the hill, upon the declivities of which, to the left, were two small batteries at different heights, and on the right side similar intrenchments existed, one at the foot of the hill, the other on the declivities; in the rear were other batteries, with guns and mortars. This spot is called

Chiftlik Khan, from a large khan and a bridge close by. It was at this moment defended by a few gunners and Albanians, whose chief business appeared to be to stop the deserters who continually passed through the defile.

As there was no resting-place here, nor onwards for some distance, we were obliged to turn up the valley of Alaguga. About two miles and a half up the valley we came to the kishla, or winter village, which we were disappointed by finding as yet untenanted, and we proceeded farther up the valley, rather in doubt whether we should find the summer quarters of the villagers or not. After proceeding about two miles farther, our tatar's patience being exhausted, he began abusing the seruji for taking us out of the road, and Mr. Rassam became alarmed lest we should have to sleep on the sweet herbage; but all these fears were soon afterwards dispersed, by our finding the villagers perched at a height along the wooded side of the mountain.

There were many picturesque points of view in this wooded and rocky valley, above which the central chain of Bulghar towers along its whole length, almost perpendicularly, to a height of 1000 feet above the spectator; the acclivities are often clad with vineyards, and in the narrow valley below were continuous orchards of walnut-trees and cherries, the latter of which are of three different kinds, and are in great demand at Koniyyeh and Adanah.

*November 27th.* Having regained the junction of the streams at Chiftlik Khan, we turned down the valley of the river. Stopping accidentally to drink at a brook, I found that the waters were warm. About five miles down the valley there was another palisade carried

across a narrow portion of the pass, and a battery was placed upon the heights above. This part of the pass was well wooded, but further on the road was hewn out of hard rocks, that rose precipitously out of the valley, and on turning the corner, we passed the first Turkish outwork, consisting merely of a wall carried in part across the valley, with an adjacent guard-house. There were a few soldiers at both the stations last mentioned.

Immediately beyond the Turkish outwork is a bridge lately built by the Egyptians, and near it a spring called, like that where Osman laid an ambush for the Greeks, Shakar Bunar (Sugar Spring). The term used by both Turks and Arabs to express fresh water is always "sweet," and for salt water "bitter;" hence the Asiatic Sweet Waters on the Bosphorus, and European Sweet Waters at Kef Khana (the Khan of Pleasure). Mr. Renouard says these names are translations of "*eaux douces*" and "*aque dolci*," which are no more French or Italian idiomatic expressions, than the English, and all translations of the same Oriental metaphor, sweet for fresh, in opposition to bitter for salt.

The valley opens a little beyond this, and here were the first guard-houses of the Egyptians, and a little beyond this the road permanently leaves the larger tributary of the Seihun, crossing some low hills, and then ascending by the banks of a mountain rivulet that flows from the south-west. At this point Ibrahim Pasha had established a quarantine of ten days, which happily for us had only a few days before been done away with.

Travelling up the new valley we had now entered, we reached its crest after a journey of two hours and

upwards, and there found the only and important defences erected by the Egyptians in this pass, and in a valley behind was a poor village and market, established for the benefit of the soldiers, who were distributed about in huts made of the branches of trees. There was one goodly house for the Pasha, and a few wooden erections, in one of which we were allowed a room lately vacated by an officer.

We were unluckily detained here a day for want of horses. The post having been done away with in the Pasha's territory, as well as the tatar or courier system, a few horses alone were kept along the great lines of communication for carrying dispatches solely, which was done by successive serujis at each stage, while, for the travellers' convenience, the horses were sent for, as occurred in the present case, from surrounding villages, some of which were many hours distant.

I had thus a long opportunity of examining these defences, which are much more important than are generally imagined, and instead of being mere lines of fortification, from which to advance upon a hostile country, their lasting and durable character, and the care, skill, and expense bestowed on their construction, show that they were considered as a permanent line of frontier by those who ordered their erection.

The plain, if it may be so called, which occupies the level summit between the waters of the Seihun and the river of Tarsus, is about an English mile in width, the approach to it being up hill and through a broken and woody country. Throughout its width it is defended by eight different batteries of stone, each surrounded by a fosse, and approached by a drawbridge with double gates,



instead of portcullis, leading into stone magazines of admirable construction, and in every point bomb-proof: some of these are connected, and the intervening fosse is then casemated. To each battery a signal-staff is attached. The system adopted in their construction is that which I have always heard military men mention as now most approved of; that is to say, the rampart does not rise much above the soil, the greater part being sunk, and the ditches here have been dug in solid rock, which would render the cutting approaches a difficult and tedious undertaking. All the batteries command the same front, and are so placed as to intersect one another and not leave a sheltered spot, so that each battery must be silenced or taken in detail before the pass could be said to be gained. On the heights above to the east also, there are additional and extensive lines, beyond which, up to the summit of the mountain, there are towers of observation, and at the western extremity there is a stone fort with barracks.

The elevated plain upon which these defences are situated, is by my observations, 3812 feet above the sea, and the waters that flowed from the low uncovered way, in which the habitations of the soldiers, &c., were placed, were tributaries to the river Tarsus, the ancient Cydnus.

*November 20th.* We had had sharp frosts both nights that we spent in the Golek Boghaz, and we started amid ice and hoar frost, down to an extremely narrow ravine, which constitutes what is, perhaps, most formidable in the whole length of the pass,—perpendicular cliffs rising to a great height on both sides, and the little interval that exists between, occupied by a moun-

tain torrent, itself and the pathway being also obstructed by huge fallen masses of rock.

Traces of ancient chisel-work attest the labour and trouble spent by former possessors of the soil, in opening a way through this narrow gorge, which one would think a handful of men could convert into another Thermopylæ. An ancient but illegible Greek inscription has fallen, with the rock on which it was cut, with its face downwards into the stream.

Below this pass vegetation becomes very luxuriant, and affords abundant evidence of a change in climate on the Cilician side of Taurus. The forests consist almost exclusively of pines of fine growth, plane-trees grow by the water's edge, while the bottom of the valley is filled with a dense covering of evergreen oak, bay, laurel, quince, wild fig, wild vine, and cedar. At the present moment the pink cyclamen and blue crocuses were in flower, but the myrtle and arbor Judæ did not appear till a little lower down, where the wild olive and jujube became common, and the banks of rivulets were clothed with the bright red oleander.

On the right hand or south side of this pass are two bold rocky summits, towering, bare and precipitous, over the surrounding forest: the most western of these bears the ruins of a castle, with crumbling walls and round towers, said to be Genoese: immediately below this, and prettily embosomed among trees on the mountain side, is the village of Golek, while in the valley beyond and further southward, is the village attached to some mines of argentiferous galena, in which Mehemet Ali took great interest, and had an European superintendent appointed, but as the lead was rejected, and silver only

sought for, the returns which Oriental exaggeration anticipated, were never effected.

At a distance of five miles from this rocky gap we came to a khan, where the road divides itself into two branches; the one follows the course of the valley and its streams, and leads to Tarsus; the other turns over the hill-side, and leads directly to Adanah. We followed the latter route, as I had been to Tarsus on a previous occasion; but I would recommend future travellers to go by Tarsus, as they will then get good quarters for the night, while on the Adanah road they have to go out of the way to find a village, and there is not above two hours' difference in the length of the roads.

Passing a ruinous khan, we turned round the hill's side along a wood and by tombs, till we entered a glen, at the extremity of which was a khan with one or two adjacent houses, delightfully situated amidst abundant waters, surrounded by trees and sheltered by an overhanging cliff.

On descending from this ravine, over low wood-clad hills, towards the plains of Cilicia Campestris, we passed a ruined castle or square beacon, resembling in structure many of the more simple old Irish castles. There was another of a similar character upon a wooded and conical hill a mile to the right.

We came in the evening to the same village where Colonel Chesney and a small party rested on a former occasion, and from whence the Colonel and myself, having gone out the ensuing morning to shoot partridges, lost the remainder of the party, and were obliged to find our way through the country of Badinjan Ogblu to Sis, a journey which occupied us three days. This

Badinjan Oghlu is a Turkoman of great consideration from the extent of his possessions and the number of his followers, in the fertile country of Cilicia. He was then and had been for many years, the civil governor of Adanah, which was, however, always the residence of one or more of Mehemet Ali's generals.

This village, situated at the foot of Taurus, commands a very extensive and truly magnificent prospect. The greater part of Cilicia Campestris, with the towns of Tarsus and Adanah, are stretched at the foot of the hills, and the horizon is only bounded in the same direction by the shores of the Mediterranean, the distant mountains of Syria, and the Amanus to the east.

*November 30th.* We regained early in the morning the great road to Adanah, and about nine miles from the village came to another square ruinous castle, which, like the other two, evidently belonged to some European possessors of the rich and fertile plain of Adanah and Tarsus. We finally entered upon this plain at a short distance beyond the ruin; and as we are now leaving the Golek Boghaz, I may be allowed to remark, independently of its interesting geographical features previously noticed, that it would also be impossible for any traveller to ride the whole length of this pass, without being much struck with its varied beauties. I can now compare it with four other passes through Taurus, one of which is associated in my mind only with painful recollections. Although not so difficult, and perhaps surpassed in one single point by the Durdun Tagh—where the road carried over the hill suddenly comes upon the Pyramus, rolling along a deep and dark chasm many hundred feet below, sharp pre-

precipices on all sides, and the shining peak of Durdun towering up to the skies above, with no visible road left for the astonished traveller;—rivalled also perhaps in the pass of Ak Tagh by the beautiful valley of Erkenek;—still the Golek Boghaz contains by far the most numerous and varied points of bold and massive mountain scenery of any of the passes. The superior height of the mountains, and the gigantic scale of the scenery of the Alps, does not allow of their being fairly compared with the chain of Taurus, in every respect inferior to them; but the able illustrator of the former (Mr. Brockedon) would also find much that would be highly worthy of his pencil in the Golek Boghaz. The differences of elevation between the two will no doubt be hereafter ascertained, but it will be more difficult to decide upon their peculiar claims to distinction. There are in the Golek pass open spaces like the Vallais, but in the Vallais, on each side, are long continuous mountain ranges, which ultimately (especially to a pedestrian) become monotonous, while in the Golek, mountain succeeds to mountain to the right and left, and vast semicircular precipices support broken glaciers piled one upon another in such profuse confusion and inimitable grandeur, that it is impossible to tear oneself from a scene which, wherever one turns, presents a new wonder. In its more rocky, craggy scenery, the Golek is, as far as I have seen, quite unrivalled; such a succession of fallen masses, rocky projections, and steep cliffs, will not admit of description, nor would they be represented by the Trosachs ten times magnified. I need not mention the vegetation or the habitations of men, as adding to the peculiarities of these scenes; but one thing is deserving of notice: the lammergeyer or

condor of the Alps is rarely seen by the traveller, except at heights at which its size and strength can only be conjectured; but the great bare-necked vulture, which represents in Taurus the condor of the Andes, and the lammergeyer of the Alps, and is a larger bird than the latter, may be sometimes seen in dozens together, waiting till some surly shepherds' dogs have had their fill of a newly-killed animal, and they are never wanting amidst their favourite crags.

The features of the plain of Adanah are very uniform; but here and there is an occasional tree, most generally the locust-tree, a peculiarity in which it differs from almost every other plain in Asia Minor or Syria. The thorny acacia, the caper, and two species of mimosa, are its only shrubs; its flowering plants and grasses are numerous. Its more remarkable tenants are gazelles, foxes, hares, jerboas, ground squirrels, and large and small bustards. It is celebrated for its cultivation of cotton, and now produces much sugar-cane. There are also many date-trees, a further proof of the warmth of its climate.

The learned President of the Royal Geographical Society, in his Anniversary Address for 1838, has very truly remarked of the Cilician, Amanian, and Syrian passes, that they included "a line of march which, from its being so frequently mentioned by historians as that which was preferred to all others in the communication between the eastern and western parts of the continent, must have possessed advantages in a military and commercial point of view which have not yet been sufficiently developed, but resulting as well from the nature of the countries to be traversed as from the facility of

commanding supplies for the support of armies." Without proposing to myself to unfold even the majority of these peculiarities, I may perhaps be allowed to point out what appeared to me as leading features in the case. The first of these is that from the sea-shore to the northern termination of Ali Tagh, except some foot-paths and an occasional bridle-road, there are very few feasible passes through Taurus. The first of these, the maritime pass, to the west of Solah, afterwards Pompeiopolis, has been put into a state of defence by Ibrahim Pasha, but I understand that it is difficult of access. There are other foot and summer-roads between this and Eregli, from which latter place is a summer bridle-road across Bulghar Tagh. This is the same as that noticed in the Itinerary to Mecca as the pass of Karghah Kesmez (Impassable by Crows). Another bridle-road to Tarsus takes its departure from where I before noticed is a khan; this was apparently much in use by the ancients. On one part of its course are a number of sepulchral grottoes, on another an inscription, and nearer to Tarsus the remains of an olden road, a sarcophagus and arch, the probable history of which is contained in Rennell's *Western Asia*; but this road continues for a long while in the hills, and is in many parts difficult; I speak here from personal examination. It is not improbable that it was by this road that Cyrus sent the Cilician queen, under guard of Menon, as the most direct to Tarsus. It appears also to have been the road followed by a part of Alexander's army, and is the same as the It-gelmez (Inaccessible to Dogs) of the Mecca Itinerary. Of the passes through Taurus north of Golek Boghaz, I know little; but in our journey through the

Badinjan Oghlu district, Colonel Chesney and myself heard of none till we came to Sis. Indeed, the reasons for the preference given by Greeks, Persians, Romans, Turks and Crusaders, to the same pass, may be inferred from the words of Strabo, where he designates the Cilician gates in Taurus as the most frequented and the most easy transit into Cilicia and Syria.

After the necessities of the case, come "the facilities for affording supplies;" now these apparently always were, and still are, of the first order in Cilicia Campestris. Adanah has every winter a garrison equalling that of Aleppo, and is considered the third town in Syria. Tarsus, its port, is the place of residence of a French consul and English vice-consul. The last agent, Mr. Jones, loaded as many as twelve vessels annually from this port. The advantages were still greater when the populous Anazarba, afterwards Cæsarea, communicated wealth and productiveness to the centre of a now neglected district, and Mopsuestia was in its glory. When Mallos had fallen, a Christian monastery still rose upon its ruins. Sis, in the same plain, covered with castles, (Tum, Seliyah, Meraneh,) is still the seat of an Armenian patriarch. From Issus by Baiæ to the Syrian gates is a garden of oranges and myrtles. Cicero, in his Epistles, particularly notices the resources of Cilicia; and Albertus Aquensis, according to Cellarius, talks of 3000 ships sailing from the port of Tarsus at once. Of all the sites between the pass of Taurus and that of Syria, Iskenderun, or Alexandretta, is the only one which may be said to have attained greater importance in modern times than it possessed at a more remote epoch.



*December 1st.* To return to the narrative of our journey: we crossed over the wide plain of Adanah, diversified by its peculiar vegetation and frequent gazelles, and on our arrival at the town itself, experienced like difficulties in obtaining quarters as occurred on a former visit with Colonel Chesney, when, after wandering several hours about the town, the khawasses sent by the Turkoman mutesellim and Egyptian pasha could neither of them force an entrance into a Christian house, and we had, ultimately, to seek refuge in the apartment of an European hakim, who was kind enough to give us shelter. On the present occasion the same scene was repeated, only we were more obstinate. The khawasses led us to a house, to which, admittance was as usual refused; stones and hammers were then lustily applied to the obdurate bars, the crowd kept collecting, and as they were chiefly Mohammedans, they had a pleasure in assisting us, in what we would willingly have avoided; at length one got over the wall and drew the bolts, and five minutes after we were in the house we had so quieted the tenants, by telling them how ridiculous their fears were, and how wrong was such want of confidence in travelling Europeans, that we were quite at home, and well treated, and every thing forgotten.

We found at Adanah, Ahmed Pasha and Khurshid Pasha, both generals of Mehemet Ali, who received us very kindly; the first speaks French, and was well known to us previously. They expressed deep regrets at Mehemet Ali's Syrian possessions remaining in the same uncertain position. "By threatening us on every side," they said, "the powers oblige us to keep up a

large army in the country, which wastes its resources, and is the cause of that very scarcity and poverty, for producing which, they blame us." They then spoke of the state of Syria under the Egyptians, compared to what it had been under the Turks; they argued, what was more than could from principle be admitted, that by being able to preserve it so long they were entitled to the conquest; and then proceeded to pass encomiums, not without some truth, upon the Egyptian soldiery as compared with the Osmanlis. "The Egyptian," they said, "will sweep the snow from the door of his log-hut, he is not happy unless doing something, he can live upon almost nothing, and be a soldier still, when clothed in rags." It forced a smile upon my lips, to think, how often they were tried in the latter particulars.

On the hot plain of Adanah the soldiers were in their summer dresses, the thermometer marking at mid-day, 72° Fahr., and in the sun 116°. There are many date-trees in the gardens of Adanah, and I observed some on the plain. The sugar-cane has also been cultivated here since the Egyptians came.

Adanah is a populous city, containing about 10,000 houses, and a population of 50,000 souls, of whom about 10,000 are Christians. Seven regiments were quartered here at this time. The houses are mostly of two stories, and are all built of tiles, as if of the remains of an ancient town, which coincides with its oriental history. Although not so distinguished in the annals of history as Tarsus, it was still, in ancient times, a town of much importance. It is noticed by Ptolemy and Pliny, and Stephanus of Byzantium says, *Ab Adano*,

*Cæli et Terræ filio, conditum esse.* According to Dio Cassius, its inhabitants used to wage war with the people of Tarsus. The progress of the Crusaders also, it will be remembered, was marked by a quarrel at this place. The Bishop of Adanah had, according to the Ecclesiastical Notices, a seat in the Councils of Nicæa and Chalcedon.

The building of this town was commenced, according to the Turks, by the Khalif Al Rashid, and was terminated by his son Mohammed. It contains a jami, built by Piri Pasha, of the ancient and powerful Turkoman family of Ramazan Oghlu, who otherwise ornamented the town. It also contains a madreseh (college) and other public buildings, and the ruins of a castle, which was being destroyed when we were last here, but remains in pretty nearly the same state. It passed into the hands of the Osmanlis in the time of Bayazid II., A.D. 1486.

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## CHAPTER XXXI.



Tower of Antioch.

Misis—ancient Mopsuestia. The Jaihan—Pyramus. Amanian Gates. Bayas. Saracenic Structure. Syrian Gates. Alexandretta. City of Antioch. Tower with Inscription. Remains of early Christianity. District of Dana. City of Aleppo. Travel to Birehjik. Town of Urfah—ancient Ur of the Chaldees, and Edessa of Osrhoene.

*December 3rd.* We left Adanah by the fine bridge which crosses the Seihun at this point. The river is here, by our admeasurements, 325 feet in width, but not very deep. It has its sources, as we found on our former journey, from the hills of Kara Tunuj and Abasilli, in Anti-Taurus, or, as the Itinerary to Mecca has it, from the hills of Kurnuz, near Kaiseriye.

As we travelled over the plains beyond, we observed flocks of many thousand small bustards. We did not get further than Misis, which was still more fallen

than at the time of my first visit, four years before. It now contained scarcely thirty families, and most of the houses were in a ruinous condition. At that visit I copied, and gave to Colonel Chesney, an inscription that still remains here, and which I suspect is the same as that quoted by Cellarius, after Gruter.

In a Memoir on the Syrian and Amanian Gates, published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, I compared the distances given by Xenophon and the Itineraries to Mecca and Jerusalem, with those obtained by the surveys of the officers of the Euphrates Expedition, and I collected the various orthographies of this ancient site, but do not give them here, as the reader's interest in Cilician antiquities may not be so lively as my own\*.

The ancient Mopsuestia is washed by the Pyramus, (now called Jaihan Su—River of the World,) as noticed by Procopius. The river is quite navigable for small steamers up to the town, and even to Ainzarbah, the Anazarba of the Lower Empire; and I have often thought what a happy scene this most favoured vale of Cilicia would present in the hands of an industrious and intelligent people.

The large delta deposited by the Pyramus was an object of interest to the ancients, and the subject of an oracle, which has been variously rendered.

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\* I cannot help remarking what must have been its importance once, when it is related by Abu-l-Feda that 200,000 Moslems were devoted to death or slavery in this city, by Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces. Gibbon calls it Malmistra, Mampsysta, &c., partly on the authority of Wesseling's *Itinerary*.

Time is when posterity shall see great Pyramus reach,  
With its soil-engendering waters, Cyprus' sacred beach.

STRABO, lib. xii., p. 536.

Or,

Le Pyrame, à la cote ajoutant d'age en age  
De Cypre quelque jour atteindra le rivage.

GOSSELIN'S *Strabo*, lib. i., p. 52.

I have visited the mouth of the Pyramus, and shot wild boars while my friend Thomson was turning over turtles on their backs, and we both got a good ague at or near the same spot.

*December 4th.* Quitting Misis we passed a low range of rocky hills, designated as the Jebel Elnur (Mountain of Light), on the north of which are the ruins of the Shah Meran (Castle of Serpents), and descended into the plain Tchukur Ovak (Plain of the Ditch), which, on a former occasion I hunted, in company with Colonel Chesney and Mr. Stanton, when we disturbed from its deep grassy cover several hunting tigers. This day, however, it was pouring torrents of rain, and I was obliged to forego all shooting, and glad to gain the shelter of the large but ruinous old khan of Kurd Kalak (Wolf's Ear), which now marks the site of the ancient Tardequia. We were detained at this dull and uninteresting place, where scarcely a mouthful of provisions could be obtained, all the next day, by incessant rain.

*December 6th.* We descended from Tardequia by the remarkable stone arch which is called in the Mecca Itinerary, Timour Kapu (Gate of Tamerlane); by Kinneir, Williams, and others, Demir Kapu (Iron Gate); but which has a more remote antiquity, as its Cyclopean style of architecture sufficiently demonstrates, for it is

built of polygonal masses of basalt, not arranged in courses, and without cement. In the Memoir previously alluded to I have identified these gates with Pylæ Amanica, or Amanian Gates of the Greeks and Romans, both geographers and historians, more especially Xenophon, Strabo, Ptolemy, Polybius, Arrian, and Quintus Curtius, distinguishing them at the same time from the pass over the Amanus, by which Darius got into the rear of Alexander's army, when the Macedonian advanced to Alexandria, and retraced his steps to the plain of Issus, where the battle of that name was fought. It is Polybius who makes the mistake here of saying that Darius came by the Amanian Gates, strictly speaking, which misled that critical geographer, Cellarius; but Arrian distinctly says that Darius passed over the mountain which is near to the Amanian Gates.

On the present journey I cleared up another difficulty, connected with this interesting subject, which is—that part of Alexander's horse, under Philotas, having gone by the sea shore and the Campus Aleius, how could they also pass the Amanian Gates, which were traversed by the army coming from Mopsuestia; plainly, because the two roads join at the very point, and there is no road by the sea-side at the Pass of the Amanian Gates, which is separated from the waters by a rude basaltic knoll. Hence it is quite correct to say, with Strabo, “After Mallum, are Ægæ (now Ayas), a town with a station, then the Amanian Gates with a station.”

The station here alluded to by Strabo is the Castabala of some historians, the ruins of which are traceable at a short distance below the gates and on the sea-shore,

and are characterized by an artificial mound, and several dilapidated towers, besides another defence, which shuts up an approach by the hills to the north. All along, beyond this, from Castabala towards Issus, traces of ruins are to be seen, now in part overwhelmed by the sand-floods.

On this occasion I kept along the sea-shore, leaving the ruins of Issus, which were first discovered by Colonel Chesney and his party, of which I was a member, and which have been elsewhere described, away to the left, and passing the Pinarus, where it empties itself into the sea, only by a few trifling outlets escaping from a marsh and lagoon; which has misled travellers to suppose that there was no river here, and to identify the river of Bayas with Pinarus.

Beyond this marsh is an artificial mound, with ruins of a castle, which was probably the castle which Cicero describes himself as having inhabited several days, and which Alexander had near Issus to defend himself against Darius.

We arrived in the evening at the beautiful village of Bayas, the ancient Baïæ, or Baths, where we located ourselves among the Syrians of the Greek Church, who dwell here, and in numerous villages of the Amanus, the Rhosus, and the Casius group of mountains, down as far as Latakiyeh.

The fine Saracenic structure erected here by Sakali Mohammed Pasha, known by the name of Ibrahim-Khan-Zadeh, one of the vizers of Sultan Suleiman II., which comprises a citadel, a jami, a covered bezestein, an elegant khan, and baths, altogether one of the most perfect little things of its kind, was re-opened by Ibrahim



Pasha, who did his best to bring residents and tradesmen to the spot, a highly meritorious as well as politic measure; no doubt under the incubus of Osmanli domination it has returned to its quondam state of desertion.

Beyond Bayas are the ruins of walls and towers extending from the hills into the sea, and at the head of which is the village of Merkets, and a modern castle of the same name. These constituted the obstacle met with by Cyrus, when leading the Greeks through these passes, and a little beyond are two masses of ruin of white marble, called Jonah's Pillars, by the sailors who frequent the port of Iskenderun, and Sakal Tutan, by the Turks, which are all that remain of the Syrian Gates of the historians of Alexander's campaign. A drawing of these is given in the Memoir before noticed.

*December 8th.* The luggage being detained for want of horses, we rode on a-head to the house of Mr. Hayes, British Vice Consul at Iskenderun. We found this little place much improved. Mr. Hayes had built himself a commodious English-looking house; the Austrian agent occupied the old consular establishment; and Ibrahim Pasha had built granaries for rice and corn, &c., coming from Egypt. There is no doubt but if this place is continued in the line of the Austrian steam-packets that it will very rapidly rise in importance. As it is, forty vessels, on an average, come every year to this port from Great Britain, and fifteen to twenty from other countries. The day after our arrival, it blew one of those tremendous gales from the mountains, which are so much spoken of as being frequent here; and in the evening we were only able to make our way to Beilan,

where Mr. Hayes has a small summer residence, and to which we were made kindly welcome.

Beilan is a populous small town, situated in a remarkable pass in the Amanus, and which, like Iskenderun, has been so frequently described by travellers, that we shall merely mention on the authority of the Itinerary that its jami was built by Sultan Selim, and the khan by Sultan Suleiman.

*December 9th.* We descended the pass by Karamata Khan, and observed the ruins of a castle in a ravine of the mountains, on the right hand. Is this the castle noticed by the Mecca Itinerary, as built by Ibn Abi Daoud in the time of the Khalif Vasih? On a former occasion we found, however, another castle to the north of the Beilan pass, in a room in which was a coffin, and around it bows and arrows of considerable antiquity.

A melancholy scene presented itself to us on our arrival at Antioch, in the actual decimation of the troops then quartered there: 700 men were in the hospitals, one of which is Ibrahim Pasha's late palace (which he is said to have sold to Mohammed Ali), and the average mortality was from fifteen to twenty per day. Upon inquiry of the medical officers, they attributed it to the common fever of the country; but upon visiting the hospitals I found the symptoms and course of the disease to present quite a different aspect. The attacks were sudden, accompanied by giddiness and great prostration of strength: this was soon followed by a comatose state, the tongue was paralysed, and the pupil fixed; and if powerful remedies were not early administered, the attacks proved fatal in from four to eight or twelve hours. The attention of the medical officers being

roused to the true nature of the malady, inquiries were immediately instituted, most minutely, into the food and drink of these poor men; nor was it long before the corn was ascertained to be largely adulterated with the seed of the *Lolium temulentum*\*, well known in the East, and even noticed in Scripture, for its very fatal effects. Ibrahim Pasha sent orders to have the afflicted regiment removed to Aleppo, and for a time to be allowed perfect rest, in order to recover its strength.

The barracks built by this Pasha, from the old walls of Antioch, were still in an incomplete state. The quantity of cultivation around the town had much increased; but the prosperity within had, if anything, diminished. The old governor still held his situation, but complained bitterly of the poverty of the country. Although exceedingly anxious to serve us, we were as usual detained for want of horses.

The researches and examinations made by the officers of the Euphrates Expedition, during a long residence at this ancient city, so celebrated in history, and so dear to every Christian, not only for its many sacred reminiscences, but also as the place where the disciples of Christ were first called by the name of their Master and Lord, will no doubt be contained in Colonel Chesney's detailed account of that expedition, and which comprises among other things, the discovery of a colossal Sphinx.

We also buried here some of our brave companions by the side of those excavated temples in the rock, which are the only remnants of a long persecuted religion. I

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\* Zizan in Arabic; Zizania of the Greeks.

shall only add to these details here the copy of an inscription, discovered by a resident European upon one of the north towers of the city, and of which I have preserved a memorial in the engraving which accompanies this chapter.

Χρόνῳ κλόνῳ τε πρὸς φθόραν νενευκότα  
 \* \* \* \* Μέδων τετεύχει σὺν τάχει  
 σπουδῇ στρατὸν μόγῳ τε τῶν \* \* \* \*  
 τὸν πύργον \* \* \* \* \*

This inscription is in iambic trimeter verse, and a friend, to whom I submitted it, deciphered a portion as follows:—

Sunk to ruin by time and tumult,  
 \* \* \* \* Medon had hastily built  
 With haste and difficulty the army of the \* \* \* \*  
 The Tower.

While history ascribes the building of Antioch to Seleucus Nicator, tradition assigns its origin to Antiochus, who built it in order to obtain sleep. It is a curious proof of the constant desire shown by Mohammedans to divide with Christians the right to revere their prophets and saints, that the Itinerary to Mecca recommends the faithful to visit the tomb of Hazret Cheinun, or Saint Simeon, a remarkable Christian ascetic.

*December 12th.* We left Antioch by the Gate of St. Paul's, a relic among the many others that Antioch can boast of, full of the deepest interest, and arrived the same evening at Jisr Hadid (Iron Bridge), on the Orontes, the Gephyra (Bridge) of antiquity. There is a strip of land on the banks of the Orontes, which is devoted to the cultivation of the culinary vegetables

peculiar to Turkey, badinjan (egg-plant), bamiyah, and capsicum. Ibrahim Pasha had purchased this for sixty purses, or 300*l.*, and farmed it out. It probably yielded more than 200*l.* a year to its proprietor.

*December 13th.* We travelled across the lower part of the great plain of Umk, which contains the lake of Antioch in its centre, to the village of Harim, pronounced Herem.

Herem is a remarkable place, and evidently the site of a former town. It is situated at the foot of the limestone rocks of Amgoli Tagh, from which an abundant spring issues, and is remarkable for its large mound of ruins, which rises from a still more extensive platform beneath.

The Amgoli Tagh, with its culminating point, called from a tomb upon its summit, Sheikh el Barakat, but better known to the Aleppines as Mount St. Simeon, is remarkable for the great number of villages, monasteries, and other sacred ruins, profusely scattered on its most barren rocks, or in its stony and almost inaccessible valleys. These edifices, belonging to the early ages of Christianity, are remarkable also for the architectural skill with which they are constructed, and, which in massive simplicity and correctness of style, far exceeds any modern buildings in the same country. Colonel Chesney has in his possession drawings illustrative of their peculiar features, rendered still more interesting by their association with the memory of the well-known Saint Simeon Stylites, who, according to tradition, performed his extraordinary penance amidst these rocks.

Scarcely three miles from Herem the first ruins belonging to the period now mentioned are met with.

They are upon the banks of a rivulet, over which was carried a goodly bridge. It was a large village, apparently, with two churches. Two miles from thence are the ruins of a church, and adjacent to it the lid of a sarcophagus, in the Byzantine style. We had remarked at Tium the body of the sarcophagus, formed of laminar rock, *in situ*; here a tomb also was excavated in the solid rock, the lid alone being moveable. This is, however, very different from the real Byzantine tombs at Ainzarbeh, or the splendidly ornamented sarcophagus at Pompeiopolis.

A little beyond these ruins we began to ascend the hills. The tall houses of a former population stood prominent on the top of the hill to the right, while, in our immediate vicinity, were ruins apparently of a different age. These now presented only a circular mound, with successive terraces of small stones, irregularly piled, so as to form a fortification similar to those described as made by the ancient Britons. We found another of these mounds commanding a narrow pass, previous to our arrival on the plain of Dana. They appear to be of great antiquity, and were undoubtedly meant for the defence of the road to Chalcidene and Chalybone, which appears to have been carried along its present line long before the monks hemmed in the hewn pathway, as they seem in some places to have done, with so many begging-boxes.

Curving round this antique mound, after a short ascent, an interesting scene presents itself,—a deep hollow in the rocks, at the bottom of which are the tall ruins of an abbey, while high up, on the opposite acclivities, is a large and inhabited cavern. Hewn

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reservoirs for water, of large dimensions, and having stair-cases to the bottom, occur occasionally by the roadside. They certainly indicate a most patient and laborious industry on the part of the tenants of these stony wildernesses. Passing by a ruined house of the same period, the road enters a more level valley, from 200 to 300 yards in width, in which the remains of the ancient road are quite evident all along the centre of the valley; and near half way, there is now, and was formerly, a cross-road, which was indicated by a huge stone with an effaced inscription.

At the end of this vale are more ecclesiastical ruins, adorned with Ionic columns, and here the old road was hewn out of the rock; a little beyond two rows of hermits' cells occupy the sides of the road, and passing these, the traveller enters upon the remarkable plain of Dana, which extends to the foot of Mount Saint Simeon on one side, and on the south, to beyond the visible horizon.

Although this plain, which is very level, is badly supplied with water, still it ever has been, and is still, remarkable for its fertility. Even in the hands of the poor peasantry that have outlived conscriptions, taxations, and levies innumerable, it still presents a most promising aspect. The chief objects of cultivation are maize, cotton, badinjan, and bamiyah. The land not being divided into small compartments, as with us, these plants are arranged in lines of exceeding length, which are skilfully straight and regular; and I have seen as good work done here as at a prize ploughing-match in Picardy. Dana, which is a modern village, upon an antique site, and can show, besides two ruined churches

a very pretty little circular temple, is situated in nearly the middle of the plain; but the ruined villages of the former Christian cultivators of the soil are placed all round the plain, at its edges, and upon rocks. I took bearings of no less than nine villages so circumstanced; and there are still more, as they are frequently hidden in recesses in the hills. Ibrahim Pasha lately sent some of the farmers of this plain to colonise the plain of Umk, and, if possible, redeem cultivable portions of that neglected country.

*December 14th.* Nearly three miles from Dana we quitted the fertile plain, and found ourselves once more upon a stony road, lying over low hills. There were numerous ruins to our right; and we crossed a valley with an old khan and another ruined village, and then ascended to Injir Keuy (Fig-Tree Village), where that fruit-tree is cultivated in little holes in the rocks, or by piling up stones.

Passing along a rocky upland, about two miles from Injir Keuy, we came to more ruins, besides which, others presented themselves to our view on the adjacent hills or their declivities. The road did not alter its character much until, long after seeing the lofty battlements of its now ruinous castle, the great multitude of houses, churches, and menarehs that belong to the famed Aleppo opened all at once upon our view from the brow of an adjacent hill. Here, for the first time, igneous rocks succeed in the valley of the Koweik (Chalus) to the long-continued limestone, and a soil available to the purposes of man, originates from this change in the structure of the earth's crust.

*December 15th.* On our arrival at Aleppo, we were



hospitably received in the commercial house of Mr. Kilbee, but afterwards removed to that of Acting-Consul F. Werry, Esq., who did everything in his power to assist us in recovering our property lost at Nizib. Suleiman Pasha (Selves) had been very polite upon the occasion, and particularly requested the Europeans in the service of his Highness the Pasha to give up to the British consul all papers, instruments, or books of a scientific nature which might have fallen into their possession. Mr. Werry had then recovered a few papers, chiefly duplicate copies of maps and astronomical calculations; but although we traced and heard of the local distribution of some of our instruments, we were unsuccessful, after a long delay, in obtaining them even by the offer of repayment.

Aleppo being the place of residence of many Europeans, has been so frequently the object of description, as not to require us to detain the reader with reiterated details. Of these accounts, after the work expressly on the subject by Dr. Russell, long resident physician in this place, comes the account given of the city by the Baron Rousseau, late French consul here\*.

We had several falls of snow during our stay at Aleppo, where we passed the festival of Christmas at the hospitable house of Mr. Werry, jun., but the cold weather did not last, contrary to our wishes, for a frost would have dried up the road and facilitated our progress. We ultimately started on the 5th of January, on a fine warm afternoon, and only reached the district of Hailan, where we had much difficulty in finding a

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\* In the *Transactions of the Geographical Society of Paris*.

lodging. Most of the houses being occupied by soldiers, we were hurried from one village to another, till we at last settled at Meheritei. This word, as Mr. Rassam remarked, is Syriac, and signifies "the two brothers:" the name of the district, Hailan, means "powerful," in that language. This circumstance will assist, perhaps, in throwing light upon the remarkable ruins at Ak Deyavin and Jinder Aba, which probably belonged to old Syrian families.

*January 6th.* What was frozen during the night was generally thawed by the sun during the day. We had, however, a cold piercing wind in our faces, which compelled us to dismount and walk on at a quick pace. We left a lake to our left, then crossed the Koweik (Chalus), and in order to connect this country with Azaz, the line of transport of the Euphrates Expedition, we went up the banks of the river, by a small village and tell, from which we enjoyed a good prospect of Azaz and its tell and adjacent hills, and the more distant Killis. We then turned back to Ak Deyavin, whither our baggage had gone direct. In attempting to cross the country our horses got so deep into the mire, that at one time we were almost in despair of being able either to proceed or to return. Ak Deyavin is remarkable for its tell, (and in this country almost every village has its mound—Tell in Arabic, Teppeh in Turkish,) surrounded by ruinous walls built of gigantic stones, which support the declivities of the hill, and show that it is certainly a work of art. Tell Bashir, in the same district, was the site of a castle at the time when the Crusaders carried their arms by Birehjik to Edessa. That some of these mounds are natural there

can be no doubt; as some, also, are in part natural, and in part artificial.

*January 7th.* We passed by Jinder Aba, where there is a tell of trap boulders surrounded by a wall, and where the Azaz and the Aleppo roads join, to the village of Hala Oghlu, a station well known to Mr. Rassam and myself. The next day, crossing the Sajur, we quartered ourselves at Ekisha, a small village, whence on the ensuing day we reached Bir or Birehjik, after a journey of six hours. For the last two days we had much rain, and our old enemy, ague, had assailed both Mr. Rassam and myself. Birehjik was at this moment occupied by the troops of Mehemet Ali, who were for the most part quartered in the jamis and mesjids, and tranquillity, and with it business, seemed in great part restored to the town. Being both sick, we resolved upon giving ourselves a day's rest at this town, where Mr. Rassam had several acquaintances.

*January 11th.* While we were at Birehjik the weather cleared up, and was followed by a sharp frost, which materially improved the health of the party, so that we were enabled to continue our journey, when we travelled ten hours to Charmelik, a village with huts like beehives, as are common in the plains of Harran and Seruj, where wood being very scarce, flat roofs are superseded by ingeniously-contrived spherical or dome-like coverings of sun-dried bricks. There are some villages thus constructed in Northern Syria, and they are always the dread of travellers, as they abound more in vermin than any others. There is an ancient tell at Charmelik, besides a modern khan; and this place has been marked in the maps as the site of Anthemusia, the capital of the

district so named. That site, however, is far from being satisfactorily determined.

*January 12th.* This day we reached Urfah, where we found Mohammed, commonly called Majun Beg, commander of the irregular troops attached to the Egyptian army in Syria, stationed with three regiments of infantry, besides a great number of irregular cavalry, who were continually employed in foraging parties in the plains of Mesopotamia; Suverek on the one side, and Ras el Ain on the other, being their points of rendezvous. The time of the year at which the battle of Nizib took place brought the Egyptians in for the rice-harvest of the plain of Seruj (Batnae) and of Harran (Charran), which is by far the most productive in all Syria or Mesopotamia. On the plain of Seruj alone there are upwards of twenty villages, whose inhabitants are employed in this branch of husbandry. The military are, as usual, distributed in the mosques, and one of the prettiest of these, that of Ibrahim el Khalil, was also sacrificed; but the sacred fish\* were allowed to remain unmolested. Ibrahim Pasha appeared by the system now generally pursued, to wish gradually to overthrow Mohammedan prejudices at their very foundation. The

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\* This is a remarkable instance, but by no means the only one, of the preservation of an old superstition in the East, and its adaptation to new circumstances. The Syrians of old, as is well known, had their sacred fish, and the Mohammedans of the same country, to this day, revere some fortunate members of the finny tribes, who as they say were the favourites of Abraham, and have been in consequence endowed with length of days not usually granted to their race.

large barrack of the Turks alone was in part put into requisition, and the castle shut up, so that I could not copy a Syriac inscription which I heard of in my former journey.

The traveller will find in the valley north of the castle two ponds, both full of sacred fish; that near the mosque is artificial, that near the castle natural; and at its head there are several abundant springs of water, which in cold weather feels quite warm to the hand. Three of these, carefully examined, gave a similar and uniform result of  $+ 21^{\circ}$  Centigrade ( $69\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  Fahr.); the atmosphere being at the time  $+ 4^{\circ}$  Centigrade ( $39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  Fahr.)

The biblical history of the Ur of the Chaldees and its various nomenclature, as still preserved in the Urfah of the Arabs, is given in my *Researches in Assyria, &c.*, and I have nothing to add at the present moment, except that Colonel Chesney goes farther than myself, who have been contented, with Heeren, to seek in Northern Mesopotamia for the country in which the Chaldeans dwelt previous to the period of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire; but, in accordance with the limited territory assigned to the first races of men by the Old Testament, the Colonel seeks in the countries near the head of the four rivers, Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and Halys, for the original seat of these people, the name of which is still preserved in that of the Chalybes or Chaldæi of Strabo\*.

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\* This view of the subject is also embraced by several German writers, particularly by Michaelis and Schloezer, and in this country by Pritchard.

The inroad of the Crusaders at Edessa, or Urfah, was one of the many errors that sprang from the domineering character of the chieftains of those remarkable expeditions. Baldwin, surnamed Burgensis, who succeeded to the first count of Edessa, having besieged the city of Carrhæ (Harran), was suddenly set upon by an army sent by Nur-ed-din, ata-bey of Mosul, who made the count prisoner, and took him, with the bishop Benedict and Jocelin, his kinsman, to the citadel of Mosul, where they were kept prisoners five years.

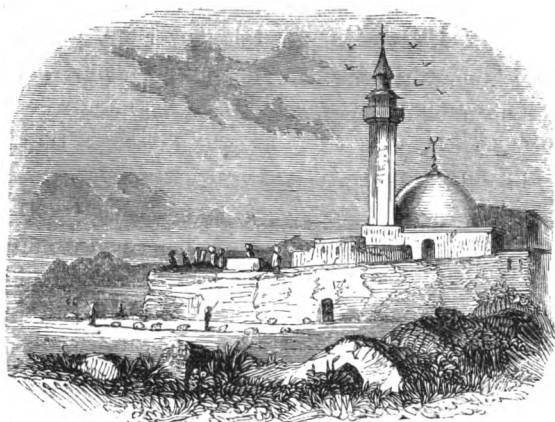
The rivulet which flows past Urfah is called Kara Chaye, but I fear my authorities were ignorant persons; Procopius calls it Scirto, and D'Anville, Daisan. The latter has got, from some unknown source, most exaggerated accounts of its occasional floods; perhaps they are derived from some notice of a spring about a mile west of the town, which is said sometimes to overflow with a roaring noise, in which the good priests of Urfah say the miraculous handkerchief, having the impression of our Saviour's face, was lost.

Majun Beg was extremely civil; wished us, while at Urfah, to live at his expense; and, representing in a strong light the dangers of the road that lay before us, was anxious for our taking a guard of irregular horse; but at length consented to our starting with one horseman and a chaush, or officer of irregulars, by name Haji Ali, a Bedwin from Tunis, of great activity of body, and well known by his fearlessness. Besides this, we had our tatar, a useless old man, a servant, and two serujis. This made up a goodly party, but it did not take away all anxiety about the results of our journey across the Mediterranean Mesopotamia of Cellarius, where the

roving tribes, always uncertain in their allegiance, did not now know under whose dominion they lived, while they were daily exasperated to acts of robbery by the wholesale plunder that was committed upon them by those who called themselves their rulers.

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## CHAPTER XXXII.



Ancient Menareh on the Plain.

**Journey across Northern Mesopotamia. Mountains of North Mesopotamia. Ruins of a Chaldean Town—Sina or Sinna. Ancient Menareh on the Plain. Town of Mardin. Der-i-Zafaran (Yellow Monastery). Ruins of Dara. Nisibis. The Mygdonius. Trajan's Fleet. Cross the Desert of Sinjar. Arrival at Mosul.**

*January 15th.* We were only enabled, as at Aleppo, to set off in the evening; but in this country "the start" is everything; and, passing Gurmeh, a small village of Christians, we crossed a large rivulet, and travelled thence for three hours to Kara Teppeh, a hill with a village of from thirteen to fourteen houses and a few tents. A little beyond it is the Jalab, here thirty feet wide by one and a-half to two deep. According to Procopius, as quoted by D'Anville, there was a castle called Kalaba, where the Jalab leaves the foot of the hills; and this would correspond with the position of the



mound now called Kara Teppeh in a district where the Turkish language is seldom spoken.

*January 16th.* Our road lay over an undulating country, and we travelled in a circuitous manner, always following the valleys, which had an uncommonly deserted appearance. However, after two hours' journey, we came up to some tents, where we sought to take a new guide, and leave the one we had brought from Kara Teppeh to return, but our Bedwins had much to do, and plenty of blows were distributed before the stubborn Kurds could be got move. A little beyond this place, we arrived at a more open valley, towards the head of which was a large encampment: we, however, turned up a valley to the right. It was snowing so densely and blowing so hard, that we could scarcely see or hear one another, and we had all been long anxious for a halting-place, when coming up a hill more bleak and exposed than before, our guide made a halt: he no longer knew his way, and the village he was leading us to was gone. Nothing that I could say could ward off the blows he got from the Bedwins: there was, however, only one course to pursue, which was to return two wearisome hours to the encampment: our jaded baggage-horses tumbled at every other step; but Haji Ali, with his yellow boots, was off and on his horse like a mouse, and our Greek servant also kept up his courage and gave quick assistance. The evening found us endeavouring to make a fire of a little damp grass; but it was of no avail, and sleep we must in our well-drenched clothes.

*January 17th.* There was another disturbance this morning about guides. Haji Ali was dealing about blows with a heavy stick, his turban having fallen and

left his head bare, while his friend was using the butt-end of his gun. Several Kurd horsemen, with an expression of countenance anything but friendly, had ridden into the tent, and the tatar was eyeing them askance, pretending to be engaged in saddling his horse. As I had previously balanced means, and knew that we could beat the whole encampment by the superiority of our arms and men, I watched the result without interfering. The Pasha's authority was ultimately recognised, and a proper mounted guide was given to us: he did not, however, prove of much use. We retraced our steps to the place whence we set out yesterday evening, and then the snow was so deep over the adjoining upland, that no trace of a path was to be found: the guide and Haji Ali were active in ascending hills wherever a glance could be obtained of a new country. At length, after a tedious ride, we reached an abandoned village, from whence we obtained a view of the fertile district of Mizar, where a sort of cultivated oasis occurs, dispersed about which are many villages of tents; in one of which, called Chibukchi, we found another fire made of grass and space enough for a nap.

*January 18th.* We travelled over a cultivated plain, covered, however, with large stones, two miles to Zibilli village and tell. Here we changed our guide, and then pursued our journey generally in a direction from south-east to east, passing several villages and tells, among which was one called Tell Gauran (Fire Worshipper's Hill), with a ruin on its summit, said to be that of a Christian church, till we came to Tell Jafer, where it was settled that we should pass the night. Some parts of the road had been very stony and others very muddy;

it was like the country near Jezireh, and is very bad in winter. It is worthy of mention, that although snow from six inches to one foot deep covered the limestone district, the moment we came upon the basalt none was to be seen; the outline of the country is also quite altered, and an infinite variety of low rounded hills with grassy valleys intervening, is succeeded by long sweeps of cultivated or barren soil, occasional spots being covered for miles with nothing but loose stones. This district is traversed by many rivulets, chiefly in beds having rocky sides; villages inhabited by Millis Kurds (not Turkomans, as stated in some maps) with their accompanying tells, are to be seen in every direction. To the south-east, the plain is bounded by the hills of Sinjar; to the south-west, by those of Abd al Aziz, and between the two is the very remarkable hill called Tell Kaukab (Star Hill).

To the north east, Karajah Tagh, and beyond it the rocky and snow-clad summit of Masius, were now distinctly visible. Karajah Tagh is a rocky range of conical summits of trap-rocks, running nearly north and south between the districts of Suverek and Diyar-bekr. Mount Masius commences at the flourishing and wooded village of Derrik, from which it now takes the name, in the early part of the range, of Jabel Derrik, but is called afterwards Jebel Mardin, and consists of a range of limestone hills, which terminates rather abruptly in the plain. On one of the boldest of these rocks Mardin is singularly perched, while beyond it, the precipices dwindle away, and are occupied by the monasteries attached to Der-i-Zaferan (Yellow Monastery). The prolongation of these hills to the north-east,

is the celebrated Jebel Tur, which still retains a large Syrian population.

*January 10th.* We went a little out of our road, although the anxiety of our guard was increasing as we approached within sight of the castle of Mardin, to visit the ruins of a city called by the natives Kohrasar. I found the ruins to be more extensive and remarkable than I had expected, and regretted that Mr. Rassam, the tatar, and baggage, continuing to go on ahead, did not allow of any delay for measurement and minute examination. The walls of the city were built of good square hewn stones (basalt), like those of Diyarbekr, and were defended by square and round towers. The towers on the north side preserve about half their original height, but on the other sides are more ruinous: the space within the walls is nearly square, and the extent of any one of the sides from 600 to 700 yards; the whole of this space is filled up with ruins of houses, except towards the east, where there is a large mound, apparently once a building of some extent. The houses were constructed of hewn stone with semicircular arches and intervening masonry: many of the arches are still standing. I found no inscriptions nor Babylonian bricks, but by no means explored all the ruins, which cover about a mile of ground in and outside of the walls. By far the most remarkable remnant connected with this ancient place is the burial-ground without the walls, which with respect to its construction and arrangement, is the most perfect necropolis that I have ever seen. These tombs were in part underground, laid out in regular rows, of which there were about twenty, each containing nearly one hundred tombs. Each was a

separate and distinct mausoleum, built of massive hewn stones, forming a chamber with three arcades, one fronting the entrance and one on each side; each of these arcades was divided into two parts, by a huge single slab of basalt, so as to contain one coffin above and one below, or six in the same sepulchre. The door itself consisted of another heavy mass of basalt, swung upon hinges cut out of the rock, and received into circular holes in the building. Although many of them were quite perfect, it required a man's strength to move them; and as a portal was thus left to the houses of the dead, it appears as if, as in Egypt, the inhabitants had been in the practice of visiting them; and in the interior there was space for two or three persons to walk about in. Amidst these are the more lofty ruins apparently of churches, not unlike, as are also the houses, those at Garsaura: one of these was tolerably perfect; of another, the walls only rose like pillars from the plain.

This ancient site appears to correspond to the Sinna of Ptolemy and the Sina or Sinna of Assemanni, which was a Chaldean metropolis situated between Edessa and Amida. The crosses sculptured upon the portals of the tombs, and the architecture of the churches, attested that it had been a Christian city.

We had a long journey this day, passing several tells that had lost their accompanying villages, from the ruins of which we now only disturbed some grunting boars, then lost our way in a wide grassy plain, and soon afterwards our guide, who turned off, or made off, to the left, while Haji Ali was reconnoitring to the right; but we ultimately reached some Kurd tents, where, notwithstanding their protestations against receiving us, we

persisted in quartering ourselves for the night. On the whole, the conduct of these Kurds must be looked upon as very creditable to them, more especially when it is considered that any robbery committed at the present moment would have been certain of perfect immunity.

*January 20th.* Our active Bedwins were obliged to part from us this morning, moving off over the plains to Ras el Ain, while we proceeded to cross the Jahjak-jah, the main tributary to the Khabur River, where there were the remains of a bridge. We soon afterwards regained the caravan road, and after a ride of five hours arrived at Mesko, a large village, where we found the first outposts of the Sultan's irregular troops; they looked at us with wonder, but the presence of our tatar, for a long time useless, now saved us from troublesome inquiries and examinations.

Beyond Mesko we visited the old Mohammedan town called Koch Hisar, now reduced to a mere village, but which boasts of having a jami, with the oldest menareh except one at Damascus, in the land of Mohammedanism, and which was built by Valid, son of Abdul-Melik. If so, it has been repaired in more recent times with a wooden summit and gallery; but it is still, as it stands isolated on the treeless expanse of plain, with an Arab shepherd and his flock in the foreground and the blue hills of Sinjar in the distance, eminently a picturesque object.

We travelled this day till after dark, when we got a room in the small village of Gurmalah, in which almost every house was full of irregular troops.

*January 21st.* On our road to Mardin we passed a pretty vale with rivulet and olive-groves, beyond which

were two villages. I had intended not to go up the hill, but to await horses at the Christian village of Göl (the Lake), on the plain below. But as delay was likely to arise from adopting this plan, we trudged up that tedious ascent, and gained the city in an hour's time from our commencing the task.

*January 22nd.* When Turkish affairs assumed so unfavourable an aspect as they did upon the late success of the Egyptians, Mardin was one of the first towns to revolt in favour of the old state of things; everything European was discarded,—the new military dress was looked upon as the cause of all misfortunes, and the Turks, to regain their wonted superiority, thought they had nothing to do but to re-assume their old clothes.

Not seven years ago Mardin underwent, from its perpetually mutinous spirit, all the rigours of a capture by the troops of Reshid Pasha, at which time a mine was so skilfully exploded as to destroy a number of the Sultan's troops and a jami or large mosque, without in any way affecting the position of the mutineers, who had fled into the castle. Since that time it has been attached to the Pashalik of Diyarbekr; and when the Sultan's government hastened, in the midst of its difficulties, to secure its authority by the appointment of a pasha to Diyarbekr, the people of Mardin saw no alternative but that of surrendering or going over to the Pasha of Mosul. The bigoted adherence of the latter to many of the exclusive Mohammedan superstitions had gained for him many adherents in the city of Mardin, and he was accordingly allowed to send a governor there and a small body of troops, for which he no doubt received the thanks of the supreme government. The

population of Mardin is of a very mixed character, composed in great part of Christians, rude and untutored, and each sect bearing a strong animosity against the other; the chief of these are the Syrians and Syrian Roman Catholics. Almost all the inhabitants of Mardin, at two different visits to this town, impressed me with the same idea of their rude and quarrelsome character, probably derived in part from the peculiar situation of the town\*.

The prospect of Mardin, which may truly be called the Quito of Mesopotamia, is one of the most striking that can well be conceived, not only from the almost infinite extent of cultivated land that lies stretched out at its feet as on a map, from the numerous villages and hillocks with which they are studded and which dwindle away in the distance to mere mole-hills, but also from the vast and almost boundless expanse of nearly level ground unbroken by trees or rivers, for the most part sinking gradually from sight to the utmost verge of the horizon, where everything is indistinct, and which is here, from the great height at which the spectator is placed at a remote distance. Close to Mardin is the Yellow Monastery, (Der-i-Zafaran,) the seat of a Syrian bishop, and which was once the see of the celebrated Abu-l-Faraj, the Abulfaragius of some writers. This

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\* When Dr. Grant and the Rev. Mr. Homes, of the American Mission, were at Mardin, in September, 1839, and shortly after the battle of Nizib, the Mohammedan population rose in insurrection, and in the open day, in the court of the public palace, killed their late governor and several more of the chief men of the place; and then went with their bloody weapons to the house of the missionaries, who were only saved by the intervention of a kind Providence.



dignitary commenced at this monastery, an historical work, devoted to preserving a manuscript record of the chief historical events, political and ecclesiastical, of his time, and of times antecedent, and he bequeathed it to the monastery, with the understanding, that each successive bishop should continue it during his own time. It is easy to imagine, that some of these chapters of contemporaneous history would present some curious and peculiarly local histories, for every man fancies the world he lives in, the world of every one; but still a translation of such a book would not be without both value and amusement. It was from this book that I copied, with Mr. Rassam's assistance, on a former occasion, the list of ancient kings of Nineveh, which I have given in my *Assyrian Researches*.

*January 23rd.* As usual on the first day we only just made a start, for when the horses were brought, every one was found to want shoeing. We were joined here by a Chaldean bishop and priest of the Church of Rome, who were going to Mosul: they had been to Constantinople in order to obtain a firman for building a church, but had only succeeded in getting authority to divide one or more of the existing Syrian churches into two parts by a central wall, which was in one case carried into execution after our arrival at Mosul, where, on the Sunday mornings, the two sects meeting at the same time, in the performances of divine service, mingled their noisy chants together.

We passed the night at Harin, a large village of agricultural Kurds on the plain. I was glad to observe, on this occasion, that the bishop was respected by the peasants, although belonging to a different faith.

*January 24th.* About three and a half miles from Harin we passed Kasr Borj, a ruined castle, in which, according to a tradition related to us by the Chaldean bishop, a son of Darius once lived; this tradition is founded upon its being of Persian origin, but of much more recent times than the dynasty of Darius, and belonging to the same period as the adjacent fortified town of Dara, which I had visited on a former occasion, and after Al Hadhr, the most remarkable place in this part of the world, whether from the extent of its ruins, its vast subterranean dwellings, and the richly ornamented sculptures of its excavated tombs.

According to Procopius, Dara was built by Anastasius, to resist the encroachment of the Persians, but according to Persian historians\*, Arsaces Tiridates, the second of that name, after the expulsion of Andragoras, the Syrian lieutenant of Seleucus Callinicus, built the city Kara Dara on the mountain Zapaortenon. Justin also asserts the Persian origin of these ruins, which is further attested by the general character of the sculptures, but the pages of history have recorded, that it often changed hands, and was governed by various princes, and Byzantine sarcophagi are as frequent as Persian sepulchral grottoes. Gibbon has described the city, from older historians, in great detail, but there are no positive traces of the often mentioned double walls; a river still flows through the town.

In front of Dara we passed by a large granary, called Anbar Dara, and from hence we bore away, by rather a

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\* LEWIS'S *History of the Parthians*, p. 13.

devious route, to a ruined castle on the plain, called Kasr Sergan. Of these ruins, which are in the form of a parallelogram, nothing remained but the foundations and part of two octagonal towers. The same evening we arrived at Nisibin, the site of the far-famed Nisibis, of which all that remains now are two upright columns, figured by Buckingham in his travels in these countries, and several beautifully sculptured friezes in the interior of a modern but now neglected and ruinous Syrian church, and which was built with the hewn stones of more ancient edifices.

After the campaign of Sinjar in 1838, Hafiz Pasha attempted to renovate this ancient city, with what success I have before mentioned. Some new foundations had lately come to light, but I could not learn whether any antiquities had been met with in these excavations.

*January 25th.* We had a fine frosty day, but the bishop was suffering from an ague caught upon his journey. On leaving Nisibin we crossed the Mygdonius, a tributary to the Khabur, called by the natives, like the large tributary to the west, Jah-jakjah. It flows from the Jebel Tur, which form the continuation of the Mardin hills to the east till they terminate in the Jebel Baarem, over the Tigris near Jezireh. Colonel Chesney thinks that it was from these hills (which are often wooded), that Trajan obtained the materials and constructed the boats with which he descended the Mygdonius and Chaboras to the Euphrates\*.

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\* According to Dion Cassius, edited by Nicée, the boats were constructed in the forest of Nisibis, and taken on chariots to the Tigris. Then the Roman emperor built a bridge of boats near the Carydne

We only travelled four hours this day, partly on account of the bishop's illness, but I believe chiefly in order to collect our forces, and prepare for the passage of the plain of Sinjar, of which the people of Mosul have a great dread, on account of the frequent robberies that take place there. The bishop had united with Mr. Rassam in urging the precaution of our taking four horsemen with us as a guard from Nisibin, and our party now altogether amounted to sixteen persons, quite a small caravan. Notwithstanding this the people of the village we stopped at, Tell Jaihan (Hill of the World), behaved rudely and robber-like, forcing themselves into our rooms with sneers and laughter, and seizing upon anything that might be about. In the afternoon a violent altercation took place about the horses' barley, which, as we had now four horsemen, I left to be arranged by themselves.

*January 26th.* We passed the mound and village of Aznowar, with a rivulet and a few trees; and one mile beyond it is a more rapid stream, the Hassawi of Mr. Forbes, which bounds the basaltic district. The

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Mount (Mount Cardi of Xiphilinus' edition), and secured that part of Assyria, called Adiabene under Ninus, which is a mis-statement; the name Adiabene being unknown till the Roman time. He then took Arbene (Arbela), where Alexander formerly defeated Darius; and from thence he pushed on to Babylon. Here occurs the difficulty which Colonel Chesney obviates by making him take his boats down Euphrates. They might, however, have been taken from the Tigris to the Euphrates by one of the canals, as has been the case with a British steamer only two years ago. In the *Memoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxi., p. 59, Trajan is made to return to Antioch from Nisibin.

country now changes from a cultivated to a grassy plain, broken by occasional ravines and rivulets. After a ride of seven hours we came to Chil-agma, two villages close to each other, where we were received by a lady who had the management of the post, and was immediately converted by the present of a kerchief into a warm friend. We accordingly were to fare well at Chil-agma, and a lamb was killed for our supper; but our party had become so numerous, that by some strange accident it was consumed while dressing.

*January 27th.* We now entered upon a still more desolate tract than that which we crossed the day before. Eight miles from Chil-Agha was a tell with four tents, the inhabitants of which had been lately robbed of their flocks by some of the Sinjar people. They lived under the jurisdiction of Jezireh, and the governor of that place had despatched 300 to 400 horsemen, whom we had seen the day before on their way to endeavour to recover some of the lost sheep. The tell of Rumalah, as it is called, which we were now passing, is the commencement of that part of the high road which has been the scene of so many of the foul deeds committed by the followers of Khalifah\* on the one hand, and the tribes of Sinjar on the other; but they were always assisted by the villagers. The country is a nearly level and uninterrupted greensward, without water, and with only here and there a tell or mound to break its uniformity. By a proper distribution of the waters descending from Masius and the Baarem Hills, it might,

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\* Khalifah was the name of a celebrated freebooter who killed Mr. Taylor, and some other Englishmen, on this road.

however, be in great part brought into cultivation, and made to maintain an industrious population instead of the worthless vagabonds to whom it is now abandoned.

Every one of our party now began to enliven the tedium of the road by tales of robberies and murders committed at various points. The tatar had his tale, the serujis theirs, and most of the travellers added to the general stock. I could not, however, help feeling a melancholy interest myself, when a mound called Char Pera was pointed out to me as the spot where Mr. Taylor and his unfortunate companions were murdered some years ago. Such occurrences are so many indelible stains upon the government under which they occur; for the tribes of Sinjar are not like the Bedwins of the Desert, and might, with a little trouble and expense, for which the government would ultimately be repaid, be kept in order.

The mound of Char Pera, and another of larger dimensions, which we passed on this day's journey, were mere accumulations of ruins, abounding more particularly in pottery, and apparently of Saracenic or Persian origin. The second mound of ruins here noticed is called Athlan Teppeh-si (Tamarisk Hill), and appears to have been a place of much magnificence. We slept this night by the side of a brook called Aiwanet, our party separating itself into several different groups, busily but vainly endeavouring to blow some wet rushes into a fire.

*January 28th.* We were now approaching the Tigris, towards which what little water there was now flowed. Two low ranges of hills diversified the plain between us and the river; the Jebel Gharah to the north and the Jebel Mush to the south. At the foot of

this latter range was a tell of the same name; and on this mound there is a castle erected by Ahmed Pasha, the predecessor of Mohammed Pasha, as governor of Mosul. It was built with a view to keep in subjection the tribe of Arabs who dwell on the banks of Tigris and in the vales west of Jebel Mush, not far from the site of Eski Mosul. This tribe, which has for many centuries been here established, is called the Mosuli Ashirat, or the Mosul tribe.

Further onwards we came to another fort, also built by Ahmed Pasha, and called Faukani Maraka, to distinguish it from a tell at a lower level near the meeting of two brooks, called Maraka Suffi. In the evening we reached Abu Marri or Abu Maryam, described by Mr. Forbes as a ruined village, near which there is an abundant spring of brackish water, forming a small brook, which is, however, soon lost in reedy hollows. This abundant spring is a subterranean rivulet, at this time sixteen feet wide and two deep, just issuing again from the earth. Phenomena of this kind are exceedingly common in the gypsum district, near Mosul, where waters, after sweeping along for some distance beneath the superincumbent light and porous rock, re-appear in deep ravines of the same rock, perhaps again to be lost in subterranean passages, till these fall in and disclose a brook or open a valley. On this road, about two miles from Abu Marri, there is a remarkable subsidence of this kind; and there is another near Mosul, where people go to shoot pigeons. This is easily understood; but there is another feature in the gypseous districts not so easy of explanation, although very frequent; it is the elevation at the surface of the earth of beds of gypsum

like so many semi-circular domes. These are sometimes small, at others larger, but seldom above a few feet in diameter, and always hollow within. When we consider that there are sulphur mines and many hot-springs impregnated with sulphureted hydrogen (hydro-sulphuric acid) near Mosul, all in the same rock, they appear not unlikely to be the effect of the evolution of gaseous matters.

Abu Marri was now inhabited, but only by occupiers of tents; its kasr, or barrack, was full of soldiers; and the residence, not of a mutesellim, but of a zabit, an inferior officer.

*January 29th.* We passed the ruins of a village called Dolab (Water Wheel), and beyond those of Khatun Arabah-si (Lady's Waggon). There were now on the plain only a few syngenesious plants, an ononis or rest-harrow, and camel's thorn, or little acacia of the plains, differing from the large thorny species that covers the hills at Ainzarbeh, and appears first on the warm exposures of Cilicia, and again further from the acacia with scented flowers which I have only seen in the canal of Basrah. The same afternoon, we reached the city of Mosul, which may be considered in the present day as the capital of Mesopotamia, and which was to have been long before, what it became now, the head-quarters from whence our future explorations were to emanate.



## CHAPTER XXXIII.



Head of the Time of the Ata-Beys.

City of Mosul. Modern Government. Famine and Conflagrations. Romish Chaldeans. Antiquities. River Tigris. Calendar of Nature. Hurricanes. Mons Nicator and Gaugamela. Battle of Arbela. Ruins of Nineveh. Magnitude of the City. Circuit of the Walls. Commentary on the Book of Jonah. Ancient City confined within the Walls. Temples and Palaces. Fulfilment of Prophecies. Identity of Nimrud, Larissa and Resen. Castle of Xenophon. Mes-Pylæ, now Mosul. The Syrian Nineveh.

THE period when a town, and then a city, rose upon the western banks of the river Tigris, opposite to the ancient Nineveh, is lost in the obscurity of by-gone times. It is a remarkable fact that Xenophon, who does not notice Nineveh, describes the castle, whose ruins are now known as Yarumjah; and also at the site of Nineveh, what he designates as Mes-Pylæ, the Middle Gate or Pass, which this point of the river has ever been. This word, corrupted to Mesulæ, as Rennell has previously

remarked, not improbably became the Musul or Mosul of the Arabs.

The epoch at which the inhabitants of what is now called Eski Mosul, evidently not its real name, left that city to repair to Mes-Pylæ is also involved in obscurity. The city is scarcely noticed in history during the time of the Khalifate, but on the rise of the Turkish power, it became the seat of a race of independent princes, who under the name of ata-beys attained a considerable degree of power. Most of the oldest Saracenic structures in Mosul belong to this period, and among these I found, during our residence at this city, a head of a female, which was universally admitted to belong to that time, and which, as representative of costume of a time little known in history, I have thought worthy of being engraved. It was one of these ata-beys, called Nur-ed-din, who warred so long and so successfully against the Christian Counts of Edessa.

Mosul became a part of the Osmanli empire in the reign of Selim I., and about the year of the Heg. 920 (A.D. 1516). At that time a tribe of Kurds called Kara Emid, were ruled by a Persian Kurd called Kara Khan (Black Khan), whose residence was at Diyarbekr. The citizens having got rid of him by stratagem, received Mohammed Bey, sent by Selim as governor. This delegate of the Sultans, after taking Mardin, besieged Mosul, and carrying it by assault, put the town and its unfortunate inhabitants to fire and sword.

In the year 1554, Suleiman the Great, being at Baghdad, made a treaty of peace with the king of Persia, by which that city, Mosul and Van, were made the boundary cities of the Osmanli empire.

In modern times Mosul has been long ruled by a race of pashas, who were originally descended from Christian ancestors. The hereditary right of this succession became ultimately so often the cause of quarrels and insurrections, that the late Sultan resolved upon appointing a Ferik Pasha of his own, putting down the hostile parties and establishing the supremacy of the law. The present pasha, Mohammed Inja Bairaktar, was appointed on this difficult service. His character is one of extreme severity, and after many executions, large confiscations of property and disarming the citizens, he succeeded in his mission.

The pasha has introduced the Nizam, of whom he had raised and equipped about 3000, besides having a small force of irregular horsemen, and a little park of artillery, and with this force he tried his first military campaign the summer we arrived, and succeeded in the reduction of the fortress of Amadiyah. At Mosul he has erected handsome new barracks, and also a foundry for cannon. But while busy in improving the offensive and defensive capabilities of this place, surrounded as it is on all sides by lawless tribes, the Kurds of Rawanduz and Amadiyah to the east, the Bahdinan Kurds and Mosul Ashirat of Arabs to the north, the Izedis of Sinjar to the west, and the Shammar Bedwins to the south, he has been draining the resources of the town and province to the utmost, so much so, that many would have left to seek a home where industry and the necessities of life were less insupportably taxed, but for a precaution taken by the pasha, to allow of no one to pass the gates of the town without permission.

Without these prominent evils, and with a tranquil

state of the surrounding country, Mosul presents mercantile advantages of no common order. It is immediately connected with the great gall districts, and the expenses of the customs at Aleppo may be avoided by sending the galls direct to the port of Iskenderun, while there are several roads open to Persia, across the mountains, a transit of from five to seven days, and by which, considering the short distance and good roads from Mosul to Iskenderun, British manufactures might be distributed into the heart of Persia, in a time and at an expense, which the line of Trebizond, Erzurum, and Tabriz, that of Bushire and Baghdad, or the Russian line of Astrakhan, Bakhu, and Mazenderan, can never rival.

Mosul is frequently devastated by plague; the period at which the natives place the re-occurrence of that calamity is every thirty-one years. The city has also suffered occasionally from famine, generally caused by fire spreading in dry weather over the fields. Several catastrophes of this kind occurred during our residence here. The fire spread over pastures, common grass lands and corn lands, many miles in extent, and burning night and day often for a week, and sometimes embracing the whole horizon. In times of dearth, the natives mix steatitic earth with the flour, and are even said, as Humboldt relates of the Olomak tribes on the Orinooko, to allay hunger by eating it in a pure state. There is also a sweetmeat much sought after throughout the East, which contains a quantity of steatitic earth. I examined it especially at Angora; it was a silicate of magnesia and alumina, but without chrome or iron.

The population of Mosul has been greatly overrated,

but it is upon the increase, and to ensure this, the pasha allows no male to leave it permanently, and no female to go out of the gates without a special permission. Kinnier estimated the population at 36,000, Buckingham and De Hammer at 50,000, Olivier at 65,000, and General Gardanne at 120,000; but from the best information I was able to obtain, the city really contains only 18,000 to 19,000 souls, of whom 2000 are Roman Catholic Chaldeans, 1000 Syrians or Jacobites, 1000 Roman Catholic Syrians, 1000 Jews, and 13,000 to 14,000 Izedis and mixed Mohammedan population, consisting of Arabs, Kurds, and Osmanlis. Any attempt at a closer approximation than round numbers would only be ridiculous.

From a prolonged observation of the forms and ceremonies, as well as of the discipline, of the Roman Catholic Chaldeans, and of the feelings both of the clergy and the laity, it appears that the conversion effected by the papal missionaries in this portion of the former adherents to one of the Churches, the least contaminated by superstitious and unscriptural doctrines, of the East, has never been so deep as to modify the character and practices of the people to any great extent, and has always left their standard unimpaired; there has been no change in articles of faith, no renunciation of the Nestorian heresy, no introduction of a new creed, and, indeed, no tangible and formal act of reception of the doctrines and usages of the Romish Church. This is also the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Southgate, who has lately published the narrative of his journey of inquiry into the present condition of some of the Eastern churches. It is from these circumstances a source of

much gratification to myself to consider as one of the results of our expedition, that Mr. Rassam is to remain permanently at a spot where, of all others, his influence in promoting intercommunion between the Church of England and one of the most ancient Churches of the East, will be most beneficially exerted; and although unconnected with our labours, it is equally gratifying to know, that the Rev. Mr. Southgate, of the American Episcopal Church, is about to reside temporarily at Mardin, among the very interesting and long-neglected Syrians\*.

Mosul is one of the few towns in Turkey in Asia, the walls of which are throughout in a perfect state of repair. The Bash Tabiyah, a curious untenanted modern structure, at the north-east extremity of the walls, is raised on the ruins of a Christian church (Mar Gabriel),

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\* By the changes in church government effected in Mosul in June, 1840, by the envoy of the Pope, M. de Villardelle, bishop of Lebanon, Mar Zahar, bishop of Mosul, was made patriarch, with the title of Mar Nicolaus, and to him were given Baghdad, Mosul, and Al Kosh. He was educated at the Propaganda, in Rome, but appeared to me very uncertain in his allegiance to his Holiness the Pope.

At the same time, Mar Yusuf assumed the episcopal supremacy over the town and district of Amadiyah; Mar Petros that of Jezireh and Zakho; Mar Michael of Sert; Mar Basileis of Diyarbekr; Mar Agathos of Mardin; and Mar Laurentius of Kerkuk. These are the remaining episcopates of Roman Catholic Chaldeans in ancient Chaldea and Mesopotamia, and the chief population is still to be met with on the fertile plain of Adiabene, in the villages of Tel Kaif, Al Kosh, Batnaia, Tel Escof, Birtulli, &c., and on the plain of Zakho, where are five large Chaldean villages. The Persian population of Roman Catholic Chaldeans is still more considerable.

which commemorated a tradition of the Virgin's appearing to the affrighted citizens at that place, and saving the city from a Persian invasion. Near to the Bash Tabiyah (at the foot of which are the sulphur springs), and overlooking the river, is a massive ruin, called Kara Serai (Black Palace), whose colossal walls are ornamented with an inscription attributing its erection to one of the ata-beys.

The space within the walls at this end of the town is covered with the ruins of houses, tombs, and churches. Among the former is the imam of Abdul Jellul, the Chaldean ancestor of the former line of pashas. There are also here two churches, both called Marian el Adr, one belonging to the Roman Catholic Chaldeans, and the other to the Syrians and Roman Catholic Syrians. In the city itself are eight other Christian churches, but three of them are ruinous and deserted. The Al Towelah, nearly in the centre of the town, is a lofty menareh, remarkable for being inclined from the perpendicular. It is attached to the Jami el Kebir (Great Jami), in the court of which is an exquisitely wrought mihrab. This jami was erected on the site of a Christian church. There is also within the precincts of the town an artificial mound, on which formerly existed the palace of its beys. Not far from this is the citadel, islanded by the waters of the river, and beyond this the bridge, of which a few arches remain, the continuation being preserved by boats. On the plain of Herrakiyeh, where are the modern barracks, the pasha's house, and several Mohammedan religious edifices, are two ancient stone crosses, and a ruined summer-house, called Ali Gadum.

It is to be remarked, that the appearance of the

river, the number of islands, and branches, and its general width, varies very much between the season of flood, when it is nearly a mile in width opposite to the Bash Tabiyah, and the dry season; at this latter period, islands upwards of a mile in length that were submerged for three months of the year, became covered with bamiyah, beydenjam, water melon, and other melons.

A calendar of nature, or the history of the succession of organic life, presents in a dry hot climate like that of Mosul, but few phenomena; the extreme heats cut short all abundance, both in the animal and vegetable world, and the short interval between this and the bleak winters, is the only season in which nature pours forth her living stores on the lap of the earth, and the varied forms given to the organic world run through their brief career.

Already, in February, a few caterpillars were to be observed to survive the frosty nights, sheltered by the enduring plants of the plains belonging to the genera *Artemisia* and *Mimosa*. February was a rainy month, and the earth was thus prepared for short spring and its luxuriant vegetation; the mean of the thermometer was  $+10^{\circ}$  Cent. On the 11th, the first storks made their appearance, and on the 20th, they nearly simultaneously took to their nests; pelicans and cormorants flitted up the Tigris in flocks; ducks, teal, Aleppo plover and dotterels on the Khozar. The mounds of Nineveh began to look green; and the Tigris rose rapidly.

Early in March starlings built and sang; onisci issued from beneath stones; swallows appeared, and red geese migrating from Dongola and Nubia, arrived to build on rocky cliffs over the river; anemonies and



narcissus were now in flower; bees and flies took to wing; frogs spawned; swallows congregated at evening.

In the second week, ranunculuses were in flower; young onions in the market; fig-trees and apricots budded; tadpoles came out; staphylini appeared; flights of ants commenced; wild boars littered; horses were put out to grass.

In the third week, species of cheiranthus, thlaspi, and epipactis were in flower; on sunny banks the ranunculus Asiaticus was met with, as also astragalus spinosus, with light pink flowers; the pretty star of Bethlehem on every greensward; salsafy is dug up on the road-side, east of the Tigris, just as the fresh green leaves come up out of the earth.

By the first week in April, there were about twenty phanerogamous plants in flower; among these, a small species of anthemis represented the daisy of our countries, and flowered to the hot season. The most striking flowers of this season were, Trollius Asiaticus, Sternbergia lutea, and Gladiolus Byzantium. In the gardens the almond was in full bloom, and water melons put forth their cotyledons; at this time, hoopoes made their appearance, and large flocks of bustards were to be seen migrating from the low plains of Mesopotamia to the upland of Armenia.

In the latter half of April, insects became numerous, house lizards came out in the evening, and were especially useful in killing ants; centipedes and scorpions also crawled out of crevices in the houses at sunset; at the same hour innumerable bats issued forth, and were greedily feed upon by hawks. The beautiful bee-eaters arrived and burrowed their nests on the perpendicular

banks of the river, or on the dry hot pathway, where well trodden down, so as to resist the digging propensities of their enemies, the jackalls. The gallery to the nest is often six feet in length, and the young continue to live there some time after they have learnt to fly and provide themselves with food, which led Pliny to say that they fed their parents.

The common *iberis* now abounds in corn fields, where also flower *Linaria Halepensis*, which is much sought after by Mosul ladies for its sweet perfume, and many British plants, common to the same situations. Lettuces came into market. The thermometer now averaged  $+ 15^{\circ}$ . The weather was variable, there was still much rain in the mountains, and the Tigris rose and fell sometimes as much as ten feet in twenty-four hours.

The first week in May, the fine weather set in. The thermometer averaged  $+ 20^{\circ}$ ; the flood of the Tigris was now steady from the melting of snows; the grasses of spring, belonging to the genera *Poa*, *Festuca*, *Bromus*, *Kæleria*, *Aria*, &c., were now in great part succeeded by species of other genera, as *Chrysurus*, *Brachypodium*, *Dactyloctenium*, *Echinaria*, etc. The most striking forms of new phanerogamous plants belonged to the family of *Euphorbiaceæ* and *Compositæ*; beans were now added to the few vegetables to be obtained in the Mosul market. Young locusts made their appearance, and flocks of locust-birds, *Seleucidæ* of Pliny, followed; the bounty of providence sending the cure with the evil. The harvest set in the 10th, and terminated before the end of the month; the mean of thermometer for the last week in May, was  $+ 30^{\circ}$  Cent. The

inhabitants then slept on the roofs, and repaired in day time to their serdaubs; most of the houses are infested with snakes. Flowering plants began to be parched; grasses withered; horses were put to barley in the field; white clover flowered abundantly, and constitutes the main stay of the bee tribe in these countries. The most common and characteristic way-side plant, the *Nigella Damascena*, came into flower; the family of *Compositæ* has still a few gaudy representatives; the twigs and buds of the caper shrub are gathered for pickle; mulberries were ripe. The heats of this season are considered as unwholesome, the body not being seasoned, and there is a frequent and unequal state of tension in the atmospheric electricity.

During the first weeks in June, several hurricanes came on from the plain to the south. The most remarkable phenomenon connected with these was their circumscribed limits. Generally the day on which they occurred was calm and sultry. On such occasions a dense dark bank would be seen coming steadily on from the south, the line of base as distinct as a sheet of water. The next peculiarity was, that the wind blew strongest at the base, which was thus always far in advance of the higher parts of this great sea of sand and dust. I never observed in these hurricanes the whirlwind character which has so much attracted the attention of observers in intertropical countries. The last peculiarity was the enormous quantity of sand and dust, borne along by these ground-tempests, surprising, even when we consider the character of the ground they come over; in other respects, the hurricanes resembled that in which the Tigris steamer was lost in the river Euphrates.

During their prevalence the sky is often cloudless, and there is seldom any rain. The darkness is fearful, and the natives hail the coming of the storm with a peculiar shout of warning.

One fine and cloudless afternoon we observed a meteorite fall over Nineveh. It was also during this early part of the hot season that these dreadful conflagrations before alluded to took place. The thermometer at this time averaged  $+ 40^{\circ}$  Centigrade.

At the period of our return from Kurdistan, in the second week of July, the thermometer preserved a mean of  $102^{\circ}$  Fahr. in the shade, and in the last weeks of the same month  $108^{\circ}$ , never falling below  $104^{\circ}$ . There was scarcely any vegetation left, but the gardens furnished beydenjam, bamiyah, pumpkin, water-melon, a great variety of melons, but small, and two kinds of cucumber; apples, pears, and nuts, were brought down from the mountains. Mosquitoes became troublesome.

*February 9th.* To resume our journal: Mr. Rassam left for Baghdad, descending the river Tigris on a raft, and he returned by land on March the 22d. During this interval, I was occupied with my maps and reports for the Royal Geographical Society, and also made two excursions, one of four days, to the ruins of Nimrud, which I have identified with the Resen of Scripture, and the Larissa of Xenophon; and another to the Jebel Aïn el Beitha (the Mons Nicator of the historians of Alexander), and in search of Gaugamela, a spot which, although the name is said to have been significative of the home of a camel (one of Darius'), in the language of the natives, has been so corrupted, as to be no longer recognisable in the Chaldean, Syriac, or Arabic, nor is

there any local tradition to assist in the research, except we might term as such the existence on this plain of a place called Beth Garmæ (thé Place of Bones), noticed by ancient Syrian writers, and once a Chaldean episcopate.

The Jebel Aïn el Beitha takes its present name from a clear fountain that issues from its western side. It is a remarkable hill, although not so lofty as the Jebel Maklub, rising by admeasurement only 870 feet above the plain of Adiabene. It has on its culminating point a cairn or mound of stones, of evident antiquity. Although the site of Gaugamela cannot be traced to any existing ruins or village, still there can be no doubt, from all the details of the various historians of the campaign, that the battle of Arbela was fought between this hill and the Great Zab, and on that part of the plain which is watered by the river Khazir (the Bumadus of Quintus Curtius). The Khazir has its origin in the mountains of Kurdistan, to the west of the central ranges of Amadiyeh, where it is known as the Gomel Su, flows across the great plain of Nav-Kur, washing the east side of the Jebel Maklub, and thence flows past the hills of Aïn el Safrah (Yellow Spring), and Aïn el Beitha (White Spring), into the Great Zab, between the ferry of the Izedi Kurds, on the great road from Mosul to Baghdad, and the ruins of Nimrud, near the junction of the Tigris and the Zab. Among minor excursions made at this time, and after the return of Mr. Rassam, were explorations of the course of the the Khozar, or river of Nineveh, to lay down the ruins of that interesting city, and visits to several of the Christian monasteries and villages in the neighbourhood.

On the left bank of the river, and directly opposite to Mosul, are the ruins of "Nineveh, that great city," which now, it is well known, from the reports of a number of travellers, present only a long continuation of mounds, with some of a larger size that are isolated, and others upon which are modern buildings and houses; yet so plain and distinct are these on the level extent of the Assyrian plain, that in looking down from the roof of our house at Mosul, Nineveh always lay extended before us like a map.

The name of Nineveh signifies the Residence of Ninus, probably its founder, but the whole history of this great city is perhaps inexplicably obscure. We have vague accounts in profane writers of its size and splendour, and positive testimony to the same effect in the Bible, yet we only know, that after at least one previous overthrow, it was desolated about 600 B. C., upon the subversion of the Assyrian empire by the rebellion of its provincial governors. From that time the casual notices of historians and travellers, with but little exception, relate only to its fallen state. Lucian, in the second century of the Christian era, says, too strongly, that no vestiges of the city remain, but the later writers uniformly describe Nineveh, in the language of prophecy, as "a desolation."

Benjamin of Tudela, who wrote his Itinerary in the twelfth century, says, that in that time there was only a bridge between Mosul and Nineveh, that the latter was laid waste, but had still many streets,—probably the streets of the village of Nebbi Yunus. Abu-l-Feda, writing in the fourteenth century, merely styles it "the ruined city of Nineveh . . . . . to which the prophet

Jonah, with whom be peace! was sent;" and Tavernier, in the seventeenth, says, "Across the Tigris, which hath a swift stream and whitish water . . . . you come to the ancient city Nineveh, which is now a heap of rubbish for a league along the river, full of vaults and caverns."

I will now proceed briefly to describe the present condition of this renowned spot, merely premising that it bears with the Turks the name of Eski Nineveh, and among the Christians that of Nunia.

The dimensions of what remains of the city are given by Mr. Rich; and after repeated examinations, and laying down the precincts, both by actual admeasurements, and by angles carried from a determined base, I have found very little to alter in the details given by that gentleman. In respect to the size of the mounds only, there will be some difference in the result obtained by every traveller, as the limits of the mounds, and indeed of the walls also, fading away imperceptibly into the plain, are not sufficiently well defined to admit of perfectly accurate admeasurements.

The ruined walls of the city, as they can be at present traced, extend in the form of an irregular parallelogram, and have a circuit of 9470 yards, being 3500 yards in extent on the western side, 1370 yards on the southern, 2000 yards on the northern, and 2600 yards on the eastern face. On the east side, or that fronting the plains, there are the remains of three walls; on all the other sides there are remains of one wall only.

The question which always appeared to me of the highest interest to determine, is whether the city of Nineveh, and its reputed vast population, were con-

tained within the walls as at present existing, or whether the city extended beyond the walls. Macdonald Kinnear conceived that the ruins opposite to Mosul were those of Ninus and not those of Nineveh itself. According to Niebuhr, Nineveh extended, in the opinion of the Christians of Mosul (very bad authority), from Kadi Keuy to Yarumjah. Rich also considered the inclosure as only forming part of a great city, probably either the citadel or royal precincts, or perhaps both, as the practice of fortifying the residence of the sovereign was of very ancient origin. Notwithstanding such high authority I am inclined to consider the inclosure as having contained all that existed of the antique Nineveh; and I have been able to trace, after repeated examinations, no ruins beyond the boundary of the walls, which are not of a decidedly local character.

The facts apparently opposed to the confined dimensions here assigned to the ancient Nineveh, are the direct and indirect statements transmitted to us by a remote antiquity, and even by Scriptural authority, of the magnitude of this renowned city. Among the former are the statements of Diodorus Siculus, who describes the circuit as comprising 480 stadia, which would be upwards of 97,000 yards, or twice the circuit of London and its suburbs; so enormous and evident an exaggeration, that it is impossible not to conceive that an error has crept into the copies of the original, which more probably reported 48 stadia. And this is suggested in a still more remarkable manner, when we consider that 48 stadia would amount to about 9700 yards, or only 300 yards more than what the walls present in their present area, curtailed as they are by



the encroachments of the Tigris at the south-west angle. It is to be remarked, however, that Strabo, who makes Babylon to have been 385 stadia in circuit, says that Nineveh was much larger.

Of the second kind of statements, or of such as bear indirect testimony on the subject, are the three statements in Jonah i. 2, iii. 3, iv. 11. In the first of these Nineveh is styled "a great city;" in the second, "an exceeding great city of three days' journey." That this statement required some explanation has struck almost all commentators on the Bible, and thus Aben Ezra, Jerome, Cyril, and Theodoret, interpret that the three days' journey has reference to the circuit of the city rather than to its length. The Rev. Mr. Southgate, on visiting the spot, was also forcibly struck with the same thing, and he says, "Nineveh must have occupied a much larger surface than the plain before mentioned unless we are to understand by the three days' journey of Jonah the measurement of its wall, not its diameter\*." Considering the nature of Jonah's mission, that he had to go and preach unto the city; to cry against each individual, and warn him of his wickedness; it appears highly probable that the space alluded to in this passage, and also that in iii. 4, when he "began to enter into the city a day's journey," alludes to the streets and space which it was necessary for the prophet to go through to accomplish the objects of his mission; and it will be easily understood that to explore a city of six miles in circuit would occupy at least three days.

It is also asserted in Jonah iv. 11, that there

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\* *Narrative of a Tour, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 222.

were in the same city "more than six score thousand persons; . . . . . and also much cattle." According to the commonly admitted estimate, this would give 120,000 for the entire population—the same number which Pliny attributes to Seleucia, near Babylon, whose walls have a circuit less than those of Nineveh, within the latter of which there would be space for a population of 120,000, and for many cattle, and even for gardens.

The language of Nahum, the Elkoshite, who proclaimed the burden of Nineveh, that proud city, "of whose store and glory there was no end; whose merchants were multiplied above the stars of heaven; whose crowned heads were as the locusts, and whose captains were as the great grasshoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day," (Nahum ii. 9, iii. 16, 17,) is • evidently too figurative and poetical to be available on either side of the question.

What further inclines me to consider that the ancient city of Nineveh was contained within the existing walls, —besides the non-existence of ruins (except at Yarumjah) without those walls,—is, that there are also the remains within the walls of what appear to have been palaces, temples, and a citadel. The most remarkable of these is well known to travellers as the mound of Koyunjuk (the Little Lamb). This is a vast mass, of irregular form, 43 feet high and 2563 yards in circumference; its sides are steep, and its top nearly flat; it appears to be a mass of transported earth, and is decidedly of artificial origin. Coarse stone, mortar, masonry, and floorings or pavements, are to be seen, and fine bricks, or pottery, with exceedingly small and beautiful cuneiform writing, are to be met with by research, especially

after rain. There are now but few houses upon this great mound. The village of Koyunjuk, that formerly existed on this mound, was destroyed by the followers of the Kurd bey of Rowandiz, in the year 1836, in which year the author first visited these ruins, immediately after the catastrophe, and the mound was then strewn with human bodies.

The next great mound is that of Nebbi Yunus (the Prophet Jonas). It is 10 to 12 feet high, 432 in length, and 355 feet in width. It supports a small village, and a sepulchral building, which is said to contain the remains of the prophet whose name the hill bears. This formerly belonged to the Christians, but is now in the possession of the Mohammedans, who also claim Jonah as a holy man. Whole bricks, and pieces of gypsum, with cuneiform characters, have been found in this mound.

The walls of Nineveh are constructed of earth and gravel, out of which large hewn stones are occasionally dug. These stones are of the limestone of the neighbourhood, and abound in fossil shells; they appear to have formerly been used in the construction of the walls, but a great part were carried away in the construction of the modern Mosul. This is a point of importance in determining the site of the Mes-Pylæ of Xenophon. On the east side the base of the walls is composed of a hard natural conglomerate. This is what Rich calls a conglomeration of pebbles and soil. The spring of Damlanagah issues from this rock formation.

The river Khosar, which is about ten feet wide by two in depth in the spring season, enters the city by an aperture in the walls on the east side, which appears to

have formed part of the original plan, and to have been protected by a gateway and walls, vestiges of which still remain. It is difficult to say what was the ancient course of the river, at present it flows in a very devious manner through the precincts of the walls, turning a mill, in the heart of what was the city, and then washing the south base of the mound of Koyunjuk, before it again opens its way through ramparts, so wide that once three chariots could be driven abreast on them.

The remarkable prophecy of Nahum, "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved," appears to be fulfilled to the letter.

The precincts included within the walls of Nineveh, are, where not occupied by habitations, roads, mounds, or river, every where cultivated. The mounds and walls also, in the early rains of spring, assume a green and cheerful appearance, but the flowers soon fade, the grass dries up, and the harvest is brought in by the latter end of May; a few fields of cucumbers and melons remain, but except that, all is buried in dry dust. It is then only that the words of Zephaniah (ii. 13, 15) appear in all their force: "He will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness." "This is the rejoicing city, that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in."

The suggestion of Bochart as to the identity of the Larissa of the Greeks with the Resen of the Old Testament, the identification of the ruins of Nimrud with the city of Larissa by Mr. Rich, and the discovery amid those ruins, of a pyramidal remnant, representing that

which is described to have existed there by the historian of the Anabasis\*, serve, with the computation of distances, to establish a very good starting-point for the investigation of that portion of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks which concerns the country in the neighbourhood of Nineveh.

In all discussions in which the work of Xenophon is referred to as an authority, it is necessary to premise, that the parasang is considered as a known and determined portion of the earth's meridional circumference, or the eight thousandth part, the ellipticity being computed at  $\frac{1}{808}$ . This gives a value to the parasang of 5468·668 yards, and to the stadium, as a fraction of the same common element of all itinerary measures, 607·62977 feet†.

The distance of six parasangs, traversed by the Greeks, in their journey from the ruins of Larissa to the castle near Mes-Pylæ, corresponds with the existing distances, eighteen miles and three-quarters‡, between the ruins of Nimrud and the mound and ruins of Yarumjah, Nimrud being situated two miles above the junction of the Great Zab and the Tigris, and is so placed in Mr. Rich's Map of the Tigris, but is omitted in that of Captain Lynch, as the steamer did not ascend so high as the junction of the two rivers.

Yarumjah now presents to view a high abrupt bank, which forms a section of an artificial mound, broken

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\* See *Researches in Assyria*, &c.

† Major Jervis's *Report to the Royal Geographical Society*.

‡ See Captain Lynch's Map of the Tigris, from *Royal Geographical Society's Journal*.

down by the current of the Tigris. This mound is 1150 feet long by 42 in perpendicular height. On its south side is situated the village of Yarumjah, from whence its present name, and the inhabitants of which are Turkomans. Where the soil has been cut down to a precipice by the waters, it exhibits remains of buildings, such as layers of large stones, some with bitumen on them, and a few burnt bricks and tiles. Layers of stone-work are to be seen likewise. Rich considered these vestiges to have formed part of Nineveh, from which, however, they are separated by a considerable interval void of all remnant of buildings. The ignorant and unmeaning tradition of the natives calls it the Pottery of Nineveh.

From the castle, now designated as Yarumjah, the Greeks could see the town of Mes-Pylæ, which must have corresponded to Nineveh. The orthography given here is adopted from Major Rennell, a careful scholar as well as a good geographer. It is, undoubtedly, from Meso-Pulai or Meso-Pylæ, the Middle Gates, Straits, or Pass, and applicable to the narrow and pass of the Tigris, which existed here from the most remote antiquity, which was crossed by the army of Alexander, and is still, from Jezireh to Baghdad, the only great and frequented passage over the Tigris. A strongly corroborative proof of the identity of the Mes-Pylæ of Xenophon with the Nineveh of antiquity, may be derived from the circumstance of the existence of shells in the stone of which the plinth of the wall was fabricated, notwithstanding Leunclavius, who argues that these shells were sculptured, for it is a fact that the common building stone of this neighbourhood is highly fossiliferous, while a similar stone is not met with to the north-

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ward or southward of Mes-Pylæ, this formation being succeeded by wastes of gypsum.

The reason why Nineveh had no longer its name in the time of Xenophon and Alexander, I cannot tell, but I suspect it is to be found in the establishment, under circumstances that are not recorded in history, of a second Nineveh, of which we find mention made more particularly by Ammianus Marcellinus, who places it on the Euphrates, in the district of Commagena. Philostratus, also, makes Apollonius, in going from Antiöch to Mesopotamia, pass through Nineveh. Bochart likewise admits the existence of a Syrian Nineveh, which, as it was between Samosata and Hierapolis, appears to have been one of the numerous names of Birehjik. I do not, however, bring these circumstances in proof of the name having been for a time transferred to another site, or in elucidation of the statement of Herodotus, that the Euphrates flowed through the city of Nineveh, and of Diodorus, that the same city was built on Euphrates; these statements are contradicted by other passages in the same writers, and they are universally admitted as errors, and so it may also be with the 480 instead of 48 stadia.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV.

Start for Al Hadhr. Baths of Hammam Ali—Tisasphalta. Chase after Wild Boars. Fountains of Bitumen. Kalah Sherkat.—Ur of the Persians. Bivouac by the River's Banks. Khawass killed by the Arabs. Cross the Desert. Arrive at Al Hadhr.

THE accidental arrival in Mosul of two English travellers, Messrs. Layard and Mitford, enabled us to make up a strong party to visit the ruins of Kalah Sherkat, the Ur of the Persians, on the Tigris, and the ruins of Al Hadhr, the Hatra of the Chaldeans, and Hatra or Atra of the Romans, on the Mesopotamian Desert. These sites had been visited both by Dr. Ross, of the Baghdad Residency, and by Captain Lynch, but the former gentleman had been disturbed and obliged to leave off his examination abruptly by the evil disposition of the Arabs, and the latter had only passed through them;\* so that what existed of details was just enough to excite

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\* After the loss of the Tigris steamer, on the river Euphrates, Captain Lynch, accompanied by Dr. Eden, crossed the Mesopotamian peninsula from Annah to Mosul, passing in their way the remarkable ruins of Al Hadhr. Dr. Ross visited them from Baghdad, but in an hour after his arrival he was attacked by the Shammar Arabs, who, but that one of them recognised him as the Hakim of Baghdad, would have murdered him and all his party; as it was, he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat. His notes upon this hitherto undescribed city of the desert are consigned to the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. It is highly desirable that an experienced archaeologist and a draughtsman should visit these ruins, and lay before the world correct representations of the various sculptures and images, which are undoubtedly of high historical value.



an enthusiastic desire to know more, and the results of our expedition were on this score highly satisfactory.

The party consisted of the above-mentioned gentlemen, Mr. Rassam, and myself, and we were accompanied by our old friend the Arab of Tunis, who had accompanied us on our journey from Urfah to the Turkish frontier near Mardin, and who had left us there to cross the plain to Ras el Ain; near which an affair had taken place shortly afterwards with the Shammar Arabs, in which the irregular cavalry of the Egyptians was worsted; our friend, Haji Ali, had abandoned his horse to save his life, and had sought refuge at Mosul, when we took him into our service (a chaoush of Bedwins!) as a groom. We had also with us a khawass from Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, who a short time before had presented me, as a return for medical assistance given to him, with a strong able horse, which was of great service to me on this and on our Chaldean expedition.

We started on Saturday, April 18th, travelling at first across the cultivated plain south of Mosul. At this season of the year barley was in flower; fig, almond, and mulberry-trees were in full bloom, but the pistachio as yet only budding. On the sandy deposits of the river the water-melon had put forth its cotyledons. Doves and quails had returned a few days before from their migrations. As the river was high we were obliged to turn up the rocky uplands, west of the ruinous building designated as El Kasr in Lieutenant Lynch's map, but better known at Mosul as El Seramum, an old country residence of its pashas. The cliffs which advance at this point over the Tigris, form the south-

eastern termination of a low range of hills which stretch to the north-west, and are known as the Jubailah (Hilly Range); they are from six to nine miles in width. On the banks of the Tigris there is a deposit of sulphur in the gypsum of this range.

The rocky acclivities and stony valleys of the Jubailah were now clad with a beautiful vegetation. Grass was abundant, and the greensward was chequered with red ranunculuses and composite plants of a golden-yellow hue, which enliven at this season of the year, by their contrast, the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, wherever they are stony. Crossing the Jubailah, and leaving the village of Abu Jawari (the Father of Female Slaves) to our left, we descended upon another alluvial plain, such as, on the Tigris and Euphrates, whether cultivated or covered with jungle, is equally designated Hawi. The present one was cultivated, and contained the villages of Oreij (diminutive of Araj, Lame), and Kabru-l Abid (the Slave's Tomb). They are both inhabited by Arabs, now pasturing their flocks on the Jubailah hills.

At the end of this plain the ground rose, and at this point were the baths and village of Hammam Ali; the latter inhabited by a few Chaldees, settled here by the pasha of Mosul to cultivate the land. The thermal spring is covered by a building, only commodious for a half savage people, yet the place is much frequented by persons of the better classes, both from Baghdad and Mosul. The spring appears to have changed its place of exit, as a ruinous building, beneath which once issued the spring, is now 150 yards distant from it. The waters are abundant, evolving hydro-sulphurous

acid, and giving off much bitumen. Their taste was vapid. The thermometer indicated a temperature of 84·6 Fahr. The spring issues from a coarse granular gypsum.

Near Hammam Ali is a mound about sixty feet high, called Tellu-l Sakik (the Mound of the Victor), from a tradition of an engagement having taken place in this neighbourhood. From this tell a range of low mounds extends about 300 yards to the south-west, where it joins another line, consisting of two rows of low mounds with an intervening fosse, which extends in a north-west direction as far as to the Hawi. It would appear that these lines of circumvallation once encompassed a village or site of more importance than the present assemblage of poor huts; which no doubt coincides with the Tisalphta of Ammianus, more properly written by Rennell, Tisasphalta (the Place of Asphalte), but which, from identifying Al Hadhr with the Ur of the Persians, he was led to place to the north instead of the south of Mosul.

*April 19th.* Leaving Hammam Ali we crossed an extensive Hawi, near the centre of which is the village of Safatus, inhabited by the Arab tribe of Juhaish (of the Ass's Colt), whence its name, Jeyush, in Lynch's map. We then turned off to the right to the ruined village of Jeheinah or Jehennem (Hell, or the Lower Regions), which name excited our expectations, but we only found some old houses of a better class situate upon the side of the hills which flank the Hawi to the west. Our road continued for three hours over verdant prairies on an upland of gypsum with some tracts of sandstone, when we arrived at Wadi-l Kasab,

(Reed Valley), the banks of a sluggish stream, being covered with plants. Mr. Rassam and Haji Ali had remained behind, and I left the remainder of the party to hunt the banks of the stream, which I knew in such a desolate country would be the resort of game. I had not proceeded far before I roused a large old sow, which, instead of running away made directly at me, to the astonishment of the horse which arose affrighted on its hind legs. I gave the view halloo to Messrs. Mitford and Layard, who were only about half a mile distant, and firing a pistol in the face of my hirsute assailant, soon caused her to face about. My friends soon joined, and holding the horse, I dismounted and ran into the jungle, not doubting but, from the sow's anger, I should find a litter, and just as I reached the water's edge the last of the young pigs had taken to the water; it was not deep, however, so I followed and caught him round the waist as he was endeavouring to climb up the opposite bank, and brought him back a squalling but valuable prize.

Mr. Mitford and I (Mr. Layard not being so well mounted wished to spare his horse for the journey,) now joined in chase of the other pigs. As we followed the course of the rivulet we roused numerous other boars who came to swell the retinue of the old sow and her young ones. After a short run we succeeded, however, in driving them from the unequal ground of the valley into the open country, and here, after a further short run, we succeeded in capturing each another pig; but as this made three, and two were quite enough to answer our present demands, we let the other poor creature run away.

As we returned from this amusing chase, we found

Haji Ali had come up, and had, on his part shot a hare, so we were well provisioned to spend, as we anticipated, the night in the desert. Leaving this valley we approached the Tigris, a few miles below the tomb of Sultan Abdullah, which was the extreme point reached by the Euphrates steamer in 1839, and passing an abundant rivulet of waters which filled the air with the odour of hydro-sulphurous acid, we came to a level, naked spot, inclosed by rocks of gypsum, on the floor of which were innumerable springs of asphalte, or bitumen, oozing out of the soil in little circular fountains, from six to nine inches in diameter, but often buried beneath or surrounded by a deep crust of indurated bitumen. These fountains cover a space of land nearly 100 yards in width and 500 long. To the west are some low hills, named Al Kayyarah, or the Pitch-place (whence bitumen is derived).

A little beyond these pits we found other springs, giving off an equal quantity of bitumen. These are the only cases I know of springs of pure asphalte in Western Asia. The celebrated springs at Hit, and those of Dalaki, in Persia, give off bitumen as a swimming product, as at Hammam Ali. The fountains of asphalte on the Tigris are situate near the southern extreme of the gypsum formation, where it is succeeded by red sandstones; and their geological relations, notwithstanding the upraising of the Hamrin upon a similar axis to the south, are the same as those of the fountains on the Euphrates and in Persia, or nearly at the limits of a series of rock-formations, which become more and more modern from the Taurus to the alluvial plains, which latter extend farther to the north, up the valley

of the Tigris than up that of the Euphrates; whence the diagonal position of the Median wall, which bounds the two formations.

Evening was coming on apace. Herds of wild boars were feeding on the Hawi, and an occasional wolf stole along the hill-side, or met us on our path, as we approached a thick jungle with the view to encamp there. On entering this, beautiful francolins, the pheasants of Mesopotamia and Arabia, flew away in various directions, while numerous boars started away to a short distance, and then turned round to stare at the intruders. On approaching the river we found the banks so high that we could not water the horses, nor could our ingenuity devise a plan by which to do so, and this obliged us to continue our journey till darkness forced us to bring up in a nearly equally unsatisfactory place, at the foot of a tell upon the banks of a river.

Haji Ali, although a Mohammedan, lent a willing hand in skinning the pigs, but he and the khawass dined upon hare. It was with difficulty that we could collect enough dry thistles and rushes to make a fire large enough to broil a pig, but after some labour this was accomplished, and with the horses picketed around us, pasturing all night on savoury grasses, we took turn to watch, and resigned ourselves to a sleep which is never more profound than when enjoyed in the midst of a vast, unbroken solitude.

*April 20th.* Starting over a low range of hills of red sandstone we entered upon an extensive Hawi, over which we travelled two hours. The banks of the river were well-wooded and picturesque; extensive tracts of meadow-land were bounded by green hills,

and terminated in islands of several miles in length, covered with trees and brushwood, amid which winded the rapid Tigris, in a broad and noble expanse, visible as far as the eye could reach. The quantity of large wood near it is greater than on the Euphrates, and the resources for steam navigation are very great.

Passing cliffs of red sandstone, from which point to the Hamrin hills the Tigris follows a more easterly course, we came to a valley with a brackish rivulet coming from the Wadi-l Ahmer (Red Valley), and out of which several large boars ran away before us. Steep cliffs advanced beyond this to the banks of the river, and obliged us to turn inwards upon the uplands, from which we first gained a view of Kalah Sherkat, situate in the midst of a most beautiful meadow, well wooded, watered by a small tributary to the Tigris, washed by the noble river itself, and backed by the rocky range of the Jebel Khanukah, now covered with broad and deep shadows. In three hours' time we arrived at the foot of this extensive and lofty mound, where we took up our station on the northern side, immediately below the central ruin, and on the banks of a ditch formed by the recoil of the Tigris.

Although familiar with the great Babylonian and Chaldean mounds of Birs Nimrud, Mujallibah and Orchoe, the appearance of the mass of construction now before us filled me with wonder. On the plain of Babylonia to build a hill has a meaning; but there was here a strange adherence to an antique custom, in piling brick upon brick, without regard to the cost and value of labour, where hills innumerable and equally good and elevated sites were easily to be found. Although in

places reposing upon solid rock (red and brown sand-stones), still almost the entire depth of the mound, which was in parts upwards of 60 feet high, and at this side 909 yards in extent, was built of sun-burnt bricks, like the Aker Kuf and the Mujallibah, only without intervening layers of reeds. On the side of these lofty artificial cliffs numerous hawks and crows nestled in security, while at their base was a deep sloping declivity of crumbled materials. On this northern face, which is the most perfect as well as the highest, there occurs at one point the remains of a wall built with large square-cut stones, levelled and fitted to one another with the utmost nicety, and bevelled upon the faces, as in many Saracenic structures; the top stones were also cut away as in steps. Mr. Ross deemed this to be part of the still remaining perfect front, which was also the opinion of some of the travellers now present; but so great is the difference between the style of an Assyrian mound of burnt bricks and this partial facing of hewn stone, that it is difficult to conceive that it belonged to the same period, and if carried along the whole front of the mound, some remains of it would be found in the detritus at the base of the cliff, which was not the case. At the same time its position gave to it more the appearance of a facing, whether contemporary with the mound or subsequent to it I shall not attempt to decide, than of a castle, if any castle or other edifice was ever erected here by the Mohammedans, whose style it so greatly resembles. On the same side we visited the subterranean passage noticed by Mr. Ross; and Mr. Mitford found there the head of a small urn.

Our researches were first directed towards the mound



itself, which we found to be in the form of an irregular triangle, having a total circumference of 4685 yards; whereas the Mujallibah, the supposed Tower of Babel, is only 737 yards in circumference; the great mound of Borsippa, known as the Birs Nimrud, and by some supposed to be the real Tower of Babel, 762 yards; the Kasr (or terraced palace) of Nebuchadnezzar, 2100 yards; and the mound called Koyunjuk at Nineveh, 2563 yards. But it is to be remarked of this Assyrian ruin on the Tigris, that it is not entirely a raised mound of sun-burnt bricks; on the contrary, several sections of its central portions displayed the ordinary pebbly deposit of the river, a common alluvium; and where swept by the Tigris, the mound appeared to be chiefly a mass of rubble and ruins, in which bricks, pottery, and fragments of sepulchral urns lay embedded in humus, or alternated with blocks of gypsum; finally, at the southern extremity, the mound sinks down nearly to the level of the plain. The side facing the river displayed to us some curious structures, four round towers, well built and fresh-looking as if of yesterday. Their use is altogether a matter of conjecture: they were not strong enough to have formed buttresses against the river; nor were they connected by a wall. The general opinion appeared to be in favour of hydraulic purposes, either as wells or pumps, communicating with the Tigris.

All over this great surface we remarked traces of foundations of stone edifices, with abundance of bricks and pottery, as observed before us, to which we may add, bricks vitrified with bitumen, as are found at Rahabah, Babylon, and other ruins of the same epoch;

bricks with impressions of straws, &c., sun-dried, burnt, and vitrified; and painted pottery with colours still very perfect; but after two hours' unsuccessful search by Messrs. Mitford, Layard, and myself, Mr. Rassam was the first to pick up a brick close to our station, on which were well-defined and indubitable arrow-headed characters. This great mound is crowned by a lesser one that is crumbling to pieces, but that is still about forty feet in height.

By the character of its remains as well as by its position, the ruins of Kalah Sherkat identifies itself with the same period as that of the Assyrian cities of Nineveh, and of Resen or Nimrud, on the same river; yet its remote history remains at the present moment unknown. Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian of Julian's exploits, is the only authority that I have met with who notices in the same neighbourhood Ur, a site, as its name would indicate, of great antiquity, and which has by Rennell and others been identified with Al Hadhr; but Ammianus, who calls it a castle of the Persians, describes it as at some distance from that place. Cellarius, speaking of Ammianus, says, "He adds the castle Ur, in Upper Mesopotamia, situate between the Tigris and Nisibis, which some think is the Ur of the Chaldeans; after this is Hatra, an old city in the midst of the desert, also between the Upper Tigris and Nisibis." There can be no doubt then that the only author who notices an Ur in this part of the world did not confound it with Hatra. In the passage in which it is called Ur of the Persians, Ammianus relates, that after a journey of six days in the solitude or desert in which Hatra is situated, they came to Ur,

a castle of the Persians, and this decidedly implies a journey of six days from the time the army crossed Tigris, travelling along the banks of the river, which they must have adhered to for water, and through the deserts in which Hatra was situated, rather than through Hatra itself. The same author says further on, "Making long journeys we came near to Hatra;" near Hatra, and not at it; this accounts for the army passing Tisalphata, which would not have been on their road to Nisibis, if they had passed through Hatra.

It is to be remarked here, that the traditions of the natives, Christian and Mohammedan, as well as the testimony of all Oriental historians, leave scarcely a doubt that this was not the Ur of the Chaldees, which corresponds to the modern Urfah, while, as I have shown in my *Researches*, &c., there was still another Ur, built by the Chaldeans, either during the Chaldæo-Babylonian dynasty, or after their expulsion from Babylon and Borsippa, in memory of the city of their fathers, and which was the Urchoe, or Orchoe, of Ptolemy and Pliny, represented by the great mound of Mogaiyeh on the desert beyond Suk el Shiuk.

We sat down, fatigued with our researches, at the foot of the cliff of ruins, where we had picketed our horses, to cook our remaining pig, the Mohammedans contenting themselves with a bit of bread; we had unluckily omitted to bring any coffee with us. As we sat round the fire, smoking a pipe, a snake crawled right into it, while hundreds of beetles kept wandering round the verge of the ashes.

After dark the frogs of the jungle mingled their croaking with the whoop of night birds and the howl

of jackals, while thirsty mosquitoes hummed in our ears; but putting out the fire in order to distinguish the horses better during the night, we disregarded the melody around and about us, and slept undisturbed in our cloaks till the earliest dawn.

At Kalah Sherkat it was my intention to quit the river's banks and penetrate the wilderness to Al Hadhr, guided by the compass and Mr. Ross's map, for neither the khawass nor the Arab knew aught about the position of the ruins. Unfortunately Mr. Rassam had communicated this over-night to Haji Ali, and in the morning the khawass begged to be allowed to leave us, and retrace his steps, under the plea that his horse had lost a shoe, was lamed, and could not proceed any farther. I did not like letting the man go such a long journey by himself, and consulted with Messrs. Layard and Mitford upon the matter, when, considering that it was his own wish to go, that he would make a very disagreeable companion if forced on the journey, that an Osmanli would be viewed with greater hostility by the Arabs, if we met them, than even we should, I gave him as much bread as I could possibly spare, and let him go. But it appeared, while we had now travelled two days without seeing a human being, that, as is generally the case, others had seen us, but had not come down to meet six mounted and well-armed men, but a single horseman, and an Osmanli, was too great a prize, and they attacked and murdered him shortly after his leaving us; for when, on our return to Mosul, he was found missing, Mohammed Pasha sent out in the search, and his body was found stripped within a few hours of Kalah Sherkat. This poor man left a widow

and children at Mosul, for whom we contributed all that was in our power.

On leaving Kalah Sherkat we kept a little to the south of Wadi el Meheih, in which there was now no running water, in order to avoid retracing our steps to the south, as Mr. Ross had done. We travelled at a quick pace over a continuous prairie of grasses and flowering plants, and crossing the Ain el Thaleb, having still a little stagnant water, we arrived at a ridge of rocks which rose above the surrounding country. From a mound, upon which were a few graves, we obtained a comprehensive view of that part of Mesopotamia which extended to the west, but without being able to distinguish the valley of the Tharthar, a brook which traverses this part of Mesopotamia; or the ruins of Al Hadhr. The country near us undulated much, and to the south-west the Hamrin hills terminated in a long but not very elevated range, upon which was a cone called El Katr, which forms the westerly termination of the Hamrin; and, as we afterwards found, advanced over the valley of the Tharthar.

The compass indicated, judging by Ross's map, a more northerly course from hence, but the sharp sight of the Bedwin Haji Ali was in favour of some mounds which were visible in the extreme distance to the south of west; so, having much confidence in his acquaintance with the appearance that ruins would present on the desert at such a distance, we followed these indications, but, as it turned out, fallaciously. After two hours and a quarter's quick travelling, still over prairies and undulating country, we came to the supposed ruins, which turned out to be bare hills of sandstone, the

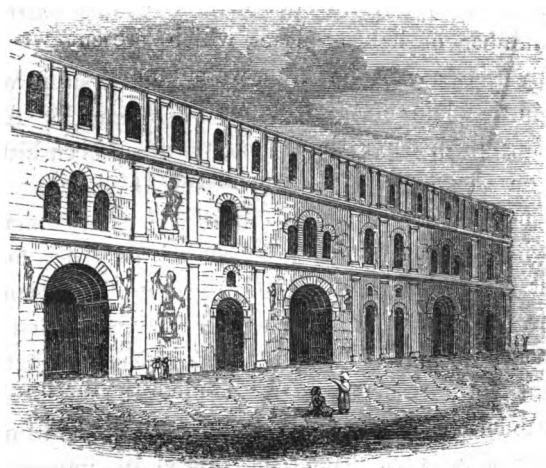
southern termination of a low ridge. Although pestered by sand-flies, we stopped a few moments and breakfasted on bread and wild leeks, which are abundant every where, and frequently enamel with their roseate and clustered umbels the lichen-clad space that intervenes between the dark-green bushes of wormwood.

Changing our route, we started to the north-west, in which direction we arrived, after an hour and a quarter's ride, at a valley bounded in places by rock terraces of gypsum, which indicated a wadi and a winter torrent, or actual water. To our joy we found the Tharthar flowing along the bottom of this vale, but only from fifteen to twenty feet in width instead of the fifty we had been led to expect; and to our great comfort the waters were very potable. The stream, though narrow, was deep, generally from five to seven feet, and hence with difficulty fordable: on its banks were a few reeds and scattered bushes of tamarisk. We proceeded up the stream in a direction north-west in search of a ford, which we found after one hour's slow and irregular journey, and we lost half an hour refreshing ourselves with a bath. We afterwards followed the right bank of the stream, being unwilling, as evening was coming on, to separate ourselves, unless we actually saw Al Hadhr, from the water so necessary for ourselves and our horses. The river soon came from a more westerly direction, flowing through a valley every where clad with a luxuriant vegetation of grasses, sometimes nearly half a mile in width, at others only three or four hundred yards, and again still more narrowed occasionally by terraces of gypsum. This rock was very cavernous, and furnished from its recesses many subterranean springs.

At one place we observed a part of the waters of the Tharthar absorbed by a fissure in the rock. We stopped one hour before sunset in order to have time to collect wood before dark, and dined upon rock partridges killed at Kalah Sherkat.

*April 22nd.* Rain overtook us in our sleep, which was otherwise unbroken even by dreams of Arabs, still less by their presence; indeed we had been hitherto as quiet as if travelling on the downs of Sussex. After holding a short consultation over Mr. Ross's memoir, we deemed it best to keep on up the river, but to travel a little inwards on the heights. This plan was attended with perfect success; and we had ridden only one hour and a half, when we perceived through the misty rain, mounds still to the north-west, which we felt convinced were the sought-for ruins. Mr. Rassam and myself hurried on, but soon afterwards, perceiving a flock of sheep in the distance, we became aware of the presence of Arabs, who could be no other than the Shammar, so we waited for our friends and rode altogether into the kind of hollow in which Al Hadhr is situated. Here we perceived the tents of the Bedwins extending far and wide within the ruins and without the walls to the south-west. The ruins themselves presented a magnificent appearance, and the distance at which the tall bastions appeared to rise, as if by enchantment, out of the wilderness, filled us with wonder and surprise, no doubt in great part due, not only to the splendour of the ruins, but also to the strange place where the traveller meets with them—"in mediâ solitudine," as Ammianus so briefly but so correctly expresses it.

## CHAPTER XXXV.



Restored Palace of Hatra.

**Reception by the Shammar Arabs. Inscriptions on Stones. Singular Sculptures. Jewish and Arabic Inscriptions. Roman Frieze. An Astronomical City. Its Chaldean origin. Resists the Romans. River Tharthar. Start from Al Hadhr. Arab Tribes. Geographical Botany. Vegetation of the Desert. Our Visit returned by the Shammar Chief.**

INQUIRING of a shepherd for the tent of the sheikh, which we soon after distinguished by its two spears, we rode directly up to it, and in a few minutes found ourselves seated by a spare camel-dung-fire, and surrounded by members of the Lamud branch of the Shammar Arabs. Happily for us there was at this moment in the encampment an Arab merchant of Mosul who



recognised Mr. Rassam, and the reception given to us was at once hospitable and tolerably frank\*.

The finding Arabs here is indeed what may generally be expected by any traveller in search of these ruins. The number of halting-places which present what is actually necessary for the Arab, water and grass, is not so great in the plains of Mesopotamia and Arabia as is generally imagined. For the same reason that cities were built on these oases in the wilderness, the wandering Arab now resorts to situations where there are waters, and with them pasturage. Hence the traveller may be almost as sure of meeting Arabs at Palmyra as at Al Hadhr. To M. de Lamartine's work on the East, there is appended a very valuable memoir, purporting to be an account of the residence of Fat-h-Allah Seghir amongst the wandering Arabs of the Great Desert. There are a number of facts which convince me of the authenticity of this document, but I shall content myself with noticing what refers to Al Hadhr. Leaving Nain el Raz, evidently meant for Ras al Ain, the party which the narrator accompanied pitched their tents on the banks of the Khabur, from whence they proceeded to the mountains of Sangiar (Sinjar): they then drew towards what the writer designates a river, or rather arm of the Euphrates, which joins the Tigris. This is evidently an error founded upon the mysterious origin of the Tharthar. He then describes the enormous trays used by the

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\* One of the first questions put to us, was, "Were you not afraid in coming among us that we should kill you?" The answer was "Why should we be more afraid of Arabs than of Osmanli Turks? are you not to be visited?"

Bedwins of Mesopotamia, and of which a specimen was measured by Mr. Ross. The Arabs proceeded from the Tharthar to the territory of Atterie, near the ruins of the castle of Attera (Hadr), where they encamped for eight days, the pasturage being very abundant. The course here followed by the Arabs is in every respect the same as that pursued every year by the Shammar, in their migrations to and from their winter quarters on the plains of Seleucia to their summer quarters on the Khabur and in the Sinjar.

At the present moment, Sufuk, the chief of all the Shammar, was, with a large body of horsemen, at Ras al Ain, from which he had driven the Anaidi of Ibrahim Pasha, while the main body of the tribes remained part on the Khabur and part near the Sinjar, where they were also at enmity with the Izedis\*.

Having breakfasted upon newly made bread and fresh butter, the latter a luxury not to be obtained at Mosul, we made our first visit to the ruins, during which some of the Arabs gave us much annoyance by their rudely anxious and almost imperious inquiries as to the exact spot where the money was, which they felt quite certain we had come to seek for. At length, having returned to the tent, Mr. Rassam addressed them upon the folly of the ideas which they entertained regarding finding treasures, and endeavoured to explain the real object of our researches, in which he was backed

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\* The title of Shammar (Men without Bondage) is assumed by all the Bedwin or roving Arabs in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, just as that of Anazeh is taken by the Bedwins of Syrian Arabia, and the west bank of Euphrates.

by the sheikh and the merchant, and we were left the remainder of the day among the ruins, pretty well to ourselves—a circumstance which, however, was also in great part owing to a rumour which got abroad, that an army was following in our steps, and in consequence of which the tribe judged it convenient to take their immediate departure without sound of drum or trumpet; and, three hours after our arrival, there were only the tent of the sheikh and a small one near it remaining of the whole encampment.

The ruins of Al Hadhr present the remains of a principal building which apparently was at once a palace and a temple, and which surpasses in extent and in the perfection of its style the ruin known as the Tak i Kesra, or Arch of Chosroes, at Ctesiphon, the residence of the kings of Persia of the Arsacidan dynasty. It consisted of a series of vaulted chambers or halls, of different sizes, all opening to the east, or towards the rising sun and planets, and regularly succeeding one another from north to south, and was divided into two parts by a wall; while in front was another row of edifices, guard-houses, &c., at the southern end of which was a great hall, with ornamented vault and tall columns, similar to what is observed in the chief edifice. The whole of these buildings were inclosed within a wall about 1360 yards square, which left a considerable space open in front, and this open square was in the exact centre of the town, which is nearly a perfect circle, surrounded by a rampart, about 3 miles 180 yards in circumference. Portions of the curtain, which was 10 feet 3 inches in width, still remain on this rampart; and there are also the ruins of thirty-two bastions, placed at

unequal intervals. The space occupied by the town still contains the ruins of tombs and other edifices, and is everywhere covered by mounds of ruined buildings. There is also a spring, and a channel for water, not straight but tortuous, which crosses the town: and there were apparently four gates, having straight roads leading from them to the central edifice.

Every stone, not only in the chief building but in the walls and bastions, and other public monuments, when not defaced by time, is marked with a character, which is, for the most part, either a Chaldaic letter or numeral. But some of them could not be deciphered either by Mr. Rassam or by a Jewish rabbi of Jerusalem, whom we consulted at Mosul; for it is necessary to remark that the Chaldeans, or Chaldees, since their conversion to Christianity, have uniformly adopted the Syriac letters which were used by the Apostles and Fathers of the Church, regarding the pagan writing (or Tergum, as they call it) as an abomination. The Jews, however, who learnt it in their captivity, have retained, except in their Talmud and some other works written in the Hebrew character, the use of Chaldean letters. Some of the letters at Al Hadhr resembled the Roman A, and others were apparently astronomical signs, among which were very common the ancient mirror and handle, ♀, emblematic of Venus, the Mylitta of the Assyrians, and Alitta of the Arabians, according to Herodotus; and the Nani or Nannania of the Syrians.

These letters were generally about one or two inches in size, and carefully sculptured, one in the centre of the face of each stone; this, still obtaining in a comparatively modern Chaldean town, appears to have been in

perpetuation of the practice, observed and carried to a much greater extent in the inscriptions on bricks in the older Assyrian, Chaldean and Babylonian cities.

The southerly hall, which is small, has externally every stone in the arch sculptured, in high relief, with a human bust, some of which have very singular curling bag-wigs, or, more probably, a peculiar mode of dressing hair, which we know to be common in Persian sculptures, but those, I believe, only of a modern date, or more particularly of the time of the Sassanian dynasty.

The second hall is of greater dimensions, and the figures on the arch were those of angels, or females apparently in the air, with feet crossed and robes flying loose; while in the interior, on both sides of the hall, were three square pilasters, surmounted by full round faces, in high relief, and executed with considerable fidelity and spirit.

While the style of these sculptures appears to be pretty nearly uniform, it is impossible not to recognise costumes differing much from one another. Indeed, it requires but little imagination to figure to oneself in these sculptures the representations of the successive powers who ruled the City of the Desert. The simple turban-like head-dress represents the Chaldean; the bearded physiognomy and scattered hair, the Persian satrap; the laurel-leaved band, supporting eagle's wings, the Roman; while the binding round the head, like a double fold of rope, as it is also described by Mr. Ross, appears the original of the present Arab head-dress. It may be advanced against this view on the subject, that if the building is all of one style, this style must also be carried through all its details, and that we cannot expect

that any of the decorations can be illustrative of different periods; but there is no reason why, if the Parthians or Persians borrowed their style from the Romans, they still might not have introduced their own sculpture, as at Persepolis; or, if the Romans built the great monument of Al Hadhr, they might equally have been influenced by a conquered people to introduce, as well as letters, forms sacred to their religion, or gratifying to their pride and to their national reminiscences.

On the face of the wall of this great hall, besides the signs before mentioned, are two inscriptions, one in Chaldaic, the other in Arabic, both cut in the stones, but which run along from one to another, and are evidently more modern than the building. The first, translated by a Jewish rabbi, appears to be the lament of some Jews of the Captivity; for ancient Chaldeans would scarcely use the language of David: "In justice to thee who art our salvation, I hope from thee, O God, for help against mine enemies." The general opinion among the Jews is in favour of this inscription having been written during the Captivity. The rabbis could not decipher the signs of older date; some are Chaldean numerals, others they consider to be astronomical signs, while not a few appear to be Parthian or Armenian. The Arabic inscription was copied and translated by Mr. Rassam; its purport is as follows:—"Mesud Ibn Maudud Ibn Tamanki, the just king, protector of religion, and defender of the faith, in humble service, and seeking mercy from his Lord, caused this to be repaired in the year of the Hejira 586" (A.D. 1190). This evidences the fact, that Al Hadhr was an inhabited town in the time of the ata-beys of Mosul, for Azzu-d-din

Mesud Ibn Maudud reigned there from A.D. 1180 to 1193; yet it is mentioned as deserted at the period of the retreat of Julian's army.

With the assistance of lights we examined the subterranean rooms connected with the first great hall, but did not find anything of interest.

In the rear of the same great hall is another apartment surrounded by a lofty vaulted passage. From its beautifully ornamented doorway, and complete seclusion from the other parts of the edifice, it may be conjectured to have been a religious sanctuary. Over the doorway is the most beautifully sculptured relief in the whole building; it represents griffons supporting heads, human and others, and in the centre is the head of Apollo, or Mithra, supported by eagles with scrolls in their mouths; beneath is some beautifully sculptured foliage. It is evidently of Roman execution. It would appear as if the Romans had contributed to adorn a temple consecrated to the worship of a deity in whom they recognised their own Apollo, adding the Roman eagles to the insignia of Mithra, who was the same as the Bel of the Chaldeans.

At the first small hall of the northern division, the sculptures over the arch of the entrance are among the most perfect of the out-of-door sculptures. They appear to be alternations of male and female heads, the first having the peculiar head-dress previously noticed, while the latter present a remarkable similarity to the present style of dress in Western Europe. Some of the ladies have dresses like corsets, terminating in a point. Most of them wear tiaras of jewels, some have necklaces, and the bust is neatly and only partially displayed. The

hair falls on the shoulders of some in a profusion of ringlets, in others is trimmed up in large curls, and again in some puffed out behind, as was once the case at the French court. On the wall is also the sculpture of a monstrous animal.

The walls were measured in all their details of bastions, &c., and were found to be 5460 yards round, which comes remarkably near to the amount in yards of the Persian farsakh, the Jewish parsah, and the Greek parasang, if we assume that to be an integral portion of the earth's meridional circumference, or the eight-thousandth part, which, computed to the ellipticity  $\frac{1}{80}$ , will be equal to 5468·668 yards English. (The exactness of the forms observed in the construction of Al Hadhr—a square within a circle and in its exact centre—certainly point out that a system was observed in its construction; and it is a striking corroboration of the facts observed of the circumference, that the sides of the inner square are 340 or 341 yards in length, or the one-sixteenth of the circumference, of which the whole square is at or near one-fourth.) Had all the admeasurements been taken with care, probably a similar system would have been found to pervade the whole of the details.

Within the circuit of the walls were many ruins of doubtful character. It would only be the result of a very hasty examination which could confine the dwelling-houses merely to the western part of the city, and assign to the eastern a continuous necropolis. Some of these buildings are square, and they are of different sizes. One ornamented with pillars, had two interior vaulted chambers with an outer vaulted hall, and a stair leading to the top as if to sleep upon it, as is the custom at



Mosul and Baghdad. The openings to let in light are more like loopholes than windows, but this may have been for coolness and from want of glass, as is observed in the cottages of the peasants in the East. A large square building, with one vaulted chamber, which appears to have been a small temple or mausoleum, occurs on the northern side. It is built upon a handsome basement, with a projecting but simple cornice. I ought not to omit to mention that the pear-shaped cavities common in Syria are also met with amid the ruins here.

It only remains for me to make one or two observations upon the history of this remarkable city of the desert.

It is evident from the character of the greater number of the letters and signs inscribed on the hewn stones, that the original builders were Chaldeans or Chaldees.

Modern historians admit the existence of the Chaldeans as a northern nation anterior to the foundation of the Chaldæo-Babylonian dynasty. No monuments of this ancient people have, however, as yet been discovered, which can be ascertained to belong to a period anterior to that dynasty, unless we admit as such the Assyrian ruins of Nineveh, Resen, and Ur, afterwards a Persian castle. It certainly appears by the remains at Borsippa and Orchoe, that they constructed huge mounds or lofty temples to their deity Bel, in the same manner as the Babylonians. But it is not certain that they did this everywhere; for although there is every reason to believe that Urfah was one of the Urs of the Chaldees, yet no remnants of this kind are there met with, and were it not that we find that custom preserved

where there are rocks and stones for building, as at Kalah Sherkat, one would have felt inclined to confine it to the country for which it was best suited, and where it sprang partly from necessity. Still, from what is known of the ancient style of the Chaldeans, as well as from the peculiarities observed in the construction of the monuments now to be seen at Al Hadhr, there is every reason for determining that city to be of a comparatively recent date.

It is further evident that in the course of the changes which befel all the great powers in the East, that this city was ruled by Armenians, by Persians, and by Romans\*.

According to Dion Cassius, by Xiphilinus, Trajan, after his descent of the Tigris and Euphrates, and having proclaimed Parthaspates king at Ctesiphon, entered *Arabia* against Atra, but want of water and provisions, with great heats, drove him away.

In the time of Arsaces (Ardawan), Septimius Severus, who also returned by the Tigris from Ctesiphon, besieged this city, upon which occasion his machines were burnt by the "Greek fire," which appears to have been the bitumen so abundant in the neighbourhood. His men also were slain, and for want of provisions, and

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\* The fragments of Dion Cassius, preserved by Xiphilinus, notice the people of Al Hadhr as *Ἀγαρηνοί*, which, as Valesius pointed out, should be *Ἀρρηνοί*. For Dion, relating the campaign of Severus, writes *τὰ Ἄρρα*, and Herodianus, *αἱ Ἄρραι*. Ammianus writes it *Hatra*, as does also Cellarius. The Peutingerian tables, almost always in error, call it *Hatris*. Zonaras names it *πόλιν Ἀράβιον*, an Arabian city. Stephanus merely says, that it is situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

after twenty days' siege, the Roman emperor was forced to retreat. Thus did this remarkable city, from the peculiarity of its position in the midst of a treeless desert, with one well of water and the brackish brook of the Tharthar flowing by, superadded to the skill, science, and determination of its inhabitants, successfully resist the all-conquering arms of the Romans.

This period of the history of Hatra is succeeded by another interval of impenetrable obscurity. No sculpture nor monuments of any kind indicate the existence of a Christian community within its walls, which is the more remarkable, as Nisibin became the seat of a patriarch, and Al Hadhr was in the centre of a newly-converted and eminently Christian people; but a single inscription exists to inform us that in the year 1190 (586 of the Hejira), one of the ata-beys of Mosul, undeterred by the colossal images which infringe the laws of Mohammed, attempted to restore the fallen grandeur of this ancient city. There are, however, no Saracenic monuments at Al Hadhr, and the ata-beys appear to have held the place by a brief and unstable tenure.

It only remains to be remarked, respecting the name of Al Hadhr, that it appears to be derived, as well as the Latin name Hatra or Atra, from the Chaldean word Hutra or Hatra, signifying a sceptre, and, figuratively, the seat of government. Al Hadhr has, however, a distinct Arabic meaning; the word being particularly used to designate the dwellers in towns, in opposition to the Bedwins or roving tribes.

The river Tharthar, which gives life and verdure to the prairies of Eastern Mesopotamia, has its origin from sources in the hills of Sinjar. Its waters are

brackish, but not unpleasant at some seasons of the year, and it is known to lose itself in the salt lake, called Al Milh. According to Abu-l-Feda there was formerly an artificial communication existing between the Khabur and the Tigris, by which the country was well supplied with water for irrigation as well as for drink.

*April 23rd.* We left Al Hadhr in a drizzling rain, which continued more or less during the day. The sheikh guided us to a ford of the Tharthar, a little above the ruins of an ancient bridge; from whence, continuing our route in a direction from north to east, we struck across the grassy plains towards Mosul. The sharp eye of the Arab distinguished Bedwins on the extreme verge of the horizon, when almost undiscernible by an unpractised observer. One and a half hour's journey brought us to Wadi-l Ahmar or Hamra (the Red Valley), where the red sandstones beneath the gypsum are denuded, but we found only stagnant pools of bitter water. At mid-day we stopped to give the horses a feed. We passed by a low range of limestone hills, forming the extreme westerly prolongation of the Tel Nejm.

Two hours from this, always travelling at a rate of about five miles an hour, we came to the Wadi-l Kasab, the plain around which was covered far and near with the tents of agricultural Arabs, who as a reward for their industry, in a country where the administration is so powerless, have to pay tribute at once to the Sultan and to the Shammar Arabs. These tribes were the Khayaliyin (the Deceivers); the Jubur (the Restorers); and Haddidiyin ([the men] of Iron).

Passing this plain we entered upon the Jubailah

hills, in a valley of which, called Al Adhbah (the Fresh Waters), we found encamped the Juhaish, previously noticed, the Duleim, and the Naa'im (the Benevolent),—agricultural tribes.

Night overtook us soon after entering upon the hills ; being clouded, we could neither see the compass nor the stars, and soon lost our way, wandering about up rocks and down into valleys till we heard the barking of dogs. While following the direction of these sounds, we stumbled upon a pathway, and keeping carefully to it, we reached the brook and ruins of Khidhr Ilyas, from whence the road to Mosul was familiar to me. We arrived at the gates of the town, after a journey of about sixty English miles, a little before midnight, but could not prevail upon the kapuji (door-keeper) to open them, so we were obliged to loiter in our wet clothes under a deserted vault till the break of day.

The geographical botany of the great tracts which we travelled over on this excursion can be described in a few words. There are scarcely any spots that are actually destitute of all vegetation. The most naked have a few lichens, among which are prominent a gray *Lecidea* with black raised apothecia or fructification; next to this in frequency is a pink-coloured *Cetraria*; on the extreme verge of these grow a few pseudo-lichens, more particularly *Verrucaria maura* and *V. epigea*. Oat grass is by far the most abundant of the gramineous plants. This single species covers whole uplands of miles in extent, to the exclusion of everything except a few flowering plants, which at this season of the year were the *Ranunculus Asiaticus*, and certain species of *Hieracium* and *Crepis*. The beautiful *Chrysanthema*

and *Gnaphalia*, belonging to the same family, which also, with a few *Centaureæ*, adorn the wildernesses in summer, had not yet come into bloom. Other grasses were also met with, among which *Hordeum pratense* and a delicately-panicked *Poa* advanced upon the most sandy spots.

In the drier parts of the plains, grasses became more rare and lichens more common, but these tracts were clothed with a more prominent vegetation of undershrubs of wormwood; among which the most common species were *Artemisia fragrans* and *A. absinthium*. In these unfavoured spots there were few flowering plants, and they were mostly gathered round the vast ants' nests, or had sprung up where cattle had been pasturing, or the Bedwins had bivouacked. Among the social plants certain vagabond species were met with here and there, especially where there was a pathway. Such were the gay *Aster pulchellus*, *Allium roseum* (everywhere), *Papaver dubium*, *Campanula glomerata*, and *Gentiana campestris*, common everywhere; *Romeria hybrida*, *Mathiola varia*, *Matricaria chamomilla*, and *Anthemis nobilis*, and two species of *Erodium*, on the more fertile spots. The family of the *Leguminosæ* was also represented by the genera *Cytisus* and *Vicia*, and that of *Caryophyllæ* by a few species of *Saponaria* and *Silene*.

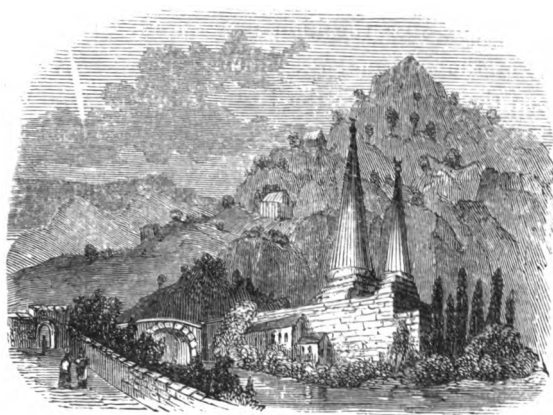
On passing the Wadi-l Kasab and coming into the country of cultivating tribes, new species, unknown in the wilderness, immediately make their appearance, even on plains in other respects of similiar characters; among these especially *Trollius Asiaticus* and a yellow variety of *Ranunculus Asiaticus*, but rare, *Adonis flava*, *Orni-*

thogalum umbellatum, Gladiolus segetum, and G. Byzantinus, Iberis saxatilis, Calendula officinalis, Malva rotundifolia, Convolvulus, Althæoides, &c.

Shortly after our return to Mosul, the Sheikh of the Lamud branch of the Shammar Arabs came to visit us, according to a general invitation given to him, with a number of followers, bringing a present of sheep. We received them with all the politeness possible, and presented them with pieces of calico of British manufacture for shirts and kerchiefs, and they left us with feelings of friendship, that, had I stopped longer at Mosul, would have very much facilitated our explorations in Mesopotamia.

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## CHAPTER XXXVI.



Izedi Temple of Sheikh Adi.

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**Start for Kurdistan. Plain of Mud. Plants and animals. Sheikh Adi, Temple of the Izedis. Origin of the name Izedi. Worship of the Devil. Tendency to Christianity. A remnant of the lost Tribes. Izedi Sepulchres. Enter the Mountains. Bivouac by a Spring. Valonia and Galls. Vale of Amadiyeh.**

Soon after our return to Mosul, Messrs. Layard and Mitford continued their journey by floating down the river to Baghdad. A short time afterwards we were visited by three French travellers, Messrs. Texier and the Comtes de la Bourdonnaye and de Guiche; these gentlemen had kept chiefly along the high-way by Hamadan and Ispahan to Baghdad, but they had been shamefully detained by the Prince of Kirmanshah, and were without barometer, having broken their sixth and last on the road. Mr. Rassam and myself now began to make our preparations for entering the country of the



Chaldeans, and we only waited for two things to start : one of which was the melting of the snow, so as to allow of our passage over the high mountains ; the other, the arrival of the instruments, which I had received notice were on their way from the Royal Geographical Society.

Early in May, a Chaldean arrived at Mosul, from Urimiyeh, with a message from Dr. Grant ; he had traversed the mountains, as he related, with considerable difficulty, by the lower pass of Rowandiz, but he stated that the passes might reasonably be expected to be opened in a few weeks more.

About this time Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, who was determined upon an offensive campaign in Kurdistan, during which he was to overthrow those abominable infidels of the mountains, had collected his troops in tents, on the left bank of the river and in front of Nineveh, waiting only till the melting of the snow on the lower or outer ranges of Jebel Gharah should permit of the passage of artillery, to take his departure.

The movement of this small force took place on Sunday, May 10th, and on the 25th, the Pasha started himself, accompanied by a small guard, and thus it became a matter of absolute necessity to linger no longer for the instruments, unless we wished to place ourselves between two armies, but to start for Amadiyeh before the Osmanli troops should arrive there.

There was some risk to run in acting in this manner. We must cross the mountains by a different road to that of the Turks, and then throw ourselves into the hands of people invaded from the very quarter by which we came to them, and who, to say the least, would look upon us with suspicion, and might treat us worse ; but to go in

the van of the Turkish army might lead to a repetition of the disasters of Nizib, and could never, at all events, advance us beyond Amadiyah, notwithstanding the boasts and threats of the pasha, that he would reduce, that summer, the whole of the Tiyari country.

The first object which we proposed to ourselves was to visit Sheikh Adi, celebrated as the chief seat of Izedi or Yezidi worship, and whither no European had as yet bent his steps. We accordingly started, on the afternoon of June 7th, following the course upwards of the river Khozar, and arrived after a ride of five hours over the plain of Adiabene, covered with villages and cultivation, at the village of Nahurrah, near which we bivouacked in the open fields, regretting the loss of our tent at Nizib.

*June 8th.* This morning we ascended a shoulder of the Jebel Maklub, near which there were some abundant springs of clear water issuing from the limestone rocks. Beyond this a country of low hills led us to the plain of Nav Kur (the Place of Mud), watered by the Khazir or Bumadus, and bounded by the hills of Rabban Hormuz, at the foot of which was the large Izedi village of Bagh Idri.

After a journey of four hours across this plain, monotonous enough in aspect, we arrived at the foot of low hills, which are a prolongation of the Rabban Hormuz hills, towards the Jebel Akra, through a ravine in which flowed a rivulet of pellucid water, a tributary to the Khazir, and which has its source immediately beyond a village on the brow of the hill, called after the spring, Ain Siffin. Here we stopped to shelter ourselves from a meridian sun beneath the first trees we had met with since leaving Mosul.

The plain of Nav Kur, except when cultivated, is almost entirely overgrown with species of *Glycyrrhiza* and *Artemisia*, and certain social umbelliferous plants. Already at Ain Siffin a slight change in vegetation is perceptible. The common thorn makes its appearance, and the rivulets are adorned with the bright pink blossoms of oleander, and afford water-cresses, a luxury abundant throughout Kurdistan, though unknown at Mosul. On entering the hills the remarkable increase of animal and insect life also attracts attention: large snakes of an ash-gray colour are very common, and we sometimes observed them engaged in capturing the beautiful lizards of the country: coleopterous insects, of brilliant colours, basked on the flowering plants; and there occurred, on a species of *Euphorbia*, a yellow caterpillar with bright scarlet spots, and which attained from three to four inches in length, with a proportionate bulk of body.

Two hours' journey over the outlying hills brought us to a more lofty range, which we crossed by a narrow glen, watered by a tributary to the Khazir, and abounding in a varied vegetation, more especially of shrubs. About two miles and a half up this ravine, the valley widened, and gave off two other lateral and parallel valleys; that to the south contained the village of Magheirah, while to the right was the northern vale, more narrow and deeply clad with wood; and out of a dense and beautiful grove at the head of this rose the conical spires of the temple or tomb of Sheikh Adi, at once a secluded and beautiful site.

Our party consisted of, besides Mr. Rassam and myself, a Chaldean gall merchant, by name Davud, a native of

Amadiyeh and an acquaintance of Mr. Rassam's, who was to act as interpreter for us with the mountaineer Chal-deans; our Greek servant who had accompanied us from Constantinople, and was at once an active, faithful, and courageous attendant; and we had two Kurd muleteers, who had let their mules for the whole of the journey. Haji Ali had remained at Mosul in charge of our horses, which could not tread the mountain roads of Kurdistan.

Having chosen a pleasant place for our night's bivouac by the side of a spring, and near the village of Kathandiyeh in the central valley, Mr. Rassam and myself, accompanied by one of the muleteers, turned up the valley of Sheikh Adi, which is commanded by a conical summit of the same name. We scarcely expected to overcome so far the religious scruples of so severe and so mysterious a sect as the Izedis, as to be allowed to penetrate into their sanctuary; but after taking a rapid sketch of the building, which stands at the base of a perpendicular cliff, and has two conical spires, one larger than the other, pointed, and supporting copper balls and crescents, we continued our way, and were met by the guardian of the place, who, with some slight expressions of distrust, ushered us to a gateway, which led into a vaulted stone passage, through the centre of which ran a stream of cool water. This passage was about forty paces long, and led into an outer court, overshadowed by large mulberry-trees, well paved with flags, and having large cisterns of clear water, besides separate bathing-rooms for the ablutions previous to prayer. Tempted by the refreshing appearance of the water, as well as from policy, without speaking a syllable foreign to the ears of

those present, we washed ourselves, and taking off our shoes, were admitted into a second and larger courtyard, with arched recesses along the sides, and the temple at the bottom. This spot was as clear, cool, and inviting as the first yard; and we could not help thinking what a delightful summer residence Sheikh Adi would make. Descending a flight of steps we now entered into the building itself. It was a great vaulted apartment, like an ordinary mesjid. On an elevated terrace within it, and screened by green curtains, was the coffin said to contain the remains of Sheikh Adi; round this were spots where fires of bitumen and naphtha are made at the time of the annual festival. Beyond this hall is an inner one, to which access was refused us. I, however, opened the door, and saw an apartment lower than the chief one, and containing only a few planks and other lumber,—a place most decidedly neither of sanctity nor of mystery.

We now asked the Izedis present concerning the peacock, of which they at once declared their ignorance. The question was put to them publicly, and so abruptly, that no opportunity was given to prepare an evasive answer. I carefully watched the expression of their countenances, and saw nothing that indicated deceit; on the contrary, the expression was that of surprise at the inquiry; and I am strongly inclined to think that the history of the Melik Taus, or king peacock, as related by Father Maurizio Garzoni, M. Rousseau, Buckingham, and more modern travellers, as Mr. Forbes, is a calumny invented by the Christians of these countries. I venture this assertion, however, with diffidence; for it is curious that a Christian, residing at

Kathandiyah, in the neighbourhood of the place, still persisted in the truth of this tradition. The Kurd muleteer remarked to me, that I had myself found it to be a falsehood.

The images of David and Solomon have no more existence than the peacock; and I need not add, that the account of their assembling on the eve of the festival held on the tenth day of the moon, in the month of August, and of abominations then perpetrated, has every appearance of being a base calumny, assailing human nature in general, while aimed against the poor Izedis in particular. I have seldom seen a more respectable, benign, good-looking mollah than the one who superintends the temple of Sheikh Adi. I inquired when the great bitumen fires, of which I saw the traces, were lighted. "On the night of the festival," was the answer. On this occasion the broad blaze of numerous fires of mineral pitch light up a scene which the imagination of the ignorant and wilful Easterns has filled with horrors. My informant, however, whatever might be his doctrines, had the look of one habituated to a peaceful, meditative, and pious life, and most certainly not of the leader of vicious and licentious orgies.

The only peculiarities that I observed at Sheikh Adi to distinguish it from any other mesjid were, besides the bitumen fires, some sculptures at the door, representing a large snake, painted black, and probably emblematic of Satan, the evil spirit, whom they propitiate rather than worship. There was also an ill-formed quadruped, it is impossible to say whether a dog, a horse, or a lion; and a hatchet.

The name of this remarkable sect of Kurds, who have not a little puzzled Oriental travellers, appears to be derived from Ized Ferfer, one of the attendants, according to the Parsis, upon the evil spirit, and the emblem of this spirit may be recognised in the sculptured idol, accompanying the serpent on the gateway of their chief temple. Major Rawlinson notices a nearly similar name, as being formerly in use, from Theophanes, where, in a letter of Heraclius to the senate, he mentions a position in Adiabene called Iesdem, and which Major Rawlinson considers very properly as a settlement of Izedis.

The Mohammedans, who are very hostile to these tribes, designate them as Yezidis, and say, they were so named from Yezid, the second of the Ommiade khalifs, thus making them a sect of the Shiites, or worshippers of Ali. They assert that they do not eat lettuces, because the Khalif was killed in a garden of those vegetables. The chief point, however, adduced against the Izedis is, as their name suggests, the worship of the Evil Spirit, who is variously called by them Ized, his most revered name, Karuben, Sheikh Maazen, the Exalted Chief, and by various other epithets corresponding to Lord of the Evening, Prince of Darkness, &c.; all words derogatory to the dignity of the spirit they carefully avoid, and will never call a river, for example, by its common name Shat, because the same word occurs in Sheitan, a devil.

The proof of the direct worship of the Spirit of Evil has been mainly founded upon the fact, that no traces have been perceived of the worship of Yezdan or Ormusd, the good principle, in opposition to Ahriman, or the evil principle. This is considering the philosophy

of their doctrines to be the same as those of the ancient Magi and of the Manicheans; but this at best is but a negative argument. Whatever may have been propagated among these people of the ancient doctrines of the Manicheans, (and Dr. Grant remarks, that not only do they exist in the region where Manes first laboured and propagated his tenets with the greatest success, but also the name of their reputed founder or most revered teacher Adi, or Adde, whose temple we have just described, coincides with that of an active disciple of Manes,) appears now to be corrupted by gross superstitions; and the deference paid to the Evil Spirit, by not speaking of him disrespectfully, is only another negative proof of positive worship which has resulted from a corrupted doctrine, and has been converted by the ignorance of the people alone into whatever may exist of direct worship, by the same process that in the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Armenian churches, the tolerance of pictures has become in the hands of the uneducated a real idol worship. Some of them go so far as to say, that Satan is a fallen angel, with whom God was angry, but he will at some future day be restored to favour. They all believe in one God. They have also a remnant of Sabæanism, and bow in adoration before the rising sun, and kiss his first rays when they strike on a wall or other object near them; and they will not blow out a candle with their breath, or spit in the fire, lest they should defile the sacred element. The number of peculiarities related of them by Mohammedans and Christians is very great, but it is so difficult to discriminate the true from the false, that they are not worth narrating. The Izedis of Adiabene, who, after



Sinjar, are the most numerous, call the district Desen, a corruption of Iesdem, and themselves Deseni.

The next interesting consideration connected with this singular tribe is the high regard which they are universally acknowledged to entertain towards the Christian religion. Dr. Grant even says, that, in some sense, at least, they believe in Christ as a Saviour\*. They practise the rite of baptism, make the sign of the cross, so emblematical of Christianity in the East, put off their shoes and kiss the threshold when they enter a Christian church, and it is said they often speak of wine as the blood of Christ, hold the cup with both hands, after the sacramental manner of the East, when drinking it, and if a drop chance to fall on the ground, they lick it up with religious care.

The third and equally remarkable page in the history of this singular tribe, is their possible Jewish origin, a theory upon which Major Rawlinson, and after him, Dr. Grant, have brought an almost unanswerable mass of facts and arguments to bear. It is to be regretted, however, that the latter gentleman's isolated position with the mission at Urimiyeh, placed difficulties in the way of his being intimate with modern researches in the comparative and historical geography of biblical lands, more especially in the positioning of Resen, and of Halah or Calah.

Circumcision and the passover, or a sacrificial festival allied to the passover in time and circumstance, are among the first points that tend to identify the Izedis

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\* The unfortunate Dr. Forbes, who visited the Izedis in Sinjar, states, that they adore the sun as symbolical of Jesus Christ.

with the Jews. To this has been added the still more direct testimony of ancient Syrian authors: such is the work consulted by Dr. Grant, in the possession of Mar Shimon, a book written A.D. 1253, and containing the statement that the Izedis are of Hebrew descent.

I have been much among the Izedis in various parts of the mountains and plains, and have found them to be possessed of many good points, among which I may enumerate candour, integrity, religious toleration, courage, industry, cleanliness, domestic affection, civility, and manly pride. They have also many bad points, partly, however, accessory to their position, a love of war and rebellion, fierceness towards strangers, and a proneness to plunder or predatory exploits, but not to petty larcenies. Kinneir says they are possessed of noble and generous principles; Rich calls them lively, brave, hospitable, and good-humoured; and Dr. Grant speaks of them as "friendly towards the professors of Christianity."

As a race of men they are mostly tall, slim, and well made, their bones large and features spare, but marked with much earnestness and decision. The brows advance over the eye, the forehead is high but retreating, the nose prominent, the lips moderate.

Their largest villages in Desen, or Daseni, are Bah Ashikah (Baasheka of Dr. Grant), at foot of Jebel Maklub; Bah Idri, at foot of Rabban Hormus; Kelek, on Great Zab; Hatarah, a poor village, which Dr. Grant identified with the Calah and Halah of Scriptures; Sulub, Bah Jibah, Kar Kellan, and many others. They form a considerable population in the Sinjar, and still more so throughout the mountains of Kurdistan and

Taurus, with their offsets, over which countries they are widely dispersed. The villages of Izedis are generally distinguished by their tombs, which are built in the form of a fluted cone or pyramid, standing upon a quadrangular base, but often a circular pediment, and rising to the height of from ten to thirty feet. This form, as well as other things, has been said to have been adopted to propitiate the devil, but it appears rather to be a Sabæan relic, and of great antiquity, just as the Obelisk was supposed to have sprung from the representation of a flame of fire. I have given in another place in the present work a representation of one of these characteristic tombs.

To return to our narrative: the village of Sheikh Adi stands on the top of a cliff, above the prettily-situated temple. After visiting the temple, we repaired beneath the mulberry trees, which one of the kind villagers ascended, and shook the branches, tumbling down enough fruit to feast twenty persons. We quitted this pleasing site, which I cannot think, as Dr. Grant has related, no doubt from the statements of some Chaldeans, was ever a Christian church or convent. The head of the Izedis, called Sheikh An, now resides at Bah Idri.

*June 9th.* A gentle ascent led us to the crest of the Sheikh Adi range, where was a burial-ground of the Kurds, as usual, in a well-chosen and picturesque situation. The sanctity of these inclosures, mostly situate on lofty and commanding positions, preserves the trees which are planted, or that spring up naturally, from destruction, and they thus afford the best specimens of the capabilities of the soil and climate for forest growth.

Numerous vineyards occupied the hill-sides, and by these we descended into the small vale of Berbet, out of which ourselves and the rivulets found their way by a narrow and precipitous ravine, with a bad road, and which led us to the expanded and fertile valley of the Ghomar Su, the head waters of the Khazir, or Bumadus. This valley is rich in vegetation and cultivation, and contains many villages. We crossed it in a diagonal direction, and in about an hour and a half reached a village at the foot of the range of hills which bounds the valley to the north. Here we first observed the horns of the chamois of Kurdistan, about two feet and a half in length, of a dark black colour, and curved inwards, with knots on the convex part.

The ascent of these hills brought us into the region of the valonia oak, where the trees, however, were of spare growth. The ascent occupied one hour and a half, when we were agreeably surprised to find the range breaking suddenly off in a steep precipice, beneath which, at a depth of 800 feet, was a narrow vale, with many villages and gardens, and over which rose a huge mass of alternating limestones and sandstones, to the height of about 2000 feet, called the Cha Zirwar. We were obliged by this character of the country to alter our course, and keep up the side of the precipice, till, passing over some broken hills clad with forests of oak, we found ourselves in the valley of Cheloki, bounded by narrow ranges of hills, rising so steeply, and terminating in so sharp an edge, as to look almost like walls of art.

Immediately north of this range, which is designated as the Jebel Hair, is the lofty alpine chain of Jebel

Gharah in Arabic, Tura Gharah in Syriac and Chaldee, Cha Garah in Kurd, (Mount Gharah,) which bounds the great vale of Amadiyeh to the south. The central crest of this chain presents at times a single sharp rocky crest, but at others a craggy valley, from half a mile to a mile in width, is left between opposing walls of rock.

At the easterly foot of this chain, and near the village of Zindar, we found some copious springs, furnishing a tributary to the Khazir; and near this we obtained a few organic remains, illustrative of the age of the sedimentary rocks of the Tura Gharah. Our road was carried over this chain in a tortuous manner, chiefly through wooded and picturesque glens. The height of the summit level above the sea was, by boiling-point thermometer, 2187 feet: the culminating points may be judged to rise to 4800 feet. There was still a good deal of snow in the ravines and dark recesses of these strangely constituted mountains.

After passing the crest we descended by a dense forest, and the dusk of evening overtook us on a little open space in the wood, where the muleteers said there was a spring, but which, as it was dark, we had some difficulty in finding; we then sat down to a frugal repast of bread and cheese, moistened, however, by delightfully cool water; after which, lying down in our cloaks, and resigning ourselves to an all-kind Providence, we were soon asleep. The spring, with a temperature of 52° Fahrenheit, was at an altitude of 3620 feet above the level of the sea.

*June 10th.* We had nothing but a gently undulating and well-wooded country from our station of last

night to the valley of Amadiyeh, the bottom of which was deeply intersected by watercourses.

The head waters of the Gharah river, a tributary to the Great Zab, spring from a slight swelling in the soil of the valley, about twelve miles west of Amadiyeh, while from the opposite side of the same eminence the waters flow to the Khabur, the Harbor of the Chaldeans. The Gharah was, when we joined it, a mere brook that would scarcely wet the feet, but it had become, before reaching Amadiyeh, a river fifteen yards in width, being supplied by mountain torrents that flow from every gap, and descend from every snow patch in the Tura Gharah and the Tura Matineh, the range of mountains which bounds the vale of Amadiyeh to the north.

The valley of Amadiyeh, although containing many villages, belonging partly to Kurds of the Bahdinan tribe and partly to Chaldeans, is but sparingly cultivated, being mostly occupied by forests of valonia oak, which more especially stretch along the eastern foot of the Tura Gharah from hence to Rowandiz, a distance of three days' journey, and this is the great district for gathering galls and valonia; for in our travels further eastward we scarcely met with any more groves, still less with forests of oak.

Our Chaldean interpreter Davud, having been a long time a gall merchant, was enabled to give me much information regarding the gathering of the galls and valonia, which I afterwards found corroborated by inquiries instituted at Amadiyeh and at Rowandiz, the two principal markets for exportation from the interior of the mountains.

It appears that the perianth of the *Quercus valonia*  
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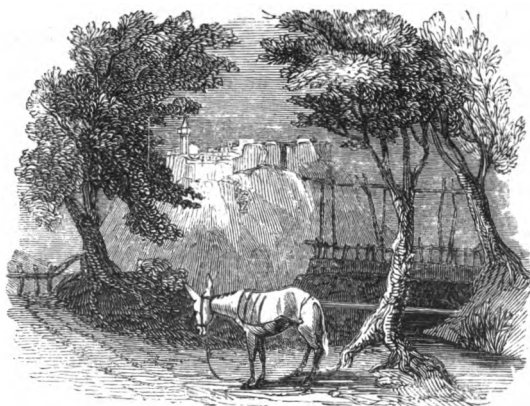
is alone gathered for the market, but the trees pointed out to me as furnishing galls, were *Q. infectoria*, *Q. pedunculata*, and *Q. cerris*. The gall apple, which is known to be the product of a species of cynips, is only gathered from stalks or stems; that on the leaves being pulverulent and useless. The zone of oak in these mountains extends from an elevation of 1500 to 2500 feet above the level of the sea; above and below this the trees become mere shrubs.

The valley of Amadiyah is uneven, about five or six miles in width, and extends from the head of the waters down to the valley of the Great Zab, a distance of about twenty miles. It is, where not wooded, rich and fertile, producing abundant grapes that are sold as dried raisins in Persia and Mesopotamia, and in great esteem. The district is also fertile in grain and wheat, but it is cursed by the evils of an insecure and uncertain government.

The town, or rather fort of Amadiyah, stands apart in this great valley, built on a most remarkable and an extensive isolated hill with a flat top like a platform, a rude precipice all round formed by cliffs from forty to eighty feet in height, and then descending by steep and stony acclivities for several hundred feet down to the level of the valley below.

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## CHAPTER XXXVII.



Fortress of Amadiyeh.

Fortress of Amadiyeh. Present Condition. Chaldeans. The Assyrian Ecbatana. Hostility of Chaldeans and Mohammedans. Pass of Geli Muzukah. District of Berrawi. Chaldean Bishop. Respect shown to the Clergy. Domestic Scene. Ministration of the Lord's Supper. Chaldean Churches. Appearance of the People. Church Questions. Villages and Population.

THE extent of the isolated platform on which Amadiyeh is built, and which is somewhat oval in shape, is three-fourths of a mile in length and half a mile in width. The town itself stands on the northern portion of the terrace, the remainder being occupied by graves, sacred groves, and a square open castle with circular towers at the angles, built by the late Bey of Rowandiz, when he sacked this place. The rock terrace is also defended at various points by guard-houses, towers, and irregularly-constructed bastions, with occasional curtains, which



are not, however, carried round the rock. There are two gates to the town, one to the north-west, the other to the east.

It took us nearly an hour to ascend from the base of the hill to the gate, the road being tortuous and steep. A little before entering the gateway we observed to the left a colossal figure sculptured in bas-relief on a kind of tablet in the rock; although much mutilated, I was not long in recognising the large globe ornament, the bag-wig, and streamers, which characterize the sculptures of Shapur (Sapor I.) at Persepolis, and Shapur in Farsistan, and which left no doubt in my mind that this statue was meant to represent the same Asiatic conqueror. The guard-house under the gate was crowded with soldiers, who, however, offered us no interruption, and we had not to seek for quarters, as Davud had a friend here whose house he declared was at our service.

We were accordingly soon seated in a kind of covered way, opening with folding-doors upon the street, and were visited by many of the inhabitants, among whom was the Chaldean priest, Kasha or Kashiya (Priest) Mandu, a most simple-hearted interesting person, the same who had related to Dr. Grant that his own father was bastinadoed to compel him to become a Roman Catholic! but without explaining the reason, which is, because the Roman Catholics acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan and pay tribute, while the Chaldeans only acknowledge the authority of their own patriarch.

As it was our intention to advance as soon as possible into the Tiyyari country the modes of proceeding were here made the subject of discussion. From the approach of the army of Mohammed Pasha the passes were now

occupied by armed mountaineers, who would not put much faith, at such a moment, in the avowed purpose of our journey, a visit of friendship to themselves; so it was resolved to search for a Chaldean, whose poverty and rags would protect him through the pass while he went to the Bishop of Berrawi to announce our coming and request a free passage. The delay, thus entailed, allowed me plenty of time to examine the present condition and antiquities of the remarkable Kurdish fortress of Amadiyeh, which is the seat of the noblest of the reigning families in Kurdistan\*, and undoubtedly a site of very great antiquity.

The present town is in a most ruinous condition, of above 1000 houses only about 200 are erect, all the rest fallen down or overthrown. Only one-fourth of the public market is now made use of, the remainder is torn down or dilapidated, and the stalls are now receptacles for filth and rubbish. Above these perishing materials there rises a serai, the residence of the bey, the lower part built of stone, the upper of mud; near it is a beautiful model of a pillar, a detached menareh, the only one in the place, and also the only existing mesjid.

At present the chief population of Amadiyeh are Jews, who have seventy houses here and three syna-

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\* The Prince of Bahdinan, who rules at Amadiyeh, is looked upon as something saintly, deriving his origin from the Khalifs. He also affects the state of the latter Abassides. He always sits alone; a servant brings in his dinner, and then leaves him till he has finished it; no person dare use the same vessel or pipe as is used by the Prince. Rich says his person is so sacred, that, in the fiercest battle among the tribes, their arms would fall from their hands if he approached them.

gogues. These people have among themselves a tradition that their ancestors have dwelt here from a period shortly subsequent to the Captivity. The Mohammedans have sixty houses, the Chaldeans have fifteen, and the Romish Chaldeans five. There are also five houses of Armenians, who pursue their usual avocations as jewelers, armourers, &c. There was a garrison of nearly 200 irregulars, chiefly Arnauts and Greeks of Rumelia.

The Chaldean community of Amadiyeh, which remains stedfast to the ancient faith, has only one priest, our friend Kasha Mandu, the duties of whose post extend over a district of upwards of forty square miles, which can be well supposed to derive little advantage from a single spiritual instructor. Hence the progress of the Roman Catholic faith among the Chaldeans of Bahdinan, which has already gained over the villages around Zakho, long since left without any teachers of the faith of their forefathers.

The lineal descendant of the Patriarch Elias of Al Kosh was appointed about nine years ago as Bishop of Amadiyeh by the present Patriarch, Mar Shimon, but after living at Amadiyeh only one year, out of jealousy to the Patriarch, he seceded from the Chaldean, and became a convert to the Roman Catholic Church. His character has since become suspected among the Roman Catholics, who have reduced him to the lower rank of priesthood; and he is strictly watched at Mosul, as fears are entertained of his desire to return to the Chaldean church. He would not, however, be received in the mountains, where he is equally despised for his tergiversation both by the laity and the clergy. According to Dr. Grant, in 1834 he went to Urimiye, and told

the Chaldeans of that district that he had returned to the ancient faith of his fathers, and that he would bring over all the Chaldeans to the same faith if they would acknowledge him as their spiritual head.

Although the priest of Amadiyah, Kasha Mandu, received holy orders from Ishiyah, Chaldean bishop of Berrawi, residing at Duri, he and his flock pay their tithes and contributions to Mar Yusuf, Roman Catholic bishop of Amadiyeh, now residing at Al Kosh. This is in virtue of an arrangement made by the Roman Catholic church with the Osmanli government, who would be less secure of their part of the revenue if it were paid to the Bishop of Berrawi. Two other districts, that of Dirakan and that of Nurwar, containing many villages of Chaldeans, are similarly circumstanced; each of the above-mentioned districts has three priests.

The injustice and severity of this bondage was much insisted upon by the worthy Kasha Mandu in various conversations which we held with him; for so enthusiastic did he become in the cause of a friendly co-operation and kindly assistance proffered by a country from without, but resembling them in their faith and leading doctrines, that he attached himself to us during the whole of the journey. He complained bitterly of the oppression of the Roman Catholics, and of the inability of the Chaldeans to educate their children, or to appoint priests for the villages, from the extent of exaction and the opposition offered to all amelioration. Yet the pittance would be very small indeed which would bring all these desiderata within their reach, and at the same time prevent the further, almost daily, secession of a people totally neglected by their own church and oppressed by another.

The only antiquities which we found at Amadiyeh were the foundations of a temple hewn out of the solid rock on the surface of the terrace. It is twenty yards wide and thirty long, and about eight to ten feet deep. At the east end is a cut in the rock for an altar, and to the south, a sepulchral cave, divided into three compartments; in the interior are three rows of pillars, shaped like obelisks, only truncated at the summits: this has all the appearance of an ancient Persian fire temple, and is known as such to the inhabitants.

These vestiges of a Persian temple situate in one of the most prominent positions on the rock-terrace, and belonging, as would appear from the character of the statue sculptured at the portal of the city, to the early monarchs of the Sassanian dynasty, would indicate that one of the sacred fires or pyrea of the Magians existed at this place; and this, combined with the strong position of the fort, favours the supposition of its being the Assyrian Ecbatana of Ammianus. Whatever may have been the original meaning of Akbatana, or Ecbatana, which, according to Major Rawlinson, signifies a treasure-city, it is certain that that name was very generally applied; hence the great number of the Ecbatanas of antiquity. The city of this name noticed by Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*, was in Babylonia, and not in Assyria, and may be easily recognised, as the Macedonian hero went there next after the battle of Arbela. He was there particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed forth continually as from an inexhaustible source. He also admired a flood of naphtha not far from the gulf. This description applies solely to the Abu Jeghar, near Kerkuk, at which latter place is a

castle-bearing mound of great antiquity, resembling that of Arbela, a city of the same date. It is not surprising that the Magians should have made these natural fountains of fire the object of a peculiar worship. Major Rawlinson quotes the *Asiatic Researches*, to show that so great was the veneration in which these fountains were held, that they were visited by devotees from India. But save the fires, there are no remains of antiquity at the place nearer than Kerkuk, for I have carefully examined the site and circumstances connected with these natural fires\*. The site of the great Median Ecbatana has been satisfactorily determined by Major Rawlinson. But Stephanus of Byzantium mentions a Syrian Ecbatana; and we have the authority of Pliny and Hesychius that this was situate upon Mount Carmel. There was also a Persian Ecbatana noticed by Pliny. The Arsacian Ecbatana, which appears to have been identical with the Ragau of the Book of Tobit and the Rhages of the historians of Alexander, is represented, according to Major Rawlinson, by the ruins of Kaleb Erig, near Veramin. If it can be shown, then, that there were six Ecbatanas, that is, two Median, one Persian, one Syrian, one Babylonian, and one Arsacian, I can scarcely see the grounds for scepticism as to the existence of an Assyrian Ecbatana. Mr. Rich found that Amadiyeh was still known by the name of Ekbadan†; and although my inquiries on this subject were not

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\* *Researches in Assyria*, &c., p. 242, et seq.

† This was derived from information, as Mr. Rich did not visit the Kurdish fortress.—*Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan*, &c., vol. i., p. 153.

attended with success, Mr. Rich was far too careful a registrar of facts to be easily misled, and too well acquainted with the Asiatic character to have founded his statement upon a leading question, such as "Do you call this place Ekbadan?" when, if the affirmative is supposed to be sought for, it will always be given.

Our questions led to the following results: first, that the Kermanji, or Kurds, know the town universally by the name of Amedi (the Town of the Medes), and that Amadiyeh is a corruption of this name by the Arabs and Turks, not known in the mountains: they in the same way change the name of the Berrawi into Berrawiyah; that of Tobi into Tobiyah; and so on with many other Kurdish and Chaldean tribes. Secondly, that they have a tradition that the town, notwithstanding its Median conquerors and Magian worship, was founded by the apocryphal prophet Tobias.

Not far from Amadiyeh is a small Chaldean monastery, untenanted and without doors. The town itself does not appear to have been a place much frequented by pious Mohammedans, as there are only two ziyarets in the mezar (burial-ground). Amadiyeh stands in north latitude  $36^{\circ} 47' 29''$ , as derived from an observation of the moon's meridian height, and at an elevation by boiling-point thermometer of 4265 feet.

The same night that we arrived at Amadiyeh, there came a report that the Chaldeans had made a descent upon a Mohammedan village, peopled by the descendants of an Amir Sayyid, or chief descended from the Prophet, and it was stated that they slaughtered nearly every one, men, women, and children, in the village, but as at this moment there was great anxiety to get up a party feeling

against the Chaldeans, the more I have thought of this narrated butchery, although insisted upon by all around, who convinced Mr. Rassam of its reality, it was so opposed to what I myself saw of the Chaldeans that I have lost all belief in it.

At the same time Mohammed Pasha, of Mosul, was, with his detachment, encamped at a short distance from Amadiyah, the Kurdish chieftain of which had taken refuge in Kumri Kalah, in the Berrawi country. This day he came up and pitched his tents within a mile of the town; and greatly did the officers rejoice as they spoke of what they deemed certain—the immediate subjection of the Chaldean mountaineers. In the evening the rocks were lined with soldiers firing salutes, which were answered by the guns from the camp; but we went into the heart of the country, and returned from thence, while the Osmanli Pasha was engaged in making overtures to the chiefs, without the least chance of success; and when we returned to Mosul, he had retired without being able to effect anything beyond the pacification of a part of his own province, by the occupation of Akra and the expulsion of the Kurd Prince of Amadiyah.

The sand-fly, frequently alluded to by Mr. Rich, as a plague almost peculiar to Kurdistan,—it certainly does not exist in Mosul,—was such a serious torment that it was quite impossible to sleep for the three nights that we were detained here. They were worse than fleas, and they penetrated through everything.

*June 13th.* This morning our messenger arrived, and we started immediately, to avoid observation, by the gate which was opposite to that where the Turks were, and descended into the vale and gardens of Amadiyah;



our party now increased in numbers by the presence of Priest Mandu, who had volunteered to go with us to the Patriarch, and our messenger also returned with us to lead the way.

We left the vale of Amadiyeh by a pass in the Matineh mountain, which is exceedingly beautiful. Near its foot a mountain-torrent, called Sulaf Chai, comes tumbling over the rocks, amid precipitous cliffs, variegated by a rich vegetation and long-pending stalactites, or a rough covering of travertino deposited by the waters; climbing and creeping plants swing in flowery festoons down the water's edge, petrified in their course, and their verdant foliage is rivalled in various tracery by the stalagmitic deposits. The torrent forms three successive falls, of from eighteen to twenty feet in height, alternately losing itself in caves of green foliage, or reappearing as a sheet of white foam. After about half a mile of open valley, the second part of the pass is attained. It is a narrow gorge in limestone rock, the first of the redoubted *Pylæ* of the Hakkari country, and is called Geli Muzukah. An ash-coloured snake, having bright yellow bands, waved itself occasionally up the smooth and perpendicular face of the rock; but its progress under such circumstances was very slow, and it might have been easily killed. The Asiatics generally appear to entertain a great prejudice against snakes, which they always destroy when possible, although the poor creatures are never the aggressors, and are so much to be admired for their great beauty of form and colour, and the elegance of their movements. The houses in Mosul abound with them, but, as is always the case with Nature's productions, they fulfil a beneficial pur-

pose. Ants swarm in these mud-hovels, and these are checked in their increase by the flat-toed lizard, which itself would become numerous as a plague, if it were not for the snakes, which also moderate the productive powers of the bat-tribe.

A little beyond the Geli Muzukah is an isolated rock, called Peri Balgah-si (the Honey-place of the Fairies), a belief in such things extending even to Kurdistan. When we got to the crest of the chain, we found ourselves amid patches of snow, at an elevation of 5840 feet, and below us the summer-quarters of the people of Amadiyeh, which they had not occupied this year on account of the war. It was a delightfully cool pasture, and possessed one mud-building, the palace of the prince. These spots, named Yaila by the Turks, are called by the Chaldeans Zoma, and by the Kurds, or in Kermanji, Zozan—the present one, was Zozan Nav-dashti.

From this point, the extensive district of Berrawi (Berwer of Dr. Grant) extended before us; in our neighbourhood was a long valley dotted with villages of industrious Christians, while at its head was a peculiar rounded mountain, rising above the village of Duri, the seat of the Bishop of Berrawi. Beyond were two distinct lofty and snow-clad chains of mountains: the one, Tur Devehli, extending from north-east to north-west; the other, Tura Shina, the extent of which was not well defined. To the west, the valley opened amidst mingled forests, rock and arable land, above which rose a group of rude peaks, one of which bore Kumri Kalah, the present asylum of the Kurdish chief of Bahdinan; beyond this appeared another snow-clad group of mountains.

The Tura Matineh separates the Kurdish district of Bahdinan from that of Buhtan, of which Berrawi is a sub-district to the north-west. I have estimated the Chaldean population of Bahdinan at 1920 souls; Dr. Grant averages them at from 2000 to 3000.

About an hour's descent brought us to the village of Hayis, near which were two or three smaller villages, all belonging to Chaldeans. The waters from this point flowed to the Khabur, along the valley of the tributaries to which, and in the heart of the Buhtan country, there is said to be a considerable Chaldean population, and which we found, indeed, afterwards, extending to the banks of the Tigris by the vale of the episcopate of Mar Yuhannah.

At the village of Hayis, we found Ishiyah, bishop of Berrawi, with his attendants, waiting for us; although an old man, he had walked from his residence at Duri, a distance of nine miles, to meet us. This first specimen of a chief dignitary of the Chaldean church was highly favourable. I had expected a bishop with a dagger and sword—perhaps, as it was time of war, with a coat-of-mail; but, instead of that, we saw an aged man, of spare habit, with much repose and dignity in his manners, and a very benevolent and intelligent aspect, his hair and beard nearly silver-white, his forehead ample and unclouded, and his countenance, from never eating meat, uncommonly clear and fair. Welcoming us in the most urbane manner, he held his hand to be kissed, a custom common in this country, and accompanied the ceremony by expressions of civility and regard. Dr. Grant describes the same bishop as a most patriarchal personage.

The bishop wished to walk back; but we offered him the use of a horse. I was not fatigued, and preferred walking; but he had never been accustomed to ride, and it was with some difficulty that we got him to mount a loaded mule, where he could sit safe between the bags. We then started, Kasha Mandu, and a poorly-dressed man carrying a hooked stick, walking ceremoniously before.

The happy moral influence of Christianity could not be more plainly manifested than in the change of manners immediately observable in the country we had now entered into, and which presented itself with the more force from its contrast with the sullen ferocity of the Mohammedans. The kind, cordial manners of the people, and the great respect paid to their clergy, were among the first fruits of that influence which showed themselves. Nothing could be more gratifying to us, after a prolonged residence among proud Mohammedans and servile Christians, than to observe on this, our little procession, the peasants running from the villages even a mile distant, and flocking to kiss the hand of the benevolent white-haired dignitary. This was done with the head bare, a practice unknown among the Christians of Turkey in Asia, and so great was the anxiety to perform this act of kindly reverence, that little children were held up in the arms of their fathers to partake in it. Kasha Mandu also came in for his share of congratulations and welcomings. Everywhere the same pleasing testimonies of respect, mingled with love, were exhibited.

An hour's journey brought us to a perpendicular precipice about 250 feet deep, at the bottom of which

rolled the Robar Elmei, a torrent which flows to the Zab. On the opposite side of the river was a conical hill, bearing a ruined castle, formerly very extensive: I could learn nothing concerning its history. It is called Kalah Beitannuri, and is said to belong to a tribe of Jews who reside at the foot of the hill in the village of Beitannuri (House of Fire), where they have a synagogue, and who lay claim to this place from remote antiquity.

Our road lay down the Robar Elmei, which we crossed on a wooden bridge, passing several Chaldean villages, and then up a tributary stream to the large village of Duri, where the people were waiting for evening prayer; but the bishop finding it late after performing his ablutions, renounced his intentions, and we walked from Duri about half a mile to a picturesque and wooded glen, wherein were a few hamlets, one of which was the bishop's residence, while up above, and surrounded by trees, appeared, at the foot of a cliff, the little white-washed church of Mar Kyomah, peeping through the trees, more like a hermitage than a temple. It is, however, an ancient structure, made by enlarging a natural cave by means of heavy stone walls in front of the precipitous rock. Within this church, which we visited the ensuing morning, it was dark as midnight.

We were received at the bishop's house upon the roof, the most agreeable place at this season of the year, and pleasantly overshadowed in the day-time by large mulberry trees. We joined in evening prayer, the bishop officiating. It was now that I first found out, that the person whose clothes were all tattered and torn, whose aspect bespoke the greatest poverty, and who on

the journey had always marched before the bishop, carrying a stick with a certain degree of pomp, was no other than the bishop's chaplain. After prayers came meals; the bishop and ourselves eating first, then the ragged but worthy chaplain, the priest Mandu, Davud, and other chiefs of the group; and lastly, the servants went to work with a general scramble. In the evening two deacons joined the party; these wore daggers in their girdles, and belonged to the mountains. Three Kurdish soldiers came to levy provisions, and eyed us with mingled distrust and dislike; the bishop complained of this sadly, and said they were exposed to such visits daily. The Berrawi Chaldeans, indeed, occupy a most unfortunate position; not strong enough to assert their independence like their neighbours, the Tiyari Chaldeans, they are nominally under the Porte, to whom they look for protection, as the government to which they contribute, against the exactions of the Kurds; but this the Osmanlis are unable to give them, for Osmanli power only now and then extends to Amadiyah, but such a thing as a government khawass is never seen in Berrawi. At night the roof of the house presented a happy scene of patriarchal simplicity—two peasants and their wives, two cradles and their noisy tenants, two deacons, the chaplain, ourselves, muleteers, servants, &c., were all picturesquely distributed over a place of about twelve yards by six.

*Sunday, June 14th.* At divine service this morning, before day-break, the sacrament was administered to all present, boys included: raisin-water supplied the place of wine. The cross on the door of the church, the cross on the altar, the Holy Scriptures, and the bishop's

hand, were alone kissed. The cross used by the Chaldeans is rather an emblem than a representation of the instrument of our redemption: its form is this, ✠. Such crosses are made in brass, or cut in stone on the churches, at the doorways, and often on a large stone at the entrance of a Christian village, and are kissed by the devout on going out or coming in: the Chaldeans generally make the sign of the cross, but Mar Shimon, when prayers were said at Julamerik, observed no such form.

Dr. Grant remarks, very justly, upon this subject: "I must confess that there is something affecting in this simple outward expression, as practised by the Nestorians, who mingle with it none of the image worship or the other corrupt observances of the Roman Catholic Church. May it not be that the abuse of such symbols by the votaries of the Roman see has carried us Protestants to the other extreme, when we utterly condemn the simple memento of the cross?" To how many other little points of church discipline might not this find an equally strong application!

The form and manner of administering the Holy Communion was very simple, and unlike that of other Oriental churches, who exhibit much ostentation of embroidered towels and napkins, &c. In the present case, the first preparation consisted in purification by incense, a deacon holding the chafing dish, while each in succession exposed his hands to the smoke. The bishop then took in his hands a copper vessel, which contained the consecrated bread, while the priest held another cup, used instead of a chalice to contain the consecrated wine; each person approached the bishop in succession, and received from him the bread, putting

his hands one upon another, lest any of the substance should fall upon the ground. After this he went to the priest and partook of the cup, then drawing back to make way for another, and putting his hand to his face, remained for a short time engaged in inward prayer and meditation.

The ecclesiastical dress is very simple ; it consists of a large pair of trowsers, white shirt, and surplice made of white calico. They curiously quote the Old Testament in favour of the large trowsers.

In the morning we went, without the bishop, to visit the church of Duri. It presented to our examination, like almost all others, a simply-constructed vaulted building of stone, into which light was admitted by very small apertures in the upper part of the west or rear gable end. The altar was a simple table of stone, and behind it was a recess for the communion table, approached by a low door placed laterally. This portion of the church is held as sacred. Upon the altar, or near to it, were the whole complements of the church service, consisting of manuscript copies of the New Testament and Liturgy, a brass cross, a bell to ring, an incense chafing-dish, and two decent copper vessels for chalice and paten. It is to be observed, that generally the interior of the churches are lined with printed cottons, dresses, or other ornamental stuffs ; but being time of war, these were taken down for fear of plunder.

The Chaldeans have a more marked dislike to images in their churches, than even some of the Protestants of Europe. There Protestants have still a few remaining in some churches, although they neither bow, nor kneel, nor pray before them, nor kiss them, nor light lamps,



nor offer incense before them ; but the Chaldean has no pictures or images, and regards such in the light of a most superstitious idolatry.

There are no seats in the churches, and the men and women stand together. The females do not cover their faces, as those of other Christian churches of the East, nor are they in any way prevented having open communication with friends or with strangers.

The people were free yet respectful in their manners. Their curiosity was very great, and became sometimes rather trying on the road. Of arms especially they are very fond, and could never let ours alone, although percussion guns and pistols are dangerous things to play with ; there was also no keeping their hands out of our travelling bags. The men wear their hair plaited in a single tress, which falls from the back of the head ; this is surmounted by a conical cap of white felt, which makes them look uncommonly like the pictures given of the Chinese\*. Their best travelling-shoes, or sandals, are made of chamois-skin, with a strong netting of string, but those for ordinary wear are made of raw hide or leather, and sometimes of hair, and little more than cover the sole of the foot, and require mending every journey, for which purpose each man carries a large needle in his breast.

We spent the evening with the bishop. We were in a grove of luxuriant growth and variegated foliage ; golden orioles sang from the shades, and pigeons cooed

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\* White felt hats, many-coloured striped trowsers, generally like plaid, only not crossed, and sandals of hide, are the most characteristic parts of the dress of a Chaldee.

from the rocks above ; the men sat round and patted us on the back with the familiarity of old acquaintance, and the women crowded to enter into the passing conversation. The bishop was much pleased when the proposition was made to him to open schools, and to effect some improvement in the education of the people ; he looked upon all such assistance with sincere gratitude. " Indeed," he said, " we are worthy of the pity of those who can afford it, and I hope we shall also prove ourselves worthy of the friendly assistance of those who can bestow it upon us." A tear gathered in his eye as he talked of the years of oppression, and neglect, and oblivion, which had passed away, and as a new picture presented itself to his mind, of his peasants reading the Gospel, of children hurrying to school, of priests rising in the scale of humanity. He also asked many questions concerning the doctrine and government of the Church of England. Among the most interesting of these, were his inquiries as to whether the priests of England put the consecrated bread into the mouths of the people, or communicate them with bread only. Upon it being explained to him that our forms were here similar, he was much pleased. He said he had thought that there was no church in the world which communicated as the old churches did.

He asked concerning the penance of fasting. Davud, our Chaldean interpreter, was instructed to say, that fasting is enjoined in our Liturgies on many occasions, and is almost generally practised on certain holy festivals ; is observed by some on other occasions also, but disregarded by others. The bishop said, " We attach importance to the act of fasting, because (quoting the

leading argument) our Lord said to the Jews, concerning his disciples, 'As long as the bridegroom is on earth, they do not fast, but when he has ascended they will fast.'"

We, on our parts, made direct inquiries regarding the sacraments of the Chaldean Church. The bishop answered, "Two sacraments only are mentioned in our liturgies, Baptism and the Eucharist, and so the fathers of our Church taught us; but the rest (and he enumerated more than the Papists do, evidently considering the word sacrament in its original light, 'holy thing or mystery,' and applying it to consecration of churches, &c.) are only holy ordinances or forms of the Church." He remarked, that no layman can enter into the holy place (in their churches), for if such an intrusion took place, the bishop or priest must consecrate it again.

The aged dignitary expressed at length his feelings of deep regret at the corruption and apostasy which had found their way into this Church, a church which he enthusiastically said had stood from the earliest times of Christianity, amid all kinds of difficulties, reverses, and persecutions. Often had they seen their brethren sold as slaves, their churches pillaged, and their books destroyed. "Yet," he continued, "thank God, we are still as we were, only it is a great pity there should be apostates among us."

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## CHAPTER XXXVIII.



Sleeping Platforms of the Tiyari.

Approach to the Tiyari Country. Village of Lizan in Tiyari. Converse with the Tiyari people. Evening Prayers. Spiritual Christianity. The two natures of Christ. Superstitions. Start from Lizan. Villages of Tiyari. Elevated platforms for sleeping on. Lead Mines. Bivouac at a Zoma, or Summer Quarters. A Reprobate Chaldean. Summer Quarters. Descent by a Glacier. Pass through a Glacier. Mountain Valley. Ismael, King of the Tiyari.

*June 15th.* THIS day we left the worthy Bishop of Ber-rawi, on our road to the interior, and the first object of which was to visit the iron mines in the mountains of the same district, called Tura Duri. We found these mines to be worked on the surface in beds of oxide of iron, disposed parallel to the strata of a fissile yellow limestone dipping west at an angle of  $26^{\circ}$ . These yellow limestones belong to the upper chalk formation, and the

feroxides (fer limoneux of Beudant) occur in them in beds instead of nodules, as is commonly the case in this formation: these deposits have never been extensively wrought, though sufficiently for the wants of the people. The reason that the Kurdish and Chaldean mountaineers value their mines so much, and are so jealous of them, is that what little produce they derive from them they convert to their own use; which is not the case in Turkey in Asia, where the mines are either disregarded or else wrought by government, often in the vain hope of getting gold or silver from them. Hence these mountaineers think that if an intelligent nation had possession of their mines, incalculable riches might be derived from them, which is quite a mistake. They themselves are only acquainted with five mines in all Hakkari; I have examined three out of the five, and strongly suspect that none possess such advantages as would make it profitable to transport their ores over the mountain roads. I only wish I could have convinced the mountaineers of this, even half so firmly as I was convinced myself; how much suspicion and ill feeling regarding my mineralogical researches I should in that case have escaped!

Passing the Tura Duri, we gained the crest of the Deralini hills, the view from the summit of which was truly alpine. We stood at an elevation of 5811 feet above the level of the sea, and the valley immediately below us was nearly filled up with snow, upon which in one spot lay a whole grove of trees, that had been carried down by an avalanche, but below the valley descended rapidly, till, with one or two villages dispersed in its rugged acclivities, it terminated in a precipice over the

deep ravine of the Zab. Beyond these, other vales, each with their tributaries, of many miles in length and width, reached upwards towards the snow-clad summits of the Tura Shina. Two or three of these contained the villages of the Kurdish tribe called Chal, who have hitherto held out successfully against the Chaldeans.

The descent from the Deralini mountains was steep and tedious. Accompanied by our Greek servant, I started on foot and gained the last village of vassal Kurds towards the Tiyari country, and at the foot of a range of hills called hence the Karasi Tiyari. It appeared from the crest of the mountains to be just beneath us, but it took us a long hour and a half to reach it, half walking, half running. Here we had to wait upwards of an hour before the party had assembled. Mr. Rassam and Davud had attempted to ride down, and had both had falls, by which the interpreter had so hurt his back that we were obliged to have a little longer respite. At length we started again, still along the wild and wooded mountain side. As we advanced, a man came running hastily out of the woods to inquire where we were going and who we were; and our guides having satisfied him upon these points, we were allowed to proceed. This was the first challenge we had received on approaching the Tiyari country, and we were not again interrupted, which might perhaps be owing to what I ought not to have forgot to mention, that having at Duri sent back our guide from Amadiyah, we had been supplied with two others by the bishop. Dr. Grant, who, owing to the mischance of the battle of Nizib, had anticipated us by one summer, in the priority of a visit to the Tiyari, had met with a more alarming salutation on his approach to

these redoubtable mountaineers. "The demand," [who we were, &c.,] he says, "was repeated by each successive party we passed, till finally the cry seemed to issue from the very rocks over our heads, 'Who are you? Whence do you come? What do you want?' A cry so often repeated in the deep Syriac gutturals of their stentorian voices was not a little startling: and then their bold bearing and a certain fierceness of expression, and spirited action and intonation of voice, with the scrutinizing inquiry whether we were Catholics or bad men, whom they might rob, &c. &c."

The path or mule-way, for it was never anything more, took us round the southern slope of the Karasi Tiyari, where its huge shoulder presses down upon the valley of the Zab. This rapid river rolled along amid impracticable precipices, nearly 1000 feet below us. Its course could be traced for some distance, but, except two narrow and alpine vales, watered by mountain torrents, and inhabited by the Chal Kurds, there was nothing but bold masses of rock rising above one another, and increasing in height eastwards to the mountain of Tsariya and the Tura Shina.

As we opened upon the valley of Lizan, or of the Miyah Izani (River of Izani), a scene presented itself more interesting than anything we had yet met with in the mountains. Before us was an alpine range of limestone rocks, stretching east-north-east and west-south-west, with lofty precipices fronting the west, and in their unsevered rectilinear prolongation appearing to form a barrier against all further progress. There was, however, one gap in this formidable rampart through which the Zab found its way, to obtain, as it were, a

little comparative repose at Lizan, where its bed is wide and less rocky. It is crossed by a bridge of ropes, which, at a distance, look like a single coil, and on the left bank is the Kurdish village of Jenan, while on the right is the great Chaldean village of Lizan, governed by an old gentleman who styles himself melik, or king, but who is under a superior melik of Tiyari, now in the mountains. The cottages of Lizan were not all grouped together, but were scattered among groves and gardens, and being built in a Swiss style, had a most pleasing appearance. A practice also obtained here, which we afterwards found to be general among these people, of sleeping in summer, not upon the roofs of the houses, but upon a frail scaffolding of four poles supporting a floor, sometimes small, sometimes large enough to contain a whole family. These bedsteads are from ten to twenty feet in height, sometimes in groves or amid rice-grounds, but oftener upon the crest of little hills, or in places exposed to the wind; by which means they avoid to a certain extent the mosquitoes, that abound almost generally throughout Kurdistan.

On approaching Lizan, a person having apparently some authority came out with others to meet us. He received us at first with some distrust, but our country and pursuits being explained, we were welcomed and taken to the roof of a house overshadowed by a huge walnut tree. But we had espied, about half a mile from the village, and pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Zab, a neat whitewashed church, embosomed in a grove of mulberry and pomegranate trees. To this, accordingly, we repaired, and took up our quarters in the burial-ground, refreshed by breezes from the Zab,



which rolled by us at a rate of six miles and a half an hour.

We had not been long seated before an old man made his appearance, attended by a few followers, who introduced himself as the melik, or governor of the district, a word, with a little difference of spelling, at once Chaldean, Syriac, and Hebrew, which has been often translated in the Scripture as synonymous with king. Shortly afterwards the priest of Lizan came to us, one of the most engaging and best informed men we met with among the Chaldeans. The polished manners, the learning, and the kindly feeling of this man must have been all acquired in the mountains, for he had never been out of them, and if he had, he would not have found at Mosul on one side, or at Urumiyeh on the other, any examples to profit by, his manners being superior to anything I have observed among the natives at either of those places. Quiet, unassuming, yet intent in his arguments, there was nothing but his dress to distinguish him from an English country clergyman. He also wore spectacles, a rare thing in the East, and which added to his naturally rather studious and thoughtful aspect.

Our visitors thought at first that we were Franks and Papists, but when it was explained to them by Davud that we were English and Protestants they eagerly asked for information regarding the forms of our Church, and our feelings upon the errors of the Pope and Papists. They expressed themselves highly delighted with the explanations given, and the result was not the less interesting from the cool quiet churchyard in which we were assembled to talk these

matters over. They said, in the course of conversation, that it was highly dangerous for a Papist to come into the country, a manner of speaking common on all occasions in the mountains, where they are very fond, Christians and Kurds, of reminding you that it is only by favour that your appearance is tolerated.

Before the evening set in, and while Mr. Rassam was commenting with the priest upon one of the Epistles of St. Paul, I walked with the melik to see the mode of catching fish in the river of Lizan. The fish ascend during time of floods, and are afterwards caught on their descent by a dam put across the stream, with openings to let the water flow through cells, having a flooring of basket work, from which the fish cannot return.

At sunset we were invited to join in prayers, which we did joyfully. They washed their hands and faces before reading the Homily, and all stood the time of the service, with the exception of the melik, who appeared to be a very devout old man, but with his own way of viewing matters, and he retired to near the wall of the church, where he prostrated himself frequently.

After prayer Kasha Kena, the priest of Lizan, said to the melik, "Look at these good people; they were sent from a long distance and a far country to bring us tidings of succour, while we ourselves have so little regard to our people and to our church. They heard of our indolence in regard to educating our children, and they send to aid us. What can be greater charity than this?"

After this we sat again in conversation. They said, they had heard about the English, but that they had not heard of their church or doctrines. They only knew

that the doctrines of Europe were good in former times, but that they had had many councils and had become corrupted from the original. Kasha Kena spoke much against confession, which, he said, was the invention of man. He quoted St. James, and added, Christ wishes us to repent in the heart, and not to make an illusion with our mouth.

The doctrine of purgatory was also made the subject of conversation. They expressed not a little dislike to what they designated as a bold innovation in the doctrines of the Church, and an emanation from the devil, being decidedly opposed to what is inculcated by the Holy Scriptures. Kasha Kena quoted St. John in proof that the blood of Christ cleansed us from all sin; and St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, was also appealed to as averring that there is no condemnation for those who are in Jesus Christ. Thus, there is not that total want of spirituality in the Christianity of the people, which has been by some persons supposed to exist.

They also spoke concerning the marriage of priests. They were delighted to hear that the Church of England tolerated the marriage of the clergy. They repeated upon the subject of sacraments what we had from the metropolitan of Berrawi.

It is difficult to express their gratification when we mentioned incidentally the proposed views of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The priests who were present spoke of the opening of schools as a great blessing in store for them, for which they should never be able sufficiently to show their gratitude towards those who intended to confer such benefits (holy things) upon

them. Many schools, they said, might be opened, for the children were numerous.

They protested against being called Nestorians, their true designation being Chaldeans. They said, "Nestor was the patriarch of the Greeks and not of us. Cyril and his followers were opposed to our Church because we did not embrace their doctrines, and they calumniated us by designating us as followers of Nestorius. But our Church existed long before the schism of the Nestorians, and held by the same doctrine both before and after the patriarch whose name has been imposed upon us by a depreciatory ill-will."

They also discussed the subject of the nature of Christ. They said, "It is never mentioned in the New Testament that Mary was the mother of God, or that she bore the Father, but that she bore Christ. If we call her Mother of God, we mean either that she bore the Trinity, or the first Person of the Holy Trinity; when we say, Mother of Christ, we mean that she bore the second Person, who was incarnate and died for us; but when we say God, we mean the Everlasting Being who has neither beginning nor end, who is the Cause of all causes, and does not die or alter." Thus we had also heard them chant from their liturgy at Duri, "God never dies! Let the mouths of heretics be shut; let the mouth of Cyril be closed, for God never dies!"

They said, "The Jacobites and Papists blame us because we say there are two persons in Christ." "There is no necessity to prove the two persons of Christ from the Fathers of the earliest time, for we can satisfy ourselves by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures. The Holy Spirit spoke by St. Paul, 'By the killing of his

person,' that is, his humanity and not his divinity, which it is impossible for man to contemplate. We do not believe, as is asserted by our enemies, that Christ was only man till his baptism: God protect us from such heresy. We believe that when the angel came to the Virgin Mary, and announced to her the miraculous conception, the divinity was united at that time with the humanity."

Mr. Rassam asked the priest for what object they celebrated the communion. He replied, "For the commemoration of the death of Christ, as He himself ordered to be done, when He said, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' And we do it also, that by our repentance, and by partaking of the communion, our sins may be forgiven." "It is the greatest pledge," said the priest, "that Christ has given to us." He further expressed his dislike to the popish doctrine of transubstantiation.

Upon the subject of pictures the Chaldeans of Tiyyari expressed the same feelings that we had met with in the Berrawi country. "If the Christians of Europe and of the Greek Church," they said, "make pictures and kiss them, or bow down before them and worship them, where is the difference between them and the heathen?" They also quoted many passages from the Old and New Testament against the worship of pictures. And when they were told that the Church of England prohibited the adoration of images and pictures, they exclaimed, "Certainly, this is a true Christian Church."

It is to be remarked, that the Chaldeans occasionally address themselves to the saints as mediators. They excused this by saying, that it is true that in the Scriptures Christ is mentioned as the only mediator; but,

from the earliest times the Church used to commemorate particular holy men, who laboured much for the Church of Christ, and also others who died martyrs for the religion; and gradually it became the custom to ask them in their prayers for their intercession before God.

There is a further custom which obtains among the Chaldeans, and which savours of superstition, that if a woman falls sick, she makes a vow, for her recovery, to present the church with one or more dresses, and when she gets well she takes this gift so vowed, and hangs it up in the church.

There is always a bad man in every large company, and one dissatisfied fellow this evening got up the old tale of mines and foreign conquests, but we put him down very quickly, and sent him away to enjoy the society of his own sullen self and mind of evil forebodings.

Lizan church was found, by an observation of Jupiter on the meridian, to be in north latitude  $36^{\circ} 53' 50''$ . There are several roads from thence to the Hakkari country, but all of them have to compass the ascent of the great limestone range immediately east of the valley. One of them is carried over the side of the Tsariya Mount, east of the Zab, but is not accessible by mules; and all the rest present great difficulties.

On leaving the kind and hospitable inhabitants of the Tiyari country, we were accompanied by three armed men, who were furnished to us by the villagers of Lizan, to act at once as guides and as guards.

*June 16th.* Anxious to see as much of the Tiyari country as possible, we proceeded up the valley of the Izani, with the view of visiting Ashitah (Avalanche),

the largest of the Tiyari villages, and said to contain four churches.

Our guides, however, for some reason or other, which I could never find out, turned up the mountains and disappointed us in our object, without making us aware of the fact till too late to be remedied. Dr. Grant visited this village, the name of which he writes Asheetha, and where he was the guest of priest Auraham (Abraham), who is reputed the most learned Chaldean now living. He has spent twenty years of his life in writing and reading books, and has thus done much to supply the waste of, if not to replenish, the Chaldean literature. But even he had not an entire Bible; and though the Chaldeans have preserved the Scriptures in manuscript with great care and purity, so scarce are the copies, that only the Patriarch is possessed of an entire Bible; and even that was in half a dozen different volumes. Thus divided, one man has the Gospels, another the Epistles, the Psalms, the Pentateuch, or the Prophets. Portions of the Scriptures are also contained in their church liturgy or ritual. The population of Ashitah is estimated at 5000 souls, and they say they can bring 1000 armed men into the field. This village, the largest in the mountains, may be considered as the capital of the Tiyari, or independent Chaldeans.

The villages of Tiyari are, Ashitah, Zawithah, Mini-yani, Margi, Kurkah, Lizin, Jematha, Zermi, Shut, Rawala, Tel Bekin, Beileitha, Oriatha, Rowarri, Lagipa, Matha Kasr, Bezizu, Rumtha, Sadder, Serspittin, Betkhi, Nehr Kalahsi, Chamani, and Kalah thani, twenty-four villages, which I have estimated at twenty houses each, in my report to the Royal Geographical

Society, and a population of 3840 souls, but the results of Dr. Grant's journey were not at that time published, from which it appears that the population of Ashitah alone may be estimated at 5000 souls, making a total for Tiyyari, of at least 8000 souls.

At a short distance beyond Lizan we passed the village of Miniyani, divided into two parts, upper and lower, about a quarter of a mile from one another; and three miles from the same place the village of Umrah, beyond which, one mile, was Zawithah. The whole valley presented beauties equalling anything in the Alpine districts of Europe.

Beyond Lizan the valley begins to rise, the river flowing through a ravine below; but above this, and at the foot of the stupendous cliffs which guard the valley, is a shelving portion of declivity, which is everywhere cultivated, overgrown with trees, or studded with the pretty cottages of the mountaineers. Every available plot of ground is cultivated in terraces, rising one above the other, and the rocky interval that separates them is covered with fruit-trees or tall poplars for building. The system of irrigation practised on these terraces is very perfect; I counted twenty-five terraces sown with rice, the most common crop, all under water at the same time. In the middle of the valley the cultivation and cottages are mostly on the south side, and above the level of the river (Izani), but higher up they occupy both sides equally, and extend to the banks of the stream. Cultivation attains its greatest altitude at Zawithah.

The village churches are solid stone edifices, of simple structure, with arched roof, but without tower,



steeple, or bells, often neatly white-washed, and they are generally built on some eminence or slight elevation of ground. Umrah has two of these, both occupying picturesque situations. Some of them are of great antiquity, and are said to have stood for ages. The door is low and narrow, and will generally admit only one person at a time, and that stooping.

Every now and then we came upon groups of the wooden platforms ("high scaffolds," Dr. Grant calls them,) used for night-rest, often dispersed eight or ten in number, round or about an inclosed place, sheltered by surrounding trees, and where in summer-time, whole families meet together at sunset, and have prayers and converse together before retiring to their separate roosting places.

At Umrah we commenced the ascent of the mountain. The heat of the sun rendered the toil most severe. In one hour's time we reached the foot of the cliffs, the mules working up behind; we then turned along the face of the precipice near its foot. The road was so bad, that we had twice to load and unload the mules; at length we reached a gap in the rocks which led us to a vast growth of fennel, which announced proximity to the snow line. A number of peasants were occupied in cutting this useful plant, which constitutes the winter stock of cattle provender. When green it is chopped and put into sour milk, to which it gives a pleasant aromatic flavour. Two species of fennel abound here, and it is remarkable that they respectively favour opposite sides of the mountains. With them grow *Alchemilla alpina*, *Trifolium alpestre*, *Stachys alpina*, and a *Lobelia*.

We had not yet, however, attained the beautiful alpine vegetation which we were afterwards presented with. These heights were now arrayed in their most attractive green, and the relief to the eye was very great. The crest of the Kuriki, the mountain we were now crossing over, was 7652 feet in elevation; the culminating point of Kuriki, clad with snow, must exceed 8000 feet in height. The descent was still steeper than the ascent, and rendered difficult by the nature of the rock, a slaty argillaceous limestone, which dipped parallel with the slope of the mountain, leaving smooth surfaces to slide over, and it was impossible to say sometimes how far these slides might be carried. Leaving the rest of the party to follow a long and devious tract, and our mules in charge of the muleteers, I descended, or rather slipped down, this steep surface of rock, accompanied only by our Greek servant, direct to the large village of Taraspino.

On the side of the hill, not far from its base, the guides had pointed out a rude rock, where there was a mine, and I proceeded to its examination, without any one being aware of our presence, and there was nobody at the mine itself. We found what appeared to be, from a hasty examination, a promising vein of galena, at the bottom of a shaft of no great depth, for the mine is only wrought when the peasants are in want of bullets. The veinstone was barytes, and I got some pretty crystalline calcareous spar; the forms, however, were not uncommon. Madreporites abounded in this limestone.

We next proceeded to the village, where we arrived a full hour before the remainder of the party. We sat

down for a moment on an open space in the middle of the village, the villagers crowding round to see us. Some women kindly brought us butter-milk to drink. As the crowd kept collecting, I went to the forge, which consisted of a small single furnace, without chimney, but with bellows of adequate size. The crucible would not hold twenty pounds avoirdupois of metal, and it is evident that it is only smelted for bullets or some other such purpose. The lead is not oxidated for silver, as there was no furnace for the purpose.

Soon after the arrival of the party, the whole village, men, women, and children, crowded round us. They willingly gave us specimens of ore, yet to my surprise the guides declared this a bad village, and that we must go on; I believe it was owing to our Mohammedan muleteers, who had been threatened. We accordingly started for another range, formed of quartz rock and schist, and gained the crest after little more than an hour's foot work. We then continued along the side of the hill, over several snow patches, and above the valley of the Zab. Mr. Rassam and Davud began to give me uneasiness, as they were far in the rear, and had several tumbles; Mr. Rassam was complaining of his chest, from which he afterwards suffered much, and it was growing dark. At length, just after sunset, we came to a summer pasture around a great patch of snow, called Zoma Suwarri. There were a few peasants here, and we drew up and waited for stragglers, spending a night of a most agreeable and invigorating temperature at an altitude of 7169 feet by boiling-point thermometer. The shepherds had with them some specimens of the fine mastiff of Kurdistan, which in outward appearance

very much resembles the St. Bernard breed, but is more shaggy.

There is a road carried across the mountain at a lower level than the one we were at present following, and which is only available during a short season of the year. Upon that road, a monastery was built some years back, for the entertainment of travellers, and a certain sum of money was given by the Chaldean church towards its erection. But a melik, by name Melik Khiyo, in whose district was this charitable institution, was found guilty of perverting the funds placed at his disposal to his own advantage, and came under the displeasure of Mar Shimon, apparently for other evil doings, so far as to be excommunicated from the church. He is now in consequence at enmity with Mar Shimon, and hearing that some Franks were upon the road to visit the Patriarch, he concluded, as is customary in this country, that we were bearers of presents, which he resolved to appropriate to himself\*.

The plan he adopted was to send two armed men, who met us on the road next day, and with many polite words expressed their astonishment at our having come so difficult a road, regretted our fatigue, requested that our guides should be sent back, as they would now see us safe to a place of refreshment, and thence across the mountains. These kind proposals not being accepted, the argument was changed, and the conversation was more particularly directed towards the guides, who were told it was better for them to return, as the melik was

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\* Dr. Grant also notices his being obliged to take the more circuitous road by Ashitah, on account of this reprobate Chaldean.

determined to fight us, and they might come off badly. They, however, remained firm to their post, and we heard no more of the matter\*.

The prospect from the Zoma Suwarri was very grand, the rock scenery being bold and various. To the north, range after range of rugged mountains succeeded one another like giant walls, so rapidly as to make it inconceivable how such a country can be penetrated. Five different ranges presented themselves between us and the snow-clad uplands of Julamergi and the headwaters of the Zab. To the south, were all the long crests of rock we had toiled over, the summits of Tura Shina and Kuriki rising over all; and after all our labour, the gap by which the Zab found its way into happy Lizan appeared quite close to us, but at a depth that diminished the trees and buildings into points pricked on the rock's surface.

These zomas are certainly the most delightful places imaginable in summer time, and derive still more zest from comparison with the concentrated heat of the

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\* Notwithstanding the case now narrated, it is certain that the general character of the mountaineer Chaldeans is that of extreme honesty. Dr. Grant relates some interesting anecdotes illustrative of their high sense of honour and pride incompatible with a low paltry thieving propensity. "We have no thieves here," is their constant answer to any question of the kind; and from what I could myself judge of them, I should say there were, *cæteris paribus*, as few thieves as among the most civilized people. They everywhere confide in each other's integrity, and there is no doubt that the high sense of honour and of religious principle which obtains among all, is a better preventive of evil, than all the sanguinary punishments of the Turks and Persians.

pent-up valley which the traveller probably leaves the same morning. Here he breathes an atmosphere that is cool, pure, and invigorating, he drinks from crystal streams perpetually cooled by the melting snows, while the greensward around is enlivened with the gaudy flowers of spring. The inhabitants of each village have their separate zomas, or summer quarters, and live in harmony with each other, seeming to regard their sojourn on the mountain-heights as the pleasantest portions of their life. All the members of our party did not relish it, however, as much as I did, and some were shivering with cold and quite unhappy. It is curious that the sheep, when they came in from pasture, all went to sleep upon the snow.

In contemplating the future establishment of missions among these most worthy and remarkable people, Dr. Grant observes truly, that while the permanent stations will be in the larger villages of the valleys, both health and usefulness will no doubt require their occasional removal with the Chaldeans to their zomas. "It is such a life," he says, "as the sweet Psalmist of Israel often led; and why may it not now conduce, as then, to holy contemplation and converse with nature's God; and a spirit of fervid, exalted piety breathe through the bosoms of these dwellers upon the mountains?"

*June 17th.* Our road still lay along the side of the mountain, the snow was more abundant, and the slope often very steep. Those who got over first stopped to laugh at those who came behind, for the falls were even more ridiculous than dangerous.

Mr. Rassam, like Dr. Grant, on his journey, had

provided himself with a pair of sandals of the country, which are wrought with hair-cord in such a manner as to be made to adhere firmly to the foot, but they are often worn out by a single day's journey, and hence, as previously noticed, every mountaineer carries a large needle in his breast to mend them. Rassam did not, however, get on well with them, and I sometimes trembled for him when I saw him get nervous and his knees begin to quiver under him. The Chaldeans generally took their shoes off. I had a pair of European boots, and ran over the glaciers, striking the heel firmly each time into the snow, and I found this plan answer well, and carry me quickly over the most dangerous glaciers. In one place the mules had to pass under a waterfall at the head of a glacier, when their burthens were well wetted—on two occasions they had to be unloaded. It was on the side of this mountain that we found waiting for us the persons before alluded to. A little below was a zoma, sprinkled with the large bright blossoms of the *Crocus alpina* and *Azalea procumbens*, besides several species of squill and the clustered umbel of a spiked ornithogalum and common blue hyacinth.

We observed on the sides of this mountain a considerable change in the vegetation,—indeed we found almost every range more or less characterised by the preponderance of certain forms over others, and the vast numerical increase of a few social species. Here three species of plants excluded almost all others; they were the great goat's thorn, goat's beard, and *Rhamnus saxatilis*, the berries of which are used by the Easterns to dye leather yellow. It must not, however, be confounded with the yellow berry of commerce, which is

the produce of *R. catharticus*. Goats and sheep feed upon all these plants, as did also our mules; and flocks were numerous on these well-clad hills. It is remarkable of the goat's beard, that its geographical distribution is very various, and that though abounding on the plain of Adiabene, it yet does not cross the Tigris. Its white stem, when first pushing out in spring, is abundant in the market of Mosul, where it is brought from the plains east of the Tigris; and, although wild, it is incomparably the best vegetable which this country affords. The stem makes a pleasant salad, and in the mountains is peeled and eaten raw.

On our descent dwarf almond and *Azalea procumbens* were in flower and abundant. We got down to the valley of Itha by means of a glacier, about a mile in length by 300 yards in width. It sloped more gently than some preceding ones; and although perforated by a mountain torrent it bore mules and men in safety. By commencing too precipitously I got into a rate of descent which soon attained a celerity that threatened disastrous results. I endeavoured in vain to bring myself up by thrusting my stick in the snow between my legs, for I was sliding down, from the momentarily increasing velocity that I was gaining, with nothing but destruction before me, when I made a last and desperate effort to fix my stick deep enough in the snow to arrest my body, and this time, to my infinite satisfaction, it succeeded. When I regained composure I found myself half a mile from my comrades, near the bottom of the glacier, covered with perspiration and trembling all over.

The valley of Itha is beautifully situate, being encir-



cled on the north by lofty snow-clad mountains, the Tusani Tura, the rocks of which dip north, while they present bold precipices towards the valley. There are here three villages—Itha, Pir Beka, and Galitha. After stopping a short time at Pir Beka, a village of Kurds, who are tributary to the Tiyyari Chaldeans, and where we got our favourite dish of boiled wheat in sour milk, we proceeded down the valley of the river of Itha to the bridge which is opposite to Galitha. The torrent (for it was nothing else at this season of melting snows) was there fifteen yards wide by five to six feet in depth. The bridge was ingeniously made of wicker-work.

From Galitha we commenced another ascent almost as fatiguing as that of the Kuriki. Half way up this ascent I had the curiosity to pass with the water-course through the heart of a glacier for about 600 yards, when I reached the other side; the effects of light and shade within this icy tunnel were beautiful, and the fine expanse of marbled arch was pleasing to the eye, but it was like walking in a drizzling rain. In winter-time the inhabitants here descend the mountains on sledges of very simple construction: a single piece of wood slightly concavo-convex, or boat-shaped, has a deep notch in front, to which a cord is attached, and the navigator pulls hard in the direction opposite to that in which he is going; still he must exceed our railway trains in speed when launched upon an even declivity of snow with a slope of from  $35^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$ .

Having gained the crest, we had nothing to do but to descend another glacier, and it was the work of a few minutes to lose the elevation which it had taken us upwards of an hour to ascend. We then found our-

selves in an alpine valley, overgrown with fennel and a rank, marshy vegetation, at the lower part of which was the village of Malotah, where we passed the night, much against the will of our guides, as the inhabitants were Kurds. These people were in extreme poverty, living almost entirely upon wild plants. We could only get from them the stem of the fennel, gathered just as it issues from the ground near the snow-line, and stalks of rhubarb, the acidity of which, however, was very pleasant and refreshing. They had lately killed a bear at this village; the skin measured six feet four inches from the snout to the stump of the tail, and the fur was of a dun-grey colour, whitish beneath. We also saw here horns of the wild goat.

The Chaldeans are, like most mountaineers, proud of their qualifications as marksmen. On the way to-day some wood-pigeons alighted on the road in advance of us. One of our guides fired at one with ball and struck it, cutting a few feathers off the wing; I saw, however, that the two others were annoyed at him for not killing it, and would not let him shoot again before us.

This valley, at an elevation of 6200 feet, was partly cultivated, partly covered with snow, and the remainder overgrown with a rank vegetation, more especially of umbelliferous plants; among which, however, were a few beautiful flowering plants, as crown imperial, pæony, and asphodel. The waters of this little alpine valley found their way out by a narrow and deep glen in limestone, and then tumbled along to the valley of the Zab.

*June 18th.* The ascent to-day was not so steep, and in some parts we could mount our mules. The hills were also now wooded with fine oak; and gaining

the next crest (Warandun), we found ourselves immediately above a summer pasture with a large patch of snow, whereon was now encamped Ismael, chief melik of Tiyari. The descent was steeper than the ascent, and extended about 800 feet.

The only tent in the zoma of Warandun was that of the melik; all the rest were canopies of bushes or huts made of branches, but notwithstanding this aspect of poverty there was no want nor discomfort; all seemed gay and happy, the effect of such a delightful position. A few cross sticks were quickly set up, and a carpet spread over them for our accommodation. It was some time before his majesty the King of Tiyari made his appearance. He at length was seen slipping out of his tent, and encompassing our carpeted mansion. He came as if from an opposite direction, entering with an air half of pleasure, half of surprise. He had evidently been dressing, and was clad in a new cloak of scarlet cloth and wine coloured inexpressibles. As many as the little tent would hold crowded in, and our position became extremely irksome. King, travellers, soldiers, peasants, muleteers, were all crowded or rather jammed together. It was with difficulty that space was made for a repast of rice and sour milk that had been hospitably prepared for us. The conversation turned chiefly upon mountain-politics, as the melik's mind was evidently quite absorbed by the appearance of the Turkish troops at Amadiyeh. He said he was also threatened on the side of Van. He appeared to be well affected towards Ibrahim Pasha, an emissary from whom had lately visited these mountains. He also spoke favourably of the condition of the Christians under the Russian

rule. He was not a man whose countenance expressed much firmness or vigour of character. Tall and of spare habit, he appeared to have given himself a good deal up to domestic comforts, and to have forgone the elasticity and energetic movements of the mountaineers, and in point of judgment and intelligence he was far inferior to the Patriarch of the Chaldeans.

Dr. Grant describes the melik of Tiyari as a very intelligent man for a person in his circumstances; but he says, "It is quite evident that a people so much shut out of the world can have but a very imperfect and confused notion of what is going on in other countries. He had, however, heard of steam-boats and balloons."

Similar customs existing among people geographically remote from one another, independent of their importance in tracing the early distribution of nations, always excite interest, especially if connected with certain physical circumstances. A pleasing reminiscence of other alpine countries was afforded to us here by the general custom of wearing an eaglet's feather in the cap, the son of the melik being alone distinguished by a dark green cock's feather, such as is worn in Tyrol\*.

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\* The melik, observing that I had been collecting plants, sent a man who brought me a gorgeous specimen of a scarlet cypripedium which grew in shady places near the snow-line.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

Berdizawi—Little Zab. Kurd Bey of Leihun. Poverty of the Kurds. Town and Fortress of Julamerik. Mar Shimon, Patriarch of the Chaldeans. Conversation with the Patriarch. Enmity of the Kurdish Bey of the Hakkari. Detention of the Patriarch by the Turks.

QUITTING the melik of Tiyyari, we descended about 1000 feet through a thick forest to the valley of Kiyau, where we pastured the horses while I examined a neighbouring lead mine. There was, however, only a shaft of a few feet in depth, and that not being at present worked, I could not ascertain the thickness of the vein. It occurs in a slaty yellow limestone belonging to the upper chalk formation. Most of the lead here is gathered from the water-courses in small pebbles, as the tin is in some of the mines of Cornwall, only the fragments are less round.

There are two villages at Kiyau, the upper one Mohammedan and of tributary Kurds, the lower one Chaldean and with a church.

In the parallel of Kiyau, or rather a little below it, and at the foot of Warandun, the Zab is divided into two branches of very nearly equal size; the southerly branch comes from the country beyond Julamerik, the northerly from Leihun and that quarter. This latter is called Berdizawi, or Little Zab. A huge mountain-mass, called Meskannah, extends between the two rivers.

After a short ascent over yellow and fissile limestones we travelled along the banks of the Berdizawi,

sometimes over cliffs of conglomerate which overhang the river, and down which one of the mules had a fall, but was luckily held up by the trees, and recovered without any hurt. In little more than an hour we came to a torrent which descended from a lofty and snow-clad chain to the west, called Mar Hannan, the same name as that of the metropolitan of Adiabene, who, at the beginning of the ninth century withdrew a large part of Kurdistan from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Azerbaijan and annexed it to the bishopric of Salak, which, according to Major Rawlinson, was the name applied formerly by the Syrians to the Kurdish mountains between Media and Assyria.

Beyond Mar Hannan River to the north are two rocky ranges of limestone, which, with the characteristic peculiarity of that rock, tower up in lofty precipices, in this case fronting the west, while the strata dip east. The most easterly and most lofty of these ranges is called Sinabea, and beyond it is the upland of Leihun.

We crossed the first and lower range, when a curious arrangement of rock presented itself. The lofty precipices of limestone to the north and south fall away to the same point in the east. Starting towards it from nearly equal distances, the cliffs begin to lower and to approximate at the same time, till they meet in a point over which the Berdizawi throws itself with a roaring noise and a cloud of foam and spray. I regret that our road did not conduct me near enough to examine in detail, or take measurements of this great waterfall. Turning to the north, the path led along the foot of the cliffs and then up rocks like steps, so that on approaching the crest

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of the Sinaber, I found myself separated from the river by several tiers of rock-terraces, presenting so many inaccessible cliffs.

On the upland of Leihun we found the Berdizawi divided into three branches, all which unite shortly before the gap in the rocks. We crossed all these streams on bridges of twigs: the waters rolled beneath with the noise and rapidity of mountain-torrents.

This upland is inhabited by the Kurdish tribe of Leihun, the bey of which is under that of Julamerik. Many villages, with much cultivation, are scattered around. We crossed the river, and turned rather to the south-west, to the village of the bey. A short time after our arrival, this worthy governor, a fine but ferocious-looking old man, came to us on the roof of his house, and, without allowing any interruptions, addressed us in pretty nearly the following amiable strain, omitting the salam:—"What do you do here; are you not aware that Franks are not allowed in this country? No dissimulation! I must know who you are, and what is your business. Who brought these people here?" turning round in a haughty, preremptory way. "I," said one of the Chaldeans, laying his hand on his breast in an undaunted manner. The bey turned again, and said, more deliberately and quietly, "You are the fore-runners of those who come to take this country; therefore it is best that we should take first what you have, as you will afterwards take our property;" and he turned to his followers for approbation, which was grinned forth fiercely. Taking advantage of the *hiatus*, Mr. Rassam endeavoured to put in some peaceable sentences, and ultimately got the old man into a better humour. After

a time he got up to go away; then turning towards me, who had been all the time sitting under a tree, where I had gone to take a few notes—an employment I was soon obliged to give up—he said to Mr. Rassam, “You are social; but who is that proud brute in the corner?” I laughed at him, and he walked pompously away. At night the mules were huddled together, and each in his own way prepared against an attempt at robbery, not so much from the old chieftain’s braggadocio as from the whisperings and signs we observed going on among his followers; but nothing came of all this noise. The Chaldeans said that if they had robbed us, the Tiyari, as we were under their protection, would have punished them for it; but I think they did not like the risk that would have attended upon the attempt; for there were five well-armed men in our party, besides five slightly armed.

*June 19th.* From Leihun the direction of our travels was altered: the same previously-described remarkable peculiarity in the configuration of the country which had so much influence upon its hydrography affected also the lines of communication, and we now turned to the eastward, over the upland of Leihun, and low ranges of hills. The temperature was so low as to feel actually cold; and as we went eastward the river of Leihun was seen flowing through pastures, as a quiet stream, and no longer a roaring torrent. Far away to the north was a Christian church, called Mar Ghiyorghiyo Karkal, much revered by the Chaldeans, as the tomb of a holy person who made many converts; and at the head waters of the river was the snow-clad chain of Para Ashin, which stretches in front and beneath the loftier Erdish



Tagh. Passing over a range of hills, rising no great height above the upland, we descended to a cultivated vale, with houses and gardens. This place is called Eslaya. The inhabitants are Kurds, and very poor: they said they had not tasted bread for forty days. We certainly could get nothing from them, so we made a breakfast upon a salad of young vine shoots.

Near Eslaya (6258 feet in elevation), we entered upon the first granitic district we had met with in the mountains. This rock shows itself first on the upland, at an elevation of 6000 feet, but soon rises up 1000 feet above that, in bare, rude masses; and their prolongation apparently forms the Tura Jellu of the Chaldeans, and Jawur Tagh of the Persians, the loftiest chain of Kurdistan. In the marshy spots, such as are frequent in granitic countries, there was a brilliant vegetation, more especially of *Primula auricula*, of which the peasants made bouquets to present us with. *Caltha palustris*, *Pinguicula alpina*, *Veronica aphylla*, *Epilobium alpinum*, and many saxifrages, *Euphorbiæ*, *Carices*, and grasses also abounded.

Another ascent with a snow patch brought us in view of Julamerik. The first appearance prepossesses the traveller much in favour of a town so beautifully situated. The castellated part consists of a massive building, which is the residence of the bey, and occupies the eastern extremity. A central square court, with round towers at the angles, occupies the centre, while to the west, a few stray houses, irregularly detached, climb up a low cliff, which rises with precipitous sides from out of the collection of mud hovels, about two hundred in number, that nearly encircle the hill, and constitute the

town of Julamerik. In other respects, it is situate in a deep hollow on the Kurdistan upland, being at an elevation of about 5400 feet, and in a ravine, by which the rivulets of the district, of which there are many, find their way into the Zab, which flows past Ereğ, three or four miles from the fortress, from which it is visible through the ravine opening immediately below. To the east is a bold rocky mountain, called Shembat, which is at least three thousand feet above Julamerik, and beyond it are the still loftier summits of Jellu or Jawur Tagh, the highest mountains of this part of Kurdistan, and probably only equalled by the Maranan mountains; the nearest of its summits to Julamerik is called Galila. To the south-west rises a rock of limestone, about six hundred feet high, bearing a ruined castle, designated Kalah Bawa. Around, and especially to the north and north-west, is some cultivation, with a few villages; we descended to one of these, called Merzin, and thence sent off a guide to announce our arrival to Mar Shimon, and await his disposal of our persons. The Patriarch was at that time acting-governor at Julamerik, or Jemar, as it is called by the Chaldeans, the Kurd bey having gone to Bash Kalah to meet an envoy from Hafiz Pasha. Had he been at Koch Hannes, we would have waited upon him at once; but we were too well aware of the jealous disposition of the Kurds at Julamerik to throw impediments in our own way, by doing anything that might cause either a feigned or real distrust on the part of the Patriarch.

Mar Shimon sent back for answer, as might have been foreseen, that we had better not come into Julamerik, where all our motions would be watched, and no

private conversation could be indulged in; but his brother would receive us at Pagi, an Armenian village, close to the town, and where he would visit us next morning. We were accordingly soon installed in the yard of the Armenian church, from whence, as it came on to rain, we retired to the vestibule, where the people for two days had the extreme satisfaction of worrying us till we had nearly lost all patience. We were never for one moment, night or day, without a number of men around us, whose only amusement was to examine all our things, to pass jests, and fling epithets of scorn upon their visitors. I was not allowed to take any notes, being carefully watched night and day. We did everything in our power to conciliate these rude people, by rendering them various services, but to no purpose; nevertheless I obtained a few astronomical observations at night, effecting my purpose under pretences which insured me a few minutes' privacy. By two meridian passages of Jupiter and one of the moon, Pagi church is in north latitude  $37^{\circ} 8' 53''$ ; its elevation is 4880 feet\*.

*June 20th.* Mar Shimon came to us at five in the morning, and conversation lasted till half-past one P.M., fasting, I suppose, to preserve clearness of understanding. Mar Shimon is in every respect a fine man, thirty-nine years of age, tall, strong, well proportioned, with a good forehead, and pleasant, expressive, and rather intelligent

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\* It is worthy of being recorded as an act of kindness, amid so much rudeness, that a simple repast was brought to us, and all we could learn was that it came from a widow who had lately lost her husband. After our interview, however, with the Patriarch, provisions in plenty were regularly sent us from the castle of Julamerik.

countenance, while his large flowing robes, his Kurdish turban, and his long grey beard, give him a patriarchal and venerable aspect, which is heightened by a uniformly dignified demeanour. He was, however, evidently timid in regard to the Kurds. Our presents, consisting of modest luxuries, scarce in the mountains, such as calico, boots, olives, pipe-tops, frankincense, soap, snuff, &c., were, to my amusement, displayed in public by Davud, everybody offering an opinion upon the value of each item. The Patriarch gave us a cordial welcome, and we soon felt that pleasure and ease in his society which is most conducive to agreeable conversation. After the usual compliments, inquiries regarding our journey, &c., he evidently became anxious to understand the cause of our visiting him in his secluded country.

Mr. Rassam then spoke in Arabic to Davud, who translated into Chaldean, what was understood to be a brief and simple statement of the chief of these objects, and the views of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The patriarch was evidently quite unacquainted with the doctrines of the Church of England, and consequently at first somewhat alarmed at the proposal to establish amicable relations with what might differ from him in principle or practice. "The Pope," he said, "has sent people from Rome, who have seduced part of our Church. His doctrine is new, but ours is old; we never changed our forms of worship, but we keep to, and abide by, what was delivered to us by the Apostles and our fathers; therefore you must know that we never change our doctrine nor our forms of worship." It was immediately explained that it was not the wish of the Society to make the Chaldean Church subject to the

Church of England, as the Pope makes those churches he enters into relation with subject to the Church of Rome, but to help them, by educating the youths, by printing books, and by endeavouring to restore to its primitive purity the knowledge and civilization possessed by the followers of the Chaldean Church; that the Church of England would be very sorry to interfere in the modes of worship in the old Church; that it labours not to increase the power of any particular church or bishop, but to unite the Church all over the world in brotherly love and sound doctrine; that it is not their wish to make them abandon their rites for ours, but to induce them to free and amicable relations, in order that, if they have errors, these may be rectified by themselves; but more especially in order that, by the assistance given in teaching and printing, the truths of the Gospel may be more generally diffused, and the advantage of sound, moral, and religious education, may gradually make itself felt throughout the country.

That we had further much pleasure in informing him upon another point, in proof that we came to succour and help, and not to produce disunion, viz., that the Chaldean Church and the Church of England agree in most of their doctrines. The Patriarch was exceedingly surprised at this, as he had been led to understand that the American missionaries, who are Congregationalists, and who are engaged in the good work of teaching the youth of the Chaldeans, inhabiting the plains of Persian Kurdistan, belonged to the Church of England, and yet had no liturgy, no express form of prayer, and acknowledged no apostolic succession. We, however, informed the Patriarch that there were among us many zealous

Christians who seemed to have read the Bible, rather to invent new doctrines and rebel against the Church than to give them increase of wisdom and holiness, and have preferred following such doctrines rather than that of the bishops who are appointed to teach the nations, and with the whole body of whom the Lord has promised to be; that these persons have seceded from the Church of England and have corrupted the doctrines of Christianity; but as we do not think these corruptions so bad as to destroy the Christian faith we do not call them heresies.

During conversation, the priest who came with us from Amadiyeh presented to the Patriarch a brass crucifix made at Rome. The Patriarch took it in his hand, and after looking at it a little while, he shook it before the priest's face, saying, "The idols of the heathen are silver and gold, the work of men's hands; they have mouths but they speak not, eyes have they but they see not, they have ears but they hear not, neither is there any breath in their mouths. They that make them are like unto them, so is every one that trusteth in them." He continued about a minute after this turning it over and over, looking at it, and repeating the words, "Oh unbelievers! oh blasphemers!" But the priest, who became much frightened when he saw the anger of the Patriarch, wished to make an apology, and said, "Father, there is nothing in it, it is merely the representation of the crucifixion of our Saviour." The Patriarch answered, that "Christ had suffered once and had entered into glory, he will neither suffer nor die any more. Such things must be made by Jews, who delight in representing the sufferings of Jesus Christ, and not by Christians,

who ought to rejoice, inasmuch as Christ for their sake suffered and died, and conquered death." He then threw the cross away. We learned afterwards that the priest had obtained this unfortunate present, which thus brought him into disgrace, from the Roman Catholic bishop Mar Yusuf; and he had accepted it, thinking it was very pretty and that there was no harm in it. The circumstance, however, led the Patriarch for a moment to think that we were concerned in the matter, and that there was Roman Catholicism in the back-ground, so Mr. Rassam was obliged to join in the rebuke, and had we known of it before, the whole affair would have been avoided.

The Patriarch, during further conversation, remarked that we came to him as a mission; but as we were not ourselves going to commence the work in opening schools, we should oblige him by writing to our Church, and requesting them to send a priest who has the power to do so. "I will then enter into correspondence with your Church; but it must be distinctly understood that we do not embrace strange doctrines, as the other Chaldeans did." He then inquired further into the mode of worship of the Church of England, her bishops and clergymen, churches, schools, &c., and the answers given were evidently very pleasing to him. He said, "We had heard about the English nation, but we were ignorant about their Church." Some of the clergy present then put some questions concerning the marriage of the priesthood. We told them that if a priest's wife dies there is no opposition made to his taking another. "This," they said, "is exactly like us, yet we thought that we were the only Christians who allow their clergy.

to marry again after they lose their wives." They then again referred to the discipline of the Congregationalists. They said, "We do not know what kind of Christians these English are. Their whole liturgy and communion appears to consist in singing psalms, and they use no ecclesiastical dress. This appears to us very curious, because, from most ancient times, discipline and liturgies were adopted in all the Christian Churches; and there cannot exist a Church, strictly so speaking, that remains divested (naked) of all ecclesiastical rites." Poor people! in their primitive simplicity and remote seclusion, how little do they know of the diversity, which motives of conscience among some, but the love of novelty, the ambition of distinction, or the spirit of opposition to existing institutions, among others, has produced in other parts of the world! Mr. Rassam informed them, that if one of these ministers joined the Church of England he must be ordained, as the Church considered them as people who had no apostolic ordination. The Patriarch said, "I have given to them permission to open schools, but the children must go to church and learn our doctrine."

Mr. Rassam asked the Patriarch about printing a copy of the New Testament, and whether there was any particular copy that he might wish. He said, "There is one translation only; let that be printed correctly." He expressed his gratitude at the proposal of the Society, and what he was pleased to call "these great undertakings."

We spoke to him about writing a letter, which he promised to do, and send it the next day, but he failed in this, and upon being reminded, said to Mr. Rassam,



“I do not know exactly what to say; you know my feelings, I am grateful and anxious for the friendship of your bishops, and wish that you would write for me, what you consider proper and decent.” This, however, I thought proper to advise Mr. Rassam not to do, and the Patriarch ultimately promised to send us the letter to Mosul.

Able as the bishop is in the difficult government of his own tribes, among whom it is often a most responsible task to preserve harmony and settle differences, and his hair already gray with the care and anxiety attendant upon the labours of a temporal, combined with a spiritual government, he has neither time nor the habit of epistolary correspondence, as was, indeed, privately suggested to us, and which may be still further gathered from the tenor of a letter written to Dr. Grant, on his safe arrival at Urimiyeh.

“With prayer and blessing. My heart went with you, O Doctor, in the day that you went from me, but after I heard that you had arrived in safety, I greatly rejoiced. If you inquire of my affairs, and what I have to say, it is that word which we spoke. What I said to you before is what I have to say now. You and I are one: and there is no change touching the things you heard from me. And again may you be a blessing, and blessed with the blessings of God, and the words of salvation; and may He give you joyful seasons and length of years, and remove and keep you from troubles and inquietudes.”

At one time during our conversation, the Patriarch retired to hold a consultation with his brother; it was of short duration, and probably related to the feelings

with which the Kurds might view such an alliance, but a moment's consideration sufficed to convince them that it was not of a nature to interfere with local political arrangements; and that, at all events, they were always in a condition to assert their own free will, and to maintain their religious and national rights. These subjects having been all discussed at length, Mar Shimon took his departure for the castle of Jemar, his brother remaining to keep us company.

Since I have returned to this country, it is said that the person of the Patriarch has been placed under detention by the Turks, no doubt by the assistance of Nurulah, Kurd bey of the Hakkari, notorious for his shameful murder of poor Schultze, who was the first European after Tavernier to visit the fortress of Julamerik.

This chieftain had foreseen that the changes occurring in the East, must sooner or later cause his country to fall under the domination of a stronger power than his, but above all he disliked the position in which he stood with regard to the Patriarch of the Chaldeans, over whom he claimed superiority, and yet whom he could not dictate to. He had thus been led to barter his independence for a recognition of his power by Hafiz Pasha of Erzurum, and had returned backed by the influence of Turkey, at once to keep in control his own restless predatory tribes, and also to extinguish the power of the Patriarch, of which he had always been extremely jealous. From the new ties of friendship that the Christian bishop had been lately and suddenly entering into, with the English on the one hand, and the Americans of Urimiyeh on the other, his enmity now burst into an

open flame, and ultimately led to the Patriarch being betrayed into the hands of the Turks. As far as I am concerned, I extremely regret that the mission I was engaged in, should have hastened a catastrophe, painful in itself, and calculated, unless timely assistance and consolation, and strengthening advice is given to the mountaineers, to subvert that sacred independence which has withstood so many ages of trial and persecution, and to sap the ancient institutions of their glorious Church to the very foundations. I grieve for it the more especially as nothing has yet been done (except lately sending out the Rev. Mr. Badger) towards fulfilling the objects for which we were sent to these countries, and the hopes of friendly co-operation which we were privileged to hold out to them. With regard to the American Missionaries, I can only say, that there is no doubt that their long residence at Urimiyeh had before led them to turn their eyes towards the interesting mountaineers of interior Kurdistan, but still it is very remarkable that no mission was spoken of among these mountaineers till after our arrival at Constantinople\*, that, unauthorized, on account of the apprehended dangers, to approach Julamerik from Urimiyeh, Dr. Grant of that mission, started the long journey to Constantinople, which he performed hastily and "with as much expedition as possible," in the midst of the winter snows. He there associated himself with the Rev. Mr. Holmes, who left him at Mardin, on account of the troubled state of the

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\* It was not till February, 1839, when we were at Angora, in our way to Chaldea, that Dr. Grant received his instructions to proceed to the mountaineers.

country, consequent on the battle of Nizib, and which drove us back upon Constantinople, while it enabled Dr. Grant, who had simple instructions to proceed at once to the Chaldeans, to reach them before us that summer, and to cross afterwards by Persian Kurdistan to the mission at Urimiyeh. The Doctor then advanced again from the Persian side into the mountains, in the month of May, 1840, a month before us, bearing valuable presents from the missions to the Patriarch and his brother, to their female relatives, to many of the priests, and to some of the Kurd beys.

This sudden interest, so explicitly and so actively shown on the part of other Christian nations, towards a tribe of people, who have almost solely prolonged their independent existence on account of their remote seclusion, and comparative insignificance, has called them forth into new importance in the eyes of the Mohammedans, and will undoubtedly be the first step to their overthrow, unless they are assisted in such an emergency by sound advice, or the friendly interference of the representatives of brotherly Christian nations at Constantinople\*. It will be the most cruel thing imaginable, to have excited so much attention from surrounding powers towards the condition of these able, courageous, and pious mountaineers, only to leave them to the tender mercies of Mohammedanism.

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\* A single word from our Ambassador at Constantinople might probably effect the restoration of the Patriarch to his flock, if unopposed by the Papists, who have an interest in the thralldom of the Chaldeans.

## CHAPTER XL.

The Chaldeans as a Nation. Assumed Israelitish origin of the Chaldeans. Jewish Testimonies. Halah, Habor, Reseph, and Haran of Scriptures. Jewish origin of the Syrian Christians. Language and Name. Rites and Rituals. Physiognomy of the Chaldeans. Manners and Customs. Early Converts in the East to Christianity. Non-conversion of the Ten Tribes.

LET us now for a moment turn to the consideration of who and what these Chaldeans are, that we may be better able to appreciate their claims upon our interest, and the demands (if we have any warmth and energy as brethren in Christ) they have upon us, for succour in distress, and help in time of need.

As far as my information goes, and as far as Mr. Rassam, who is a native of the country, could ever trace the remote traditions of his countrymen, they consider themselves as Chaldeans, and descendants of the ancient Chaldeans of Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, driven by the persecutions of Mohammedanism to their present mountain fastnesses, to which their Patriarch also retired on the advance of Popery.

It has lately been attempted, in an elaborate essay by Dr. Grant\*, to prove that these Chaldeans are of Jewish origin, and a remnant of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. The enthusiasm of the Americans in searching for these lost tribes, even among the Indian races of their

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\* *The Nestorians, or, The Lost Tribes, &c.* By ASAHEL GRANT, M.D. London.

own country, is well known, and has been properly designated by Milman\* as amounting in such cases to a wild spirit of romance.

The existence of the Chaldeans within the districts to which the captive tribes were dispersed, lends in this case some savour to the argument; but when all the circumstances in connection with the subject are taken into consideration, it really possesses little more intrinsic value than if it were applied to any of the other nations dwelling in the same land, or even than the identity sought to the captive tribes in the extreme west of the New World.

The facts themselves are simple. Here is a nation calling itself Chaldean, speaking a mixed Chaldean and Syrian dialect, as a corruption of its mother tongue, and which is known historically to have been altered with their assumption of Christianity, living in and near to ancient Chaldea, and what the whole Roman Catholic Church has admitted as such; but all these facts not being sufficiently distinct or satisfactory, or the delight of labouring among so interesting a remnant of early and unsullied Christianity, not being in itself enough to satisfy that morbid desire for striking novelties and wondrous discoveries which has such a charm for our transatlantic brethren, it has been attempted to assign to the residue of an ancient nation, a Hebrew origin.

While the facts themselves are so very simple, the arguments in favour of the opposite opinion are of a nature most difficult to approach or to grapple with, as they depend mainly upon a positive impression received

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\* *History of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 247.

by their author that the Chaldeans themselves acknowledge their Jewish origin, and that the Jews on their side acknowledge their fraternity—two facts totally at variance with all my experience; but according to a high authority on these matters the existence even of a partial tradition to that effect ought not to be considered satisfactory, for the Rev. Dr. Wolf, who visited Afghanistan with the hope of finding there the Ten Tribes, when disappointed in that hope, summed up the evidence by saying, “My doubts about the Afghans being descendants of the Jews are these: they have not the Jewish physiognomy, and the tradition of their being Jews *is not general*, and finally, their language does not resemble the Hebrew.”

It is very true, that in the present state of knowledge as to the physical history of mankind it was quite unnecessary to suppose that the Ten Tribes are “absorbed in the nations among whom they settled,” but it is quite another question whether we are without the strongest and most conclusive evidence to destroy a nation to give room for them, for if it is finally resolved that the Chaldeans are Jews, what has become of the ancient Chaldeans? They were as powerful and more numerous than the Jews of the Captivity; their name is preserved to the present day in their own country; yet we wish to deprive them of nationality and existence to make way for a population of prisoners, who are thus made to have usurped their country, their name, and their language!

The solitary attempt to derive proof from historical records of a tradition said by Dr. Grant to be general, is peculiarly weak. “Priest Dunka,” says Dr. Grant, “who has been long employed as an assistant in this

mission, and sustains a character for veracity, and we hope for consistent piety, assures me he saw, near Mosul, a history in which it was expressly stated that they, the Nestorians, were Beni Israel (the children of Israel)." It is a remarkable fact, that if this nation is really of Israelitish descent, they should have no written document attesting the fact, and the argument that such a record is unnecessary, as the fact is handed down by tradition, would apply itself equally to prove that every other nation has no necessity to preserve the annals of its origin and descent. The Jews of Amadiyeh told us that they had a tradition that they had been there nearly from the time of the Captivity; the Chaldeans said nothing of the kind, but Dr. Grant says they have a tradition that their forefathers, at some early day, came to the region now occupied by them from the land of Palestine.

Dr. Grant admits the first fact: "Dispersed," he says, "through the country of the Nestorians, and surrounding them on every side, are some thousands of nominal Jews, still adhering to Judaism, who claim to be a part of the Ten Tribes carried away captive by the kings of Assyria." This being the case, surely the Ten Tribes were not so numerous, that without the most especial and conclusive evidence, (which what is designated "the reluctant testimony" of these ignorant Jews can be scarcely considered to be,) we should be obliged to sacrifice a whole nation to clear up the history of their dispersion! One of the greatest errors that can possibly occur in collecting information in the East, appears to have been uniformly committed by Dr. Grant, that of asking leading questions, by which the preconceived



views of a traveller, however absurd, or any theory that he has to support, however romantic, can be made to meet with the most extraordinary illustration. Thus, the Doctor says of the Jews, that in giving their testimony "they will sometimes prevaricate, and finally give only an equivocal answer, when questioned upon the subject. This they do to avoid the *main question*, whether their early ancestors were the same." Two Jews of Urimiyeh once asserted the same thing to the Doctor, in the presence of two Chaldean bishops; they even asserted that they had records containing an account of the time and circumstances of their conversion to Christianity; "but as they did not themselves possess them, it was not in their power to furnish me with a sight of these historical manuscripts. Indeed, they appeared to feel, when I asked them for a sight of their records, that they had already gone too far in what they had said." The testimony of the Rabbi was rather that the Chaldeans apostatized from the Jewish faith, than that they were Jews. Mr. Stocking's testimony was obtained in a more circumstantial manner; it goes to show that while the Jews do not acknowledge to have learnt Chaldean from the Chaldees, they at the same time allow that the Chaldeans did not learn their language from them, but rather that they themselves were Chaldean Jews.

The discussion on the places of the captivity of the lost tribes displays a lamentable want of comprehensiveness in comparative geography. It is sufficient to say, that assuming the definition of the Alexandrian geographer (Ptolemy) as that admitted throughout all ages, the author identifies Assyria with Kurdistan! to at

once indicate, if such is the highest generalization, how confined and narrow will be the limits of the discussed details.

First in order comes Halah, which scholars are long agreed upon is the same as the Calah of Genesis; this, without even condescending to notice the learned and elaborate identifications of Rennell and Major Rawlinson, of that place with the modern Holwan, the author places, on the authority of St. Ephraim and the later Syrians, at Hatareh, which is a poor village of Izedis, with about thirty cottages, and not a ruin, nor a hewn stone that bears signs of antiquity, in the neighbourhood. This I say from personal examination.

The next identification to suit the argument is of the Habor or Chebar of Scripture with the Khabur of Zakho. The author has here a vantage ground, in the existence of two Khaburs in Assyria, strictly speaking, (not the Assyria of Ptolemy and Dr. Grant,) of which he could naturally take his choice. The rest of the learned world are, however, agreed with the Greeks and Romans in considering the Khabur of the Euphrates, the Chaboras of Xenophon, and a second-rate river, (the Khabur of Zakhu being a fourth-rate river,) as corresponding to the Habor of antiquity.

Gozan is a pasture, and therefore the same as Zozan, the pastures of Kurdistan; but there are also many pastures on the Chaboras. We find in 2 Kings xix. 12, that Gozan is mentioned in conjunction with Haran and Rezep, and all these places were in the Assyria of Scripture. Haran, the Carrhæ of the Romans, on the banks of the "Royal River" of Strabo, still preserves its name, by the side of the Seruj of Scriptures, after-

wards Betuna and Batnæ, and Rezep, the Resapha of Ptolemy, still exists as a ruined town of marble on the road from Palmyra to Thapsacus; while, therefore, there is every reason to believe that Gozan was at or near the Chaboras, so also there is herein proof, that the Assyria of Scripture had a wider meaning than is allowed to it by Dr. Grant.

It is attested by Jewish history, that part of the captive tribes resided many centuries in Adiabene. There is no objection to this positive historical fact, the first that we meet with in the argument, and the remains of these captive Jews are still to be sought for in the Jews of the country, or the Izedis. Adiabene, as a Roman province, had always reference to the plain of Gangamela and Arbela, and never encroached upon the region of Zabdicene, in which Amadiyeh, even at the outskirts of the mountains, is situated; and still less to the interior fastnesses of Gordyene. But supposing that the population of Izedis, which on the west and east bank of the Tigris is very considerable, and equally so, according to Rawlinson, near the Halah of Scripture, is not sufficient to represent the Ten Tribes, we have still a population of 20,000 nominal Jews scattered around the ancient Adiabene; but such is the passion of the author of *The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes*, to see a Jew in every face, and sacrifice whole nations to a theory, that he is not content with arguing the Jewish origin of the Chaldeans and Izedis, but he would also bring into the same category twenty to forty thousand Syrian Christians, whom, he says, have many traits in common with the Nestorians!

It certainly appears to us that there is nothing half

so practical, nor so touching, in all these researches as the simple lament which we found inscribed on the walls of Hatra, in the deserts of Assyria, and not far from the Habor.

If then it is impossible to coincide with the author in the preliminary limitation given to the empire of Assyria of the Scriptures and of profane historians, it is unnecessary to enter into the testimonies, proving that the Ten Tribes have not removed from Assyria; admitting this, then, the author proceeds, "The Ten Tribes were carried into Assyria. The time of their return is still future. They are, therefore, in Assyria at the present time. Now the Nestorians are the only people in Assyria who can be identified with the Ten Tribes, and consequently they must be their descendants." Here preference is given to the Nestorians over even the Jews themselves, naturally still more over the Izedis.

We proceed to examine the internal evidence, or the proof existing among themselves of their Israelitish origin. The first of these appealed to by Dr. Grant is their language. Now, as has been already remarked, the Chaldeans of the present day use several dialects of mixed Chaldean and Syriac; but since their conversion to Christianity they have uniformly adopted the Syriac letters, which were used by the Apostles and fathers of the Church, regarding the Tergum, or Pagan writing, as they term it, as an abomination. The Jews, however, who learnt it in their captivity\*, have

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\* Pritchard remarks truly, in his *Natural History of Man*, that the Aramean or Syrian language, in which he includes the Chaldee, was the original language of the Hebrews, until the Abramidæ occupied

retained, except in the Talmud and some other works written in the Hebrew character, the use of Chaldean letters.

The Jews of Chaldea, having learnt the language of the natives of the country in which they dwelt, now speak a dialect or dialects of the language spoken by the Chaldeans; but it is evidently a breach of logic to argue from this circumstance of the Chaldeans speaking, in return, a dialect or dialects similar to that used by the Jews, and which is not the mother tongue of the latter, that they are one and the same people; yet is this made a leading argument in the testimonies of the Jewish origin of the Chaldeans!

The author argues, from the present absence of intercourse between the Jews and Chaldeans, that they could not have learnt the language of one another, and further, points out that the Syriac is neither the original language of the Chaldees nor the Jews. But in the first place, Mr. Rassam, who is acquainted with the Chaldean and Syriac languages, always asserted to me, that the language of the Chaldeans is a Syro-Chaldean dialect, and not a Syrian dialect, and the Jews say the same thing. Speaking of the Aramæan or Syrian language, Pritchard says, "The Syriac of the versions, and the Chaldee of the late Scriptures of the Old Testament, and of the Targums, are specimens of the language from early times; and according to their own

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the Promised Land in Canaan, and adopted, as it would appear, from its previous inhabitants, the Canaanitish, or proper Hebrew, for the Hebrew is also but a branch of the language common to the Semitic nations.

testimony, the Chaldees learnt and adopted what they have of Syriac when they became followers of Christ, just as the Chaldeans of the plain, who are Roman Catholics, now speak Arabic; there is no doubt that they are both aliens to the mountains of Kurdistan." The Syriac was the language in which our Saviour conversed upon earth, and was at that day the general language of Palestine and Syria, and from the which the Chaldee, a branch of the Aramean tongue, scarcely differed more than one dialect from another. There is nothing, therefore, extraordinary in the Jews, who may have learnt it before the Captivity, and the Chaldees, who learnt it with Christianity, speaking dialects of the same tongue; but to say, that the circumstance of the Chaldeans speaking Syriac proves their Israelitish origin, is as if we said the same of the Syrians themselves.

The names of Beni Israel and Nazareans are noticed as favouring the idea of their Jewish origin. The first, Dr. Grant says, is not unfrequently used by the Nestorians; the second, Mr. Southgate says, is a term used in Mosul to designate all the Christians in that vicinity, and seems to be used somewhat in the same general sense as the word Gentile.

The name of Syrians was given to the Chaldeans, according to Dr. Grant, from the use of the Syriac liturgy; the name of Chaldeans expresses their relation to Abraham, who was from Ur of the Chaldees; and the name of Nestorian, he admits, is repudiated by the Chaldeans, yet he excuses himself for applying it to them on the curious grounds, that, throughout Protestant Christendom, the name of Nestorian is justly honoured, and there seems to be no good reason for

discarding it at this late day, established, as it is, by long conventional usage, and interwoven with the history of the Church and the world.

The observance by the Chaldeans of certain rites and customs, supposed to be peculiar to the Jews, has been considered as furnishing strong evidence of their Hebrew origin; but it would be necessary, to substantiate the validity of such an argument, to prove that their origin is not heathen, to show that they are not practised by other nations, who, prior to being converted to Christianity, were placed under nearly similar circumstances, and, lastly, to render it manifest that they are not also in existence at the present moment among other nations, whether Pagan, Mohammedan, or Christian. Thus it is sufficient, with regard to sacrifices, to show that they are also practised by Pagans and even Christian Armenians, who are not of Jewish origin, to do away with the whole force of the argument. There is no doubt that vows belong more to the ceremonial law than to the Gospel, but still they are in far too general acceptation and use to be admitted as a proof of origin. The presentation of first fruits is common throughout the East; the sacredness of the Sabbath, so far as even to killing for breaking it, may be founded on great Christian zeal, combined with a fierce energy of character, as much as upon Jewish statutes. The sanctuary of the temple, if not as much as with the Chaldeans, is still highly venerated, and defiled by intrusion, in the other Eastern churches. The observances with regard to clean and unclean food are equally held by Mohammedans. The Passover is more or less celebrated, as well as many other Israelitish fasts and festivals, in an indirect manner,

by most Christian churches; in fact, if the admission of any statute or law, rite or ritual, inculcated by the Old Testament, and not either positively sanctioned or yet spoken against in the New Testament, was to constitute an argument by which to trace an Hebrew origin to a people, it is evident that many such peculiarities could be found, characterizing institutions which are regarded as strictly orthodox in regard to their truly Christian character, and which yet admit the authority of the Old Testament.

While the Kurds are characterized by their dark hair, small eyes, large mouth, prominent nose, and, like the Affghans, by the military affectation of their carriage and by their haughty insolent demeanour, the Chaldean, whose appearance is most characteristic, has a fair complexion, gray eye, and red beard, an open countenance, robust, broad shouldered, but often a slouching gait, and seldom a wild or fierce expression of countenance. The Jews of Kurdistan have mostly black hair, a spare form, sleek pale countenance, and aquiline nose. Such, at least, are the general results of our experience, taking the Jews of Amadiyeh and Beitannuri, and the Chaldeans of Tiyyari and Hakkari, as our type. Dr. Grant, on the contrary, asserts, that the likeness of the two is so great, that he was not able to discriminate the one from the other\*.

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\* "The Jews," says Dr. Pritchard, in his *Natural History of Man*, "have assimilated in physical characters to the nations among whom they have long resided." In the northern countries of Europe they are fair or xanthous. Blue eyes and flaxen hair are seen in English Jews, and in some parts of Germany the red beards of the Jews are very conspicuous. The Jews of Portugal are very dark; and of



That the Chaldeans of old, who come from the land which was that of Terah and Abraham, before the Lord gave Canaan to Abraham and his seed, should be still characterized by such names as recall to them their very great antiquity, and circumstances in which they take at once a pride of ancestry and of religion, is not at all surprising; nor is it more surprising, if, among names endeared to them as those of the descendants of Abraham, we should also find some of other nations, as of Melchisedek\*, who blessed Abram, or those of Solomon, of David, or of Joseph. The two latter are admitted by the Christians of the West. The most remarkable statement advanced by Dr. Grant occurs, however, in this part of the argument; he says, that the family of the Patriarch claim descent from Naphtali; it is only to be regretted that the records on which they mainly relied for proofs in this case were lost in the Zab about sixty years ago. The use of the term *melek*, *melik*, or *malek* (king), for their civil governors, was at once Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syrian. The Hebrews, also, were not the only nation governed by an hierarchy.

It is well known that there are few social and domestic customs mentioned in the Bible to which we

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those in India, their residence in Cochin appears to have been from ancient times, and they are now black, and so completely like the native inhabitants in their complexions, that Dr. Buchanan says he could not always distinguish them from the Hindoos. Does this prove that the Hindoos are of Jewish origin? It has been truly remarked, that the Jews who are wanderers over the whole world, are perhaps now more numerous than were ever their forefathers.

\* "Christ Jesus is a priest after the order of Melchisedek."—Hebrews vii. 1, *et seq.*

cannot find a parallel, or, at least, a tolerable similitude, among some of the various nations of the East, and thus we have had lately an able volume illustrative of Biblical identities and similitudes existing among the ancient Egyptians, and scarcely a traveller in modern times pens his tour to Palestine and Syria, without recording some of those numerous similarities of customs which still exist among the various tribes of those countries, and which call forcibly to his mind what he has before read in the Bible. Any arguments to be derived from the existence of similarity of such customs among proximate Oriental nations, and especially among the descendants of the second family of Abraham, can thus only be received with the utmost caution, and we shall not, therefore, detain the reader with the enumeration given by Dr. Grant of a number of Chaldean customs as Hebraic, which any one conversant with the East will immediately recognise as common to nations of the most opposed faith and various origin.

What is calculated to excite most general surprise, if not incredulity, in the whole of this investigation, is, that if these Chaldeans were ever Jews, they should be now converted to Christianity. It is true that this event has been predicted, but that only when the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in; and this partial conversion of the tribes of Judea is a thing against all antecedent, and without an existing parallel. The Jews of the Captivity, even if some few of them were present and heard the Gospel on the day of Pentecost, were in countries far away from the land in which our Saviour preached and our Redeemer was crucified. The tribes of Adiabene, Assyria, Armenia, and Parthia, who were the objects of

the labours of the apostles and fathers of the Church, Thomas, Matthew, Thaddæus, and others, were the natives of those countries; if it had been otherwise, and they only visited these distant realms to preach to the Jews that dwelt there, it would have been so especially recorded; but Thomas is said to have preached the Gospel to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, &c., and so it is also distinctly recorded of the other fathers. There is only the authority of Eusebius, who states, that amid all these nations, it was only the Jews who were at first converted. Admitting for a moment such a supposition, it is preposterous to suppose that the captive tribes covered all Media, Assyria, Babylonia, Elam, Armenia, Parthia, Persia, and Mesopotamia, and these are the countries to which the glad tidings were carried by the early fathers, according to the united testimonies of Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Ambrose, Nicephorus, Baronius, Natalis, and others.

The silence of Scripture with regard to the progress of conversion in the East is a very remarkable thing, but it is mainly to be attributed to the fact that the books of the zealous labourers engaged in those countries are not contained in the Scriptures, and that they laboured at a distance from the Apostolic writers of the New Testament; but this silence, had that conversion extended itself to the Ten Tribes, would scarcely have been persevered in, and such a wondrous event would have met with some distinct and clear enunciation by St. Paul\*, and not such dialectic subterfuges as those on

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\* St. Paul, standing before Agrippa, and acknowledging himself a Christian Jew, said, "And now I stand and am judged for the

which it has been attempted to hang a distant proof of his admitting the fact. The silence of the Romans, of Josephus, and other almost contemporaneous historians, and of all Christianity, upon this great and important fact, is overwhelming evidence against the supposed sudden discovery of the Ten Tribes as a Christian nation by the American missionaries in the nineteenth century.

The Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews has generally been considered as conclusive as to the condition of the Jews in the time of the Apostle, while that of James has been also generally considered as addressed to the believing Jews, who were dispersed all over the world, in contradistinction to the Jews of Palestine, and not as if every member of the twelve tribes was a converted Jew, which is going further than any commentator, except Dr. Grant, has yet ventured to surmise. On the contrary, the most glorious promises that are held out to us all are consequent upon their entire conversion and reception to the full favour of God, and which have not, as yet, been accomplished, nor do any prophecies or passages of Scripture, intimate that the Ten Tribes should have been at so early a time visited in mercy, and led to acknowledge the Messiah. Indeed, such an admission is in opposition to all we experience of the daily intractability of Jews, and is contrary to the whole history of God's ancient covenant people.

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hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers: unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come: for which hope's sake, King Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews:" which at once shows that the twelve tribes were *not* Christians in the time of the Apostle.

## CHAPTER XLI.

Chaldeans not Papists. Not Nestorians. Purity of the Chaldean Church Doctrine. Chaldean Bishoprics. Patriarchate of the East. Chaldean Councils. Collections of Canon Law. Ecclesiastical Year. Liturgies. Baptism. Absence of Monastic Institutions. Ignorance of Clergy and Laity. Necessity and importance of Friendly Assistance. Tribes and Villages of Chaldeans. Population.

IF then it cannot be satisfactorily shown that the Chaldeans of to-day are the remains of the ten or the two captive tribes of Israel, it is equally faulty, on the part of Protestants, whether missionaries or simple travellers, to perpetuate, under pretences as before given, the name of Nestorians, contemptuously attached to them by the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church. It was as late as in A.D. 1681 that the Chaldean metropolitan of Diyarbekr, having been gained over by the Jesuits, was consecrated by the Pope, Patriarch of the Chaldeans, while the name of Nestorians was derisively attached to those who adhered to their own ancient Church. The object in doing this, on the part of the Papists, was very evidently to heighten the importance of the conversions effected by their missionaries in the East, and to give to them the appearance of national conversions, but they were too well acquainted with the origin of the Chaldeans not to give them their proper name, instead of claiming them as converts belonging to the ten or twelve tribes of Israel.

It is generally understood in ecclesiastical history that the Chaldeans of Syria and Mesopotamia, and who have perhaps justly been denominated Syro-Chaldeans, withdrew from the communion of the Patriarch of Antioch in the year 485 of the Christian era, and before the time of Nestorius.

Nestorius, according to Socrates, was born in Germanicia, now Marash, and he was then most likely a Greek, as is stated by Amru. He was educated in the neighbouring and celebrated school of Tarsus, and went thence as a presbyter of the Church of Antioch. It is to the present day very doubtful if this great man held the doctrines that are imputed to him. During the heat occasioned by the Arian controversy, the title of Mother of God had been applied to the Virgin Mary, and the Patriarch began to fear that it might lead to the worship of her person; yet in a sermon to the people he told them that "if any well-meaning Christians took a fancy to this title, he would not object, provided they did not make a goddess of the Virgin." "God the Word," said he, in another sermon, "was not different after his incarnation from what He was before. There was still in both but one Person to be adored by every creature." And so in his Epistle to Alexander, bishop of Hierapolis, he says, "Of the two natures there is but one authority, one virtue, one power, and one Person, according to one dignity." In all this it may truly be asked, where is there any heresy? And it would be difficult to say in what it differs from the doctrine of the council that condemned him.

Be this as it may, the Eastern Christians who have been considered as followers of Nestorius reject the title

as a calumny, as we have seen in foregoing pages, and as they rejected it in former times. "Nestorius," said they, "was not our patriarch, but the patriarch of Constantinople. He was a Greek and we are Syrians. We do not even understand his language, nor did he ever propagate his doctrines in our territory. Why should we be called by the name of a new doctor? Our religion is most ancient and apostolic, received from the time of the Apostles who taught among us. If Nestorius believed as we do, he followed us, not we him."

The councils of Nice and Constantinople, and the fathers of the first four centuries, being received and acknowledged, and the doctrines of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon being in fact, though not in name, admitted, it is not among them, but in respect to questions which have been agitated in the Greek and Latin churches, since their separation, that any room exists for controversy.

The Syro-Chaldeans, being the first who separated, ought to be the most free from corruptions of any Christian church. The learned Protestant, La Croze, says, "We find here a Church, which having for more than 1200 years had no intercourse with the communions of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, or Rome, preserves the greater part of the doctrines admitted by the Protestants, and wholly or in part rejected by those Churches. We shall see the Christians of Malabar positively rejecting the supremacy of the Pope, denying transubstantiation, and maintaining that the sacrament of the Eucharist is only the figure of the body of Jesus Christ: add to this, the exclusion of confirmation,

extreme unction, and marriage, from the number of sacraments, the worship of images treated as idolatry, and purgatory regarded as a fable."

The presiding bishop of the Chaldeans is the great primate in the East, the successor of the Archbishops of Seleucia and Ctesiphon; he bears the title of Catholicos, and is considered as the head of the body wherever dispersed.

After the destruction of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the see was removed to Baghdad, where the Catholicos continued to reside till 1258, when the city of the Khalifs was sacked by the Tatars. After various changes occasioned by the turbulence of the times, he removed in 1560 to Mosul on the Tigris, and at the time when Assemani wrote, he was residing in the convent of St. Hormisdas (H'Ormud), near Al Kosh.

The Catholicos presided at that time over 25 metropolitans and upwards of 200 bishops. Of these metropolitans, Assemani has given an original catalogue published by Amru, who flourished in the twelfth century, and as I have been able to recover a few of these in ancient Chaldea and Assyria, I shall append it here, some being also identified by others before. In Susiana, lately, Major Rawlinson has also considerably extended the number of these identifications.

Abila, or Obolla, near Basra, was sought for and found by the Euphrates Expedition.	Anazarba; Ainzarbeh, in the Pyramus. Now in ruins.
Aache, or Aaco; Acre.	Anbar; Pheroz Sapur, on the Euphrates. In ruins.
Aadin; Aden on the Red Sea.	Arzun; Orzen, now Gharzen on Betlis river.
Aakula; Cupha.	Astachar; Istakhar, Persepolis.
Aleppo.	In ruins.
Amida; Diyarbekr.	Aspahan; Ispahan.
Aana; Annah, on the Euphrates.	



**Bassora; Basrah.**

**Babylon.** In ruins.

**Baghdad.**

**Callinicus; Racca** on Euphrates.

In ruins.

**Carcha; Ctesiphon, Al Coche** of the Arabs, called by the Chaldeans, **Beth Garma** and **Beth Seleucia, Coche** and **Ctesiphon.**

**Cardu; Al Jezireh** on Tigris, also called **Gezira.**

**Cepha Castrum; Hism Cepha,** same as **Aakula** and **Cupha,** on Tigris.

**Damascus.**

**Edessa; Urfah.**

**Euphrates; same as Basrah.**

**Hadatha; now Haditha** on Euphrates.

**Hagar; Hadgar, Petra.** In ruins.

**Hit,** on Euphrates.

**Haran; Charran, Charræ.** In ruins, only a village remaining.

**Hierusalem.**

**Hormaz, Hormuz** in Gaban.

**Kosra; Babylonia.**

**Mambug; Mambege, Hierapolis** near Aleppo. In ruins.

**Mahaldegird,** in Armenia.

**Mesene; now Muhammrah** on Karun.

**Mosul.**

**Maipherchin,** now **Maiafarikin.**

**Marde,** now **Mardin.**

**Melitena; Malatiyeh.**

**Modain; Seleucia** and **Ctesiphon,** **Al Madyn** of the Arabs. In ruins.

**Mopsuestia; now Misis.**

**Naharwan; Opis.** In ruins.

**Nicator; Amel Saфра.** In ruins.

**Nilus, or Nila; Babel.** In ruins.

**Nineveh.** In ruins.

**Nisibis.** In ruins.

**Ockbara; Ockbara** on Tigris.

Now a ruin.

**Ormia; Urimiyeh.**

**Perath Mesene; Basrah.**

**Raka, Racca,** mentioned under **Callinicus.**

**Rahaba, Rehoboth** of the Bible, now **Rahabah,** on the Euphrates.

**Ressaina, Resen, Larissa,** now **Nimrud.** In ruins on the Great Zab.

**Seleucia.**

**Sina, or Sena,** a metropolis; now **Kohrasar,** in ruins in Upper Mesopotamia. **Sinna** of Ptolemy. Sometimes **Marsnia** of Chaldeans.

**Schiraz.**

**Sered; Sert.**

**Sinjar.**

**Susa.**

**Sustra; Shuster.**

**Tabriz.**

**Tarsus.**

**Tekrit (Tagrit)** on Tigris.

**Tirhan; Teheran.**

**Van.**

**Vaseta; Wasit** in Babylonia.

**Zabde; Al Jezireh.** **Bezabde** of Romans. **Zabdicene** of Ammianus Marcellinus.

Throughout the list there is a great deal of repetition; many of the names, although subjected to the Romish Patriarch of Mosul, were not recognised by him, and to perfect it would require much sifting.

The Patriarch of the East has now only one metropolitan, Andisho Andishiyah, or Ishiyah, metropolitan of Berrawi; but several bishops, concerning all of whom it is evident that I obtained hurried and incorrect information from one of the priests. Among them are Mar Yuhannah, bishop of Al Jezireh; Mar Yumna, bishop of Gawilen; Mar Yusef, bishop of Dahara; Mar Elias, bishop of Guj Teppeh; Mar Gabriel, bishop of Ardishar; and it appears from what I can gather from Dr. Grant, that the Jellu, Dez, and other tribes, have also, as might be anticipated, their bishops\*.

It is remarkable that Assemani states, that the Patriarch is elected by a council of metropolitans and bishops convened by the sees according to their priority, while Mr. Rassam assures me that the office is hereditary; and, so far as succession in one family is concerned, this is also affirmed by Dr. Walsh. It appears that the uncle is generally succeeded by the nephew.

The apostolic succession being thus preserved among these Eastern Christians, a succession which, from the middle of the fifth century, has had not the slightest connexion with either the Greek or Latin Churches, it is evident that they, like ourselves, are possessed of that authority by which errors can be redressed and abuses

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\* Dr. Grant says, that four years ago three Chaldean bishops visited the Patriarch from the region to the north-west of the river Khabur.

rectified. Their nominal rejection of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon has preserved them from the extravagant opinion that councils are infallible, and they are more likely then to listen to reason if their own councils have erred.

The Syro-Chaldeans held provincial councils twice a year till the year of our Lord, 499. It was then decided that the bishops should meet under their metropolitans only once a year, and that the general councils under the Catholicos, which had assembled every two years, should thenceforth assemble every fourth year, in the month of October, unless specially convened by him for some necessary cause. The same change with regard to provincial councils was afterwards introduced into the Greek Church.

It has been already observed, that the canons, called Apostolic, are received by all the Oriental Christians. The same remark applies to that collection of canons, which are usually called the Arabic Nicene, Latin translations of which are to be found in the great collection of councils\*. These are held in singular veneration all over the East. The Syro-Chaldeans, Armenians, Syro-Jacobites and Egyptians, whether Jacobites or Melchites, formerly believed that they were composed by the Nicene fathers; they consequently form the basis of the canon law of each communion, with the addition of such canons as have been framed since the schism occasioned by the councils of Ephesus (A.D. 431) and Chalcedon (A.D. 451).

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\* *Acta Conciliorum*, Ed. LABBE et COSSART.

Of the Syro-Chaldeans there are fourteen Collections of Canon Law, the names and dates of which are :—

- 1 Simeon, Metropolitan of Persia, about A.D. 655.
- 2 Anan Jesus I. Catholicos, A.D. 685.
- 3 Jesubochtos, Metropolitan of Persia, about A.D. 700.
- 4 Sabar Jesus II., surnamed Damascinus, Catholicos, A.D. 832.
- 5 Abraham II. Catholicos, A.D. 836.
- 6 Theodosius Catholicos, A.D. 852.
- 7 Gabriel, Metropolitan of Bosrah, A.D. 890.
- 8 Elias, Metropolitan of Damascus, A.D. 900.
- 9 George, Metropolitan of Mosul, A.D. 960.
- 10 Ebed Jesus, Metropolitan of Mosul, A.D. 1028.
- 11 Abu-l-Pharage Abdallah Ben-Atib, A.D. 1040.
- 12 Elias, Metropolitan of Nisibis, A.D. 1050.
- 13 Ebed Jesus II. Benared, Catholicos, A.D. 1074.
- 14 Ebed Jesus, Metropolitan of Soba or Nisibis, A.D. 1300.

Among the Syro-Chaldeans the divine services are all celebrated in Syriac, which they learnt from the celebrated ecclesiastical school of Edessa. Wherever dispersed, the epistle and gospel are first read in Syriac, and sometimes in the language of the country afterwards. The oldest liturgy in use among them is called the Liturgy of the Apostles. Their ecclesiastical year commences with the four Sundays of the Annunciation, corresponding with our Advent. Then follow the Festivals of the Nativity and Epiphany. The Circumcision and Presentation in the Temple are not observed. There are eight Sundays after Epiphany, and then follows the season of humiliation corresponding with our Lent. The seventh week of that season is called the Great Week. Then comes the Festival of the Resurrection, and five Sundays after; then the Ascension, and then Pentecost or Whit-Sunday. The first six Sundays

after Pentecost are called the Sundays of the Apostles; the next six, the Sundays of the Seventy-two Disciples; the following six are called the Sundays of Elias. The Sundays of Moses are more or less in number, so as to occupy the whole of the month of October. The remaining Sundays, till the four of the Annunciation preceding the Nativity, are called the Sundays of Dedication. It is evident from this example, that the same system of dividing the ecclesiastical year prevails, with but little variation, wherever the religion of Christ is known.

“Among all the Syrians,” says Le Brun, “and almost throughout Asia, we find the same order in the liturgies and almost the same prayers; the same at least in sense, if not expressed in the same terms. The liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, which all attribute to St. James, has been ever considered as the canon or common rule, to which all other liturgies are to be referred. The whole caste has also the liturgy of St. Basil (St. Basil was metropolitan of Cappadocia, from whence the Armenians received their episcopal succession and also their liturgy). These two liturgies have been written in Greek and Syriac; in Greek for the great cities, such as Antioch, where, in the fourth and fifth centuries Greek was spoken, and in Syriac for all the rest of the country.”

The Syro-Chaldeans have no exorcism, and do not permit lay-baptism. Infants are baptized and sponsors are admitted; but baptism is not administered before the fortieth day after their birth, unless they are in danger of death. The priest stands on the west side of the font, turns the child's face to the east, and then dips him in

the water, saying, "It is baptized in the name of the Father (*Resp.* Amen), and of the Son (*R.* Amen), and of the Holy Ghost (*R.* Amen)." One of their writers, Ebed Jesus, bishop of Soba, thus speaks of the essentials of baptism. "Its matter is pure water, according to that which is said, 'Except a man be born again of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Its form is Baptism in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, according to the word of our Saviour."

It has been advanced by the most eminent traveller of the present age (De Humboldt), that certain climates, more especially alpine districts, where but a brief interval of sunshine alternates with storms, and where the ruggedness of nature begets sternness and moroseness in mankind, are most favourable to the propagation of a religion of asceticism and monastic seclusion. But here, in the heart of Kurdistan, where snow-clad rocks perpetually frown down upon secluded vales—where giant precipices seem almost to defy mankind to venture upon intercommunication—where waters, instead of meandering through flowery meads, pour in resistless torrents over their stony beds—where clouds, unknown at certain seasons in the plains, almost perpetually obscure the fair face of the heavens or dwell upon the mountain tops—and where the universal aspect of nature is sterile, forbidding, and austere—the benign influence of a kindly religion, and the simple forms of a primitive church, have preserved a people from self-sacrifices, unavailing to God and injurious to society. The Chaldean church neither inculcates seclusion nor celibacy among its clergy; its only purification is fasting, so strongly

enjoined on all Christians; and, in order that in this point their bishops—whose dignity is hereditary—may be without stain, they are not allowed to partake of flesh-meat either before or after their ordination.

But if the influences of climate and soil, combined with the peculiarities of position with regard to neighbouring races of men, on the moral and intellectual development of the Chaldeans, are modified in one direction by religion, it is much to be regretted that in another they have exercised full sway, allowing the passions too frequently to obtain the ascendant over morality and religion. The hardy mountaineer knows but a single step from the toils of travel or the chase to an expedition of war and extermination\*.

Thus the character of the Chaldean, besides perhaps retaining the impression of early persecutions, has undoubtedly been affected by position, by the influences of nature, and by the vicinity of warlike and predatory tribes, maintaining hostile creeds; but it is still more influenced by a very simple and easily remediable defect, namely, that with the forms and practice of worship they are not taught to understand the Gospel.

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\* Mr. Rich, who was many years Resident at Baghdad, writing unfortunately from the testimony of Turks, described the Chaldeans under the very worst possible light, whereas they are undoubtedly, in every point of view, the best people in Western Asia. They will fight, it is true, but only for their hard-earned independence, or in revenge of Mohammedan persecution. Mr. Rich says, "The most savage and independent tribes of Hakkari are the Chaldeans, . . . who live in a barbarous state;" . . . "a ferocious, vindictive, and capricious set," according to the Prince of Bahdinan's reports to Mr. Rich's tatar, who was the first Turk to penetrate into their country.

In a country where none can read but the priests, it is most essential that attention should be given to the instruction of the people in the humanizing precepts so characteristic of, and so peculiar to Christianity. It is not the fault of the laity, for they are regular attendants at church, but of the priests solely, who partly chant and partly mumble through a liturgy of great beauty and excellence, and through the ennobling lessons of the New Testament, in so unintelligible a manner, that no practical advantages can be derived from them. And it is to be remarked here that the Old Syriac in which the liturgies and Testament are written, differs also much from the Syriac dialect at present used by the mountaineers. Certain prayers are familiar to all, but they have little moral effect. Many persons piously disposed retire to a corner of the church to pray in privacy, and I have often observed that such persons adhere also to the old Oriental practice of frequent prostrations, a form not observed by the clergy; but there is no plain distinct enunciation of the precepts and practice of our Saviour or of his Apostles. There is no sermon or lecture to expound difficulties of doctrine, to awaken reflection, or to sustain faith by convincing the intellect: thus the main body of Chaldeans are only nominal Christians, and must remain so till assistance be sent to them from more favoured nations. Left to themselves and without education the people have deteriorated, and with the carelessness and ignorance of the laity, have come laxity and superficiality among the clergy.

It would be a great injustice, however, to these mountaineers, were I not to acknowledge that they are superior in intelligence and in moral worth to the



inhabitants (Christian and Mohammedan) of the same classes in Anatolia, in Syria, and Mesopotamia. There are some forms of society, and many decencies of life belonging to improved civilization, that are omitted by the mountaineers; but, there is no doubt that they are, as a race, more quick and impressible, more open, candid, sincere, and courageous, than the inhabitants of the before-mentioned countries. Their bearing is erect, but without the swagger of the Turk; their eye firm, but without ferocity; their forehead ample and high, unclouded by suspicion and evil feelings.

But this slight superiority over neighbouring nations gives them no claim to be looked upon as a people enjoying all the real benefits of the Church to which they belong; their general demeanour and tone, their implacability towards their enemies, and many points in the daily conduct of life, are not only not consonant with, but are severely reprobated by, the religion which they profess to follow. The origin of the demoralization and of the religious and intellectual prostration of this remarkable people, was beyond the control of man, and was primarily connected with those many revolutions with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit Eastern nations; but the present existence and continuance of this state of things is evidently to be attributed to the want of communication with other nations, and to the neglect of education among the clergy as well as the people; and it is sincerely to be hoped that the same day that these facts shall be clearly felt and fully appreciated, will see commence the future regeneration and humanization of one of the most interesting and most

remarkable, yet little known people, that are to be met with on the earth's surface.

It is an agreeable reflection, that the power to rectify their error, if any such exist, lies with themselves, and that they are therefore open to the best and surest means of doing good—friendly and brotherly advice, offered by one who never (as an esteemed authority writes) considers those corruptions as heresies which do not actually tend to destroy the Christian faith. The exercise of such liberality is truly labouring not to increase the power of any particular sect, but to unite the Church throughout the world in brotherly love and sound doctrine.

The tribes of the Chaldean Christians, who are named after the districts in which they live, as far as I could ascertain, through the medium of Mr. Rassam and Davud, are—1. The Tiyyari; 2. The Tobi; 3. Jellawi; 4. Piniyaniski; 5. Al Toshi; 6. Artoshi Bashi; 7. Bazi; 8. Sati; 9. Oramari; 10. Julamergi; 11. Jellu; 12. Dez; 13. Siliyahi; 14. Berrawi. Dr. Grant, however, alludes also to the Tehoma, which I suspect is the Chaldean name for the Al Toshi, and which appears to have been given to me in Arabic.

The Christian villages belonging to these tribes, as far as I was able to ascertain, were as follows:—

1. *Berrawi*. Bebal, Ankari, Malaktah, Halwa, Bismiyah, Duri, Iyat, Aina Nuni, Derishki, Mayah, Akushta, Misekeh, Robarah, Dergehli, Tashish, Besh, Hayis: of these, Derishki and Mayah alone have no churches.

2. *Jellu*. Alson, Jellu, Zirinik, Marzaya, Thilana, Ummut, Zir, Sirpil, Bobawa, Bibokra, Shemsiki, Murtoriyi.

3. *Julamergi*. Julamerik, Koch Hannes, Burjullah,

Espin, Gavanis, Kotranis, Euranis, Syrini, Bekajik, Daizi, Shamasha, Murdadishi, Madis, Merzin, Zerwa, Deriki, Kermi, Gesna, Kalanis, Khazakiyin, Kewuli, Meilawa, Pisa, Alonzo.

4. *Tobi*. Gundukda, Muzra, Tomago, Berijai, Jissah.

5. *Baz* or *Bazi*. Orwantiz, Shoavah, Argub, Kojijah,

6. *Dez*. Rabban Dadishuh, Maddis, Chiri, Suwa, Golosel, Mar Kiriakos, Akoshi, Chalchan, Gorsî, Savams, Chemmasha.

Besides these, there are several districts, containing villages comparatively insignificant, of which neither the number nor locality was noted :—Walti, Neivdi, Gesnak, Daprashin, Burun, Biljani, Garwar, Albak (between Julamerik and the Lake of Van), Shemso-d-din, Shapat, Bratsinnai, Dirakan, and Nurwar, in Amadiyeh or Bah-dinan.

I subjoin the report presented to the Royal Geographical Society, as the best estimate that I could form of the population of Chaldean Christians in the mountains.

	{ at 20 houses each 24 villages }		480 houses		{ at 8 persons per house }	
1. Tiyyari						
2. Jellu	12	„	240	„	„	1920
3. Julamergi	24	„	480	„	„	3840
4. Berrawi	17	„	340	„	„	2720
5. Tobi	5	„	100	„	„	800
6. Baz	4	„	80	„	„	640
7. Dez	11	„	220	„	„	1760
						15,520

To which are to be added out of Hakkari—

In Bahdinan, 11 villages, 220 houses, and population . 1760

Town of Amadiyeh, 20 houses . . . . . 160

— 1920

And 13 districts not well known, which may be estimated

at 100 houses each, or 1300 houses, and a population of . 10,400

27,840

This differs much from other estimations previously published, and the fallacy of Dr. Walsh's estimate of 500,000 Christians must be manifest to all who consider the small extent of territory occupied by these Christians and its limited productive capabilities. But in the fear of exaggerating the existing population of these remarkable people, and in whom I take a real interest, it is certain that I have fallen into the opposite extreme, and underrated their numbers considerably. Thus, for example, the capital of Tiyyari, Ashitah, contains of itself a population of 5000 souls, according to Dr. Grant. On our return from Mosul by Buhtan, we found an hitherto unknown Chaldean Episcopate, with nine or ten large villages. The number of Chaldeans on the tributaries of the Khabur in Buhtan, there is every reason to believe is very considerable—I can readily believe it to be equal to the population on the Zab, and Dr. Grant mentions the visit of three Chaldean bishops to the Patriarch, from that country. This gentleman averages the population of Chaldeans at 100,000, and taking our subsequent discovery of their extending to the banks of the Tigris and the Buhtan river (Centrites), it is probable that this represents, in round numbers, the proximate Chaldean population of the mountains.

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## CHAPTER XLII.



Armenian Monastery.

Start from Julamerik. The Jellu or Jawur Mountains. District of Dez Chaldeans. High Uplands of Kurdistan. Murder of the Traveller Schultz. Old Armenian Monastery. Superstitious Stone. An Insolent Kurd. District of Salamast, in Persia. Lake and district of Urimiyeh. The American Mission. Persians of Urimiyeh.

*June 22nd.* IN the morning we left Pagi, on our way to Bash Kalah, or the Castle at the Head-waters of the Zab. Our road lay over the mountain of Tur Burju-llah, a huge mass of granite, which it took us two hours to compass; and from whence we descended into the valley, or rather upland, of Koch Hannes, a pretty, small village, advancing over the valley of the Zab, and containing the principal residence of the Patriarch of the Chaldeans. A servant of the house came out to meet us, and brought flowers and a repast from

the ladies of the household. Some of the Kurds of Julamerik were in their tents in this valley, which is watered by a great number of torrents supplied by the snows of Burju-llah.

We rode some distance along the sides of Koch Hannes hill, having a higher range, that of Areb Tagh, before us. We descended hence by a long and steep, but wooded pathway, along which we were obliged as usual to proceed on foot, to a valley where were many villages and delightful groves, with a varied and abundant vegetation. We then ascended again to a cultivated upland at the foot of Areb Tagh, where were the Chaldean villages of Espin and Gharanis, both having towers of defence against the predatory expeditions of the Kurds. Gharanis was a good specimen of the poorer class of Chaldean villages—small, but with a bold look; poor, but religious; the inhabitants of five houses had two churches and one fort.

We passed the evening at Gharanis, where the poor Chaldeans complained much of the robberies of the Kurds, and protested strongly against our bivouacking outside of the village; representing the many dangers in so lively a form as to make converts of Mr. Rassam, Davud, and the muleteers, who retired to the shelter of one of their homely huts. But I dreaded vermin, which were so many realities, more than the Kurds, who were as yet only imaginary things, and got the Greek servant to sleep out with me on the greensward, where we enjoyed a quiet night, and, at an altitude of 7000 feet above the sea, a most delicious temperature, the thermometer on waking indicating only 40·4° Fahr., or 8° 4' above freezing-point in the middle of

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summer. The prospect from Gharanis was exceedingly extensive and very beautiful, rivalling in some respects, although of a different character, the scenery on first entering the country of the Tiyari. The outline and forms of the mountains which constituted the lofty chain of Tura Jellu or Jawur Tagh, were never so distinctly seen. I could take bearings to all the chief points, which are at once the loftiest and by far the most steep and rugged of the Kurdistan mountains, and indeed of all Taurus. There were immediately before us four or five abrupt, truncated, culminating points; between which were ridges of sharp pinnacles, rising like sky-towers, and overlooking deep and precipitous ravines, filled with their vast deposit of perpetual snow.

The quantity of water poured down by the mountains on every side was very great. During the journey of the day, scarcely ever had the din of one torrent begun to grow dim upon the ear, than the sound of another broke upon the silence around. Three different streams poured in lofty falls over the side of Koch Hannes mountain alone, to unite in one before reaching the valley of the river of Espin.

The silver crest of the lofty peaks of Mar Hanan also extended to the north-west, the sun's setting beams lighting up their long continuous summits like a great icy coronal set upon the sea of silent hills, which filled the remainder of this beauteous landscape, and which we now felt loth to leave, still more so from the prospect of a burning plain before us; but we remembered that we had still to cross the same chain,—still perchance to breathe freely on the summit of the peak of Rowandiz.

*June 23rd.* There are two roads from Gharanis, one

over the mountains, the other by the valley of the Zab. We took the latter, although the longer, in order to visit some sulphur-mines said to exist there, and to avoid the Artushi or Ardushi Kurds, who were not well spoken of.

We made two slight ascents and descents before we came to the sulphur deposit. This we first met with at the bottom of the valley; it consisted of sulphur mixed with blue lime shales, sometimes granular, but mostly pulverulent. The second deposit was half a mile beyond, in breccia of blue limestone, between the fragments of which was a small quantity of crystalline sulphur. Neither of these deposits was of much importance from its extent, but geologically they resembled much what is observed in the plains of Mesopotamia. A warm spring, emitting hydro-sulphurous acid, also occurred in the vicinity.

On leaving these mines, I overtook the remainder of the party in the valley of the Zab, which flowed in a ravine a few hundred feet below us, but the valley itself was several miles in width, wooded or cultivated, with numerous villages, chiefly of Chaldeans, and bounded by lofty hills, generally wooded and without snow;—altogether a pleasing scene, and a country of very great resources.

Passing the Chaldean village of Kermi, we continued some miles along this fertile alpine vale, till we observed it joined from the south by a tributary to the Zab, coming from the Tura Jellu and flowing along another extensive, open, and wooded valley, crowded with the villages of the Dez or Diss Chaldeans. This is certainly an extended territory, of high capabilities



under a protecting government and a progressing civilization.

A short distance beyond this, we turned off from the valley of the Zab, into a little rock-inclosed but cultivated district, revealing two large Chaldean villages. The outline of the mountains had now become less rugged, the uplands were more lofty, and the chains more continuous. We met in our road with a well-armed caravan of mules going to Julamerik. By the road-side grew large golden poppies; and where marshy, *Butomus umbellatus*.

In the evening, we found that we were again in the valley of the Zab, which had made a great easterly curve, and now winded through a marshy upland vale; at the end of this it received a large tributary, which we crossed by a bridge. Ascending an upland a little above the Zab we reached the Chaldean village of Meilawa. These Chaldeans are subject to Bash Kalah, and no longer claim the distinction of belonging to a tribe.

The country towards the head-waters of the Zab beyond this quite changed its characters. There were still a few mountain points, as Arghi Tagh, to the south-east, with a bold outlying rock, called the Rock of Fire. To the north, between Bash Kalah and Lake Van, was the Erdish Tagh; but the outline of the chains is now tame and rounded, the ranges being neither serrated nor boldly defined, and rising so little above the level of the upland as to have the appearance rather of hills than mountains. But the generally alpine character of the whole country was rendered apparent by a variety of prominent features; the bleak

and bare aspect of the soil—the little cultivation, and that so tardy—the reluctant vegetation of coarse grasses and sedges—the hardy and ligneous character of the perennial species of plants—and the waters flowing towards the lofty chains to the west—spoke of their altitude in language as strong as the diminished pressure of the atmosphere, whether indicated by the length of a column of mercury or by the low temperature of the boiling-point of water. Meilawa, by the latter indications, was at an elevation of 6418 feet.

The cottages of this village somewhat resembled those of Upper Armenia, and as the snow was deep and lasted long, they were built of mud, nearly level with the soil, and half borrowed from the ground. They were at the same time so dispersed in a ravine that there was no greensward to sleep on; so while Rassam and Davud retreated to the shelter of one of these dirty styes, for the cattle, sheep, and poultry all abide under the same cover, I ensconced myself, with the Greek, in the interior of a cone of peat, piled up in that form in order to dry, and we had hardly spread our carpet in this curious mansion before a party of armed Kurds came up, seeking for quarters, and ultimately forcing Rassam and Davud into a stable. They sat for some time round the peat cone, little suspecting that there were two more travellers, upon whom they were heaping all kinds of abusive terms, in the interior.

*June 24th.* Our road still continued up the open valley of the Zab. Two hours and a half brought us to where two streams meet; the one from the mountains beyond Bash Kalah, the other from Kanda Kilissa. We soon came in view of Bash Kalah, about two miles

to our left. It is a large village, distributed round the base of a more conical hill than that of Julamerik, and, like it, supporting a castle. It is said to contain 200 houses, inhabited by Kurds, Jews, and Armenians. It is governed by an officer of the Bey of Julamerik, and is tributary to the Pasha of Van.

At one part of the valley of the Zab some rocky ridges of yellow limestone come down close to the river's edge, which they shut up in a narrow glen. There are no less than three different castles, square courts, with towers at the angles, commanding this pass. Two are in ruins, but one, Kalah Karani, is still in good repair. Our guides this morning had been a good deal disturbed by the appearance of six armed Kurds, who followed us for three or four hours, always keeping, however, out of shot. This was an advantageous place for an attack on our small party, for our three Chaldeans had left us at Julamerik, and been replaced by a peaceful, talkative priest, but nothing was attempted.

This place, which Dr. Grant designates a valley in a small creek, appears to be the spot where Schultz\* fell a victim to the perfidy of the Kurds. Dr. Grant was informed that a small pile of stones marks his solitary resting-place; had I known this, I would certainly have sought out the tomb of so distinguished a traveller. It is said that one of Schultz's servants escaped to Bash Kalah, where he was taken and put to death, lest he should divulge the circumstances of the

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\* Dr. Schultz was a scientific traveller, sent into these countries by the French government, and well known to geographers by his discovery of the city of Semiramis on the borders of Lake Van.

murder of his master. Entire secrecy was enjoined to every one; but it was not long before the report reached Persia, and redress was demanded by the Prince of Urimiyeh, in consequence of which the immediate agent in the murder was put to death, by the more infamous instigator of the deed, Nurrulah Bey.

Some assert that the desire of plunder was the motive which led to the death of this indefatigable traveller. He is said to have entered the country with considerable baggage, and to have made valuable presents to the chiefs, who hence were led to suppose that his effects were of inestimable worth. Dr. Grant, however, gives another version of the story: he says that he was assured by many of the most intelligent of the Chaldeans and Armenians, who were in the country at the time, that Schultz had just made a visit to the orpiment mines, and that the Kurds believed, from the brilliant yellow colour of the mineral, that he had found it to contain gold, and that he would cause an army to come and take possession of their country. This impression was strengthened by the circumstance that he was seen making scientific observations, measuring their castles, and writing down the observations he had made. This statement has all the appearance of truth, and all the time that I was at Julamerik myself the Patriarch and my companions asserted that our lives would be endangered by my taking notes in public, which led me to forego the practice.

Keeping still up the valley of the Zab we came to an ancient Armenian monastery, well built, with sloping roof, and bell-towers, containing two bells, regularly rung at service. It is curious that the Armenians, who

are dependent, should have preserved this custom, while the Chaldeans, who are independent, have no bells in their churches. This is a very ancient Armenian monastery, and a sketch of it is given at the head of this chapter. It is called Kanda Kilissa, and is inhabited by a bishop and priest; the former of whom, an intelligent man, assigned to it an age of 1600 years. The door-way was a handsome specimen of Saracenic architecture, though defaced by a colossal bas-relief of the Almighty, a monstrous production, resembling a great idol. Around the arch were also other figures, with large heads of hair. On the bodies of these were some antique carvings, among which were some letters resembling those which had been identified as Armenian at Al Hadhr. The church of Kanda is defended by a rampart and bastions, and has two outer courts with defences. On a height above is a modern castle, with a guard of about forty Kurds from Bash Kalah; for this is the frontier of the country.

At this point the Zab is divided into two streams, one of which comes from the southern declivities of the Erdish Tagh, in the district of Albak; the other from Koniye, Karasun, and Kashen, where three different springs exist at an elevation of 7500 feet, coinciding with what might be expected from the observed elevation of the Zab in the present upland valley, so near its sources, and where it is a mere brook, 6300 feet at Meilawa, 6800 feet at Kanda Kilissa. They rise between the territory of Salamast and Kotur, in the Sir Albak (Head of Albak), from the sides of which the waters flow in three opposite directions to the Lake of Urmieh, to the Caspian, and to the Persian Gulf.

*June 25th.* This morning we left the valley of the last tributaries to the Zab, and entered upon a hilly country, with occasional ravines in limestone. It was so cold before sunrise that we were glad to walk to keep ourselves warm. In one of these ravines was a block of limestone with a semi-cylindrical hollow, to which is attached the tradition that a prince of Salamast was formerly converted to Christianity, and was in consequence pursued to the mountains; that he attempted to secrete himself in this hollow, but was slain there by his enemies. This locality of an antique martyrdom was treated with great respect by the Chaldeans in our company, who kissed it and then rubbed themselves in the hollow. The stone is well polished by these absurd observances.

Trachytic rocks and basalts break forth amid these limestone rocks, and constitute a group of hills, Tura Khani Sir, or Akronal, which rise above a fine pasturing valley, with a lake in one part of it, and which was now occupied by an encampment of Persian Kurds. It takes its name from a ruined kerwanserai in the valley. We had now entered Persian Kurdistan, and as we wended our way along the valley, an armed Kurd rode up to us, his face half hid by his turban, as is customary upon a predatory expedition, when they pass two folds under the chin to protect the side of the head from sword cuts. Our new companion did not speak a word, but scowled most ferociously into our faces and then examined our baggage. I had given my horse to one of the muleteers, and did not pay much attention to the advent of a single horseman, whom it was preposterous to suppose was going to attempt to rob

a whole party, till Mr. Rassam dropped behind to complain to me of the extraordinary conduct of the Kurd. I then mounted my horse, and riding up along-side of him, met him scowl for scowl, for I could not speak Kurdish and ask him what he meant, and Davud appeared to dislike very much being interpreter upon such occasions: so we rode on a short time in this amicable manner. There was a gentle eminence before us; once over this, and we were out of sight of the encampment, and then I was resolved to come to a practical understanding with our single enemy; but he was too wary for this, for we had just gained the height, when he turned his horse's head, and leaping off, sat down on the grass, leaving us to proceed alone.

We crossed over a ridge of trachytes and descended by Khani Berin, re-ascending amid low hills, from whence we obtained our first view of the fertile plain of Salamast, with the Lake of Urimiyeh beyond. There are moments which never slip from a traveller's memory, as when, after a long journey on a heated or monotonous plain, a range of mountains, with their anticipations of cool waters and refreshing breezes, come into sight, or when, fatigued with mountain-toil and travel, a plain, smiling with gardens and villages, and full of promises of delicious repose, presents itself to his delighted vision.

Our descent to the plain from hence occupied us, however, three long hours, when we reached some basaltic cliffs, which led directly to the cultivated plain. On one of them were the foundations of a castle constructed of stones of large dimensions; to the south was also a bold rock of limestone, which protruded out of

the plain, bearing the ruins of Karnawi or Marandos castle; and before us rose a small hill, the last of the basaltic knolls, with a small Christian church. Pits were dug in the bed of a river close to us to obtain gravel, which is sifted and then sprinkled over the land to adapt it for growing water-melons. Two more hours amid villages and gardens brought us to the Chaldean village of Khosrau, the Chosroes of historians, where lived a female relative of the Patriarch's, to whom he had given us a letter of introduction. We were accordingly kindly received in a pretty little country house, where the servants very soon waited upon us to announce that everything that was in the house was at our service; but the lady herself (her husband being absent) did not make her appearance.

The immense advance made by the Tajiks (genuine Persians) over the Osmanli Turks, is visible in a multitude of small things as well as in the general whole, the moment the traveller enters Persia by whatever quarter. I had felt this much on a former occasion, on passing from Basrah to Bushire (Abou Shehr), but it was difficult to tell then what was not derived from their frequent communication with the British. In this present case, however, there was no immediate European or even American influence, and yet there existed numerous little comforts, as candlesticks, snuffers, bellows, fire-irons, &c., almost unknown to the Osmanli. The whole furniture of the houses was of a better order; the houses themselves were more tasteful and more ornamental; the gardens were inclosed and taken care of; there were carts in the streets; and even the burial-ground was strewn with rude sculptures. The



Tajiks are also as superior to the Turks in manners as they are in general civilization.

The district of Salamast is covered with villages, which have, as in many parts of the East, a common market, where is also the residence of the governor, and the whole is inclosed like a fort. This place is designated sometimes Salamast, sometimes Dilman, but is generally known in ordinary parlance as Shehr, "the Town," simply. It is the same with the district of Urimiyeh. In all this part of Persia a bad Turkish is the language generally spoken; the better classes alone are acquainted with Persian.

*June 26th.* We rode by Ula, where the American missionaries have a school, and Turmel, to the hills which advance in bold rocks, bearing two castles over the Lake of Urimiyeh, and which are designated Kara Bash (Black Head). But they have a culminating point westward, which had still a few patches of snow on its hoary head, and which, rising about a thousand feet above the level of the lake, is called Zendasht Tagh, or Tur Zendasht, by the Chaldeans.

On our descent from the range of hills, we came down not far from the great lake of Urimiyeh, which in its wide expanse resembles an inland sea, being about eighty miles in length and thirty in width. Its banks are not wooded, but, when not rocky, occupied by saline marshes, which produce nothing but the plants common to such a soil. The waters are so salt that fish cannot live in it, but the shores are occasionally enlivened by water-fowl; among which the brilliant flamingo is the most conspicuous.

We halted at the Chaldean village of Gawalan, to

the north of which, and not far from the lake, was the larger Christian village, called Jemalaweh by the Chaldeans, but Jelalabad by the Persians. We visited the house of the priest, which was full of females and children; and after the customary compliments I retired to a garden in the neighbourhood, where I could sit and write at my ease. Not a being came to disturb me, save my faithful Greek, who brought me my dinner shortly after sunset, and at night came and took up his quarters under an adjacent tree.

*June 27th.* Our road lay along the banks of the lake, but at some distance from the water, and over a dry, gravelly, or sandy plain, covered with a species of ononis and mesembryanthemum, amid which, when the soil was slightly saline, predominated a species of *salsola*; when very saline, a *salicornia*; when scarcely at all salt, *Nigella Damascena*, *Capparis spinosa* and *C. ovata*. Thus, at an elevation of 4300 feet, we had at once the vegetation of Mesopotamia and of Babylonia, the *nigella* especially reminding one of Mosul, the *mesembryanthema* of Hillah, but vegetation was more dense; and the perpetual *artemisiæ* of the lower plains were a good deal replaced by *Astragalus verus* and *A. tragacanthoides*. Amid these were numerous vagabond flowering plants, which did not, however, affect the main features of the vegetation. Springs of water were frequent at the foot of the hills, but generally brackish. Major Rawlinson has described the lake as supplied by several salt rivers on the eastern side.

It appeared to me that the lake had with the progress of time rather diminished in size than otherwise, and which would be substantiated by its excessive salt-

ness, as well as by the considerable lacustrine deposit that extends along its shores, characterized by its vegetation of saline plants. The Major is inclined to take an opposite view of the subject, and to consider the lake as encroaching upon the land. This may very well be occasionally the case, as in different seasons of the year, when the supplies from the rivers are greater or less, and again at certain times when whole rivers are absorbed in irrigation, or are allowed free course to the lake, as is related by Major Rawlinson of the Jaghatu and the Tatau: but these are accidental phenomena, while the great extent of alluvium, which has evidently been deposited by the waters of the lake, leaves no doubt of the general change produced in a great period of time, notwithstanding the temporary variation in the level of the waters.

The district of Urimiyeh presents an extraordinary scene to a person accustomed to the treeless monotony of the plains of Mesopotamia. A more fertile district can scarcely be imagined. One vast extent of groves, orchards, vineyards, gardens, rice-grounds, and villages, sometimes with a village common, it much resembled the best parts of Lombardy, between Milan and the Lago Maggiore.

All the latter part of our journey was carried for many hours over the same plain of exuberant fertility, clothed with a luxuriant verdure, fruitful fields, gardens and vineyards, irrigated by streams of pure water, from the adjacent mountains. The landscape is one of the most lovely in the East; and the effect is not a little heightened by the contrast of such surprising fertility, with the stern aspect of the surrounding heights, on

which not a solitary tree is to be seen ; while in the plain, the willows, poplars, and sycamores, by the water-courses, the peach, apricot, pear, plum, cherry, quince, apple, and vine, in the orchards, impart to large sections the appearance of a rich, variegated forest.

Towards evening we arrived at the ancient city of Urimiyeh, containing a population of about twenty thousand souls, mostly Mohammedans, and inclosed by a fosse and wall of nearly four miles in circuit.

The American mission at this place, which has now attained so much power and prosperity, was founded in November, 1835, by the Rev. J. Perkins and Dr. Grant, accompanied by their wives. The Rev. A. L. Halladay and Mr. W. R. Stocking arrived with their wives, in June, 1837 ; Rev. W. Jones and wife, November, 1839 ; Rev. A. H. Wright, M.D., July, 1840 ; and we met on the way from Trebizond, at the time of our return, Mr. Edward Breath, a printer, who was charged with a press of such construction as to allow of its transportation on horses.

The labours of this mission have been most successful and praiseworthy. Twelve or fourteen free-schools have been opened in the villages of the plain ; a seminary and girls' boarding-school have been established on the mission premises in the city ; considerable portions of the Scriptures have been translated into the vernacular language of the Chaldeans. The Chaldeans on their part have opened their churches for their Sabbath-schools, and the preaching of the Gospel, and native *helpers* are being raised up and qualified for usefulness ; the missionaries have been allowed to prosecute their labours without a breath of opposition from the ecclesiastics or the

people; they have, when difficulties have occurred with the local authorities, been assisted by the influence of the British Embassy in Persia, and nothing at present threatens to interfere with the noble field of labour which they have monopolised to themselves, and the gracious enterprise in which such good spirits are associated.

A drawback has occurred, however, to this picture of prosperity in doing good, in the afflictions which the mission families have suffered from the inroads of the malaria of the country. From this sad disease Dr. Grant lost his wife, in the year 1839, and probably from the same causes, they have found it a most difficult matter to rear children, who are almost always carried off in early life.

Mr. Rassam and myself had only provided ourselves, on our departure from Mosul, with such clothing as the necessities of the journey would positively require from us, as we were not at all certain that we should be able to penetrate into and traverse Kurdistan, without being robbed even of that small quota. From these circumstances, partly also as a visit to the American missionaries might have detained us a few days at Urimiyeh, which would have put us to inconvenience, and still further, as I expected in the autumn months to have been able to return and lay down the whole details of the Lake of Urimiyeh, in my way from Armenia, we thought it better for the moment to defer introducing ourselves to the numerous members of the mission. I myself had at the same time, from so long breathing the pure air of the mountains, imbibed quite a horror of the confinement of a house in the hot plains, and while Mr. Rassam, Davud, and the remainder

proceeded to the khan in the city, I laid my carpet under a tree not far from the way-side, where I was not long in being visited by numerous Persians, whose Turkish puzzled me at first, and especially their word for *good*, which, in Turkish *a-e*, is by them called *yak-tchi*. Observing that I was amused by hearing a native singing as he went by, they extended their politeness to sending for a man whom they said could sing in the most superlatively yak-tchi manner, and I was thus doomed to listen for nearly half an hour, to certainly most extraordinary vocal exertions. After dark my Greek servant came from the town and brought with him cherries, a fruit I had not tasted for a long time, and he afterwards took up his quarters near me.

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## CHAPTER XLIII.

Start from Urimiyeh. Timidity of the Persians. Town of Ushnei.

Pass of the Keli Shin. Ascent of the Peak of Rowandiz.

Prospect from the Summit. Persian Fire-Temples on High-Places. Descent of the Mountain. Fort of Sidek, or Sidaka.

Approach to Rowandiz.

*June 28th.* LEAVING Urumiyeh we crossed the river of Suhur by a bridge of five arches, and passing a low range of hills entered upon a very fertile low rice country, which extended nearly to the banks of the lake, and to the south, gradually became a marsh, which must be impassable at certain seasons of the year. When we came to the banks of the Burranduz river, we could not find a ford, and after attempting it for some time, we were forced to return to the village of Asinijik, where we obtained a guide, and ultimately forded the river, about a mile below where we first attempted it. Beyond this we advanced upon an extensive plain and pasture-land, everywhere covered with large herds of horses and cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats. There were also many villages, and every appearance of prosperity and fertility all along the east side of the same mountains, which on the western side are, generally speaking, so sterile and unproductive.

We brought up for the night on these pasture-lands, not far from the fortified farm of Uladi, where we could obtain bread and milk. The peasants, as usual, recommended us taking up our quarters within the farm, and represented, with true Persian exaggeration, all the

dangers of sleeping out on the plain; however, upon this occasion we all bivouacked out together, nor did any one come to give us any trouble.

*June 29th.* Passing the villages of Thomator (Christian) and that of Char, each with its mud fort, we entered upon the hills which now separated us from the plain of Ushnei, or Shino, as it is generally called. We entered by a ravine, about one mile and a half up which we found the village of Kasinli, the hills around rising barely 800 feet above the valley. At mid-day, after travelling six hours, we came to an upland of sienitic rocks, having traversed which, we descended upon the plain of Ushnei, and passing the Christian village of Cham, rode through Ushnei without stopping, and bivouacked in a field beyond the town.

The plain of Ushnei is traversed in its centre by the river Gader, and may be estimated at eight to nine miles in length and two to three in width. It contains eight villages besides the residence of the governor and market-place (Ushnei), and two forts, both near the river. This plain is at an elevation, by boiling-point thermometer, of 4619 feet, which appears from the short course of the Gader to be correct.

The mountains of Keli Shin rise from 1000 to 1500 feet above the plain, or about 6000 feet above the level of the sea; and they presented a nearly continuous extent of snow, descending 500 feet down their eastern declivities to the zone of fennel. The plain itself appears to have been once a lake, which was gradually filled up by deposits of gravel brought down by the Gader, and which at the upper end of the plain attain a depth of upwards of 100 feet. A mud fort of no



great antiquity, two miles south-west of Ushnei, has been raised from its previous insignificance by the learning and research of Major Rawlinson, and proved to occupy the site of Saragana, where the army of Narses effected its junction with the Armenian contingent. It derives, however, still more importance from its corroborating the ancient existence of a great thoroughfare across the mountains by Herir, Rowandiz and Sidek.

We suffered some inconvenience from the picturesque red turbaned Kurds of Ushnei, who held various debates concerning the appropriation of our goods; but still more from the exaggerated fears of the more poltroon black capped gentlemen, who visited us in numbers in the field near the town, where we had extended our carpets and turned out the horses and mules to grass, and made such representations of the dangers we had to encounter on entering the mountains, and that we might even experience from remaining where we were, as quite to discomfit a portion of our party. When night came, I made strong representations as to the necessity of our dividing the watch, but Mr. Russell was no longer with us, and I was left in the minority of one; Mr. Rassam and poor Davud had crept together on the same carpet, and were positively crouched up and disabled by fear, so at length the Greek and I were obliged to divide the night between ourselves, and it is unnecessary to say, that it was undisturbed even by the hooting of an owl.

The next day, Mr. Rassam, Davud, and the muleteers, united in objecting to proceed without a guard from the Khan of Ushnei, which the two former volunteered to procure, much against my inclination, and to

our ultimate inconvenience. In the first place we did not get off till the afternoon, waiting for said guard, which turned out to be two useless and badly-armed khawasses; and secondly, there was a great road across the Keli Shin, direct from Ushnei, by which I should have seen the celebrated pillar, with Persepolitan characters, that exists in this pass, but which I was deprived of, by being led out of the way, and unnecessarily to the summer quarters of the Zerza Kurds. My regret has, however, been lessened, by reading Major Rawlinson's account of the same stone and writing, which, if engraved on the compact blue slate or schist of the neighbouring mountains, as appears from that gentleman's description to be the case, must be irrecoverably illegible. It is satisfactorily determined, however, to be a cuneiform inscription.

We bivouacked close by the tents of the Kurds, who supplied us abundantly with milk, butter, and other pastoral dainties, and which are truly such, in a hot climate; and being under the protection of these rude mountaineers, we were not harassed by the repetition of the same fear-begetting tales with which we had been surfeited every evening, since we had been in Persian Kurdistan.

*July 2nd.* We started at an early hour for the ascent of the Keli Shin, which was performed on foot; but we were delayed by the non-arrival of the Kurds who were to act as guards, and without whom the muleteers would not proceed; when they came up, only two were armed, and these began, in the most haughty and insolent manner, to ask for pipes, which were at once refused to them. We then proceeded on our

journey, and crossing the first range, gained a country with less snow and more wood, and with many flocks of sheep and goats feeding on the mountain sides. We soon, however, came to another range, with glaciers, the slope of which created some anxiety. We passed three of these, however, in safety; it was more fearful to look at another passing over them than to venture oneself; a single slip would infallibly have hurried a person to eternity.

When we gained the next crest, the peak of Rowandiz was only distant from us two more summits and crests, and was easily attainable. I had gone behind a rock to take a few bearings without attracting attention, when I heard a quarrel, and upon my return found Rassam and Davud agitated with alarm. The Kurds had insisted on being paid according to their unlimited demands, and upon the mountain where we were. I was glad of this, as there was now an opportunity of repaying them for their previous insolence, which had indeed been intolerable all the way. They were now alone on the mountain, and the Greek and myself were infinitely better armed than they, and our arms in better condition, so we told them to go about their business, they should not have a farthing. Mr. Rassam, however, who was for pacific measures, promised one of the guides to pay him at Rowandiz. Finding that they could get nothing from us here, the two ruffians went off, which was an agreeable riddance.

We now continued our ascent of the mountain. Vast piles of snow, accumulated by the drift winds to a depth of many hundred feet, were only broken through by bold and sharp rocky pinnacles of grey and green

quartz, or broke off abruptly over dark precipices of brown and blue schists, shivering away in silvery leaflets, and shaking in the breeze more like fragments of the ice-heap than of the mountain. The *Aretia alpina*, and here and there a saxifrage, were the only remaining specimens of vegetation; on some sheltered moist spots grew, in isolated masses, *Polytrichum septentrionale*.

Proceeding over the first mountain, we had a descent to make through a ravine filled with snow, then another ascent steep and rocky, and another glacier, till hope deferred made the heart sick. At length we came to a precipice formed by a vast dyke of sienites, which crossed the whole crest, and constituted the summit of the peak of Rowandiz, or Sheikhiwa, as it is called by the Kurds. We were now obliged to climb, but perseverance soon brought us to the top, from whence we enjoyed a view of almost all Northern Kurdistan, favoured as we were by an uncommonly clear and fine day; nothing but the haze, produced by the intense heat of the plain, prevented our seeing Mosul. Indeed, it was well that, before my departure, I had taken several bearings from Mosul to this mountain, for since the great heats had come on, it had been no longer visible. The elevation of Rowandiz, by boiling-point thermometer, we found to be 10,568 feet.

But, although remarkable by its position, there is no doubt that some of the summits of the Jellu mountains, which are peaks rising on a sea of peaks, or mountains superposed on a group of mountains, exceed it in elevation. Such more particularly is the mountain called Sheikiv, and of which Sheikiwah is the diminutive, thus indicating that the Kurds consider the former as

the higher mountain. This mountain constitutes what may be considered as the southerly peak of the Tura Jellu or Jawur Tagh, unless the Keli Shin and Sheikhiwa mountains are regarded, as they may strictly be, as a continuation of the same chain. All the loftiest alps occur towards the heads of the tributaries of the Great Zab, adhering to the narrow line of the granitic axis, and lower towards the head-waters of the Little Zab. At the same time, I doubt if there are any mountains in Kurdistan which attain an elevation of 15,000 feet, as marked on Colonel Monteith's map; the highest summits of the Jellu or Jawur Tagh, viewed in comparison with Sheikhiwa, not appearing to have a greater elevation than 12,000 or 13,000 feet.

On looking around, I was particularly delighted by the number of old friends which I could distinguish. First, and most prominent, were the Jellu mountains, from which I was separated by what might truly be called a tremendous country of awful chasms and steep precipices; although, when one comes to face these difficulties, such a pigmy is man compared with surrounding nature, that they are merely steep slopes which he may tread, just as an ant finds a firm hold upon what to us appears the smooth surface of a stone.

Advancing from the mountain of Sheikiv upon the valley of the Zab, which here and there displayed itself glittering out from the wooded vale below like a minute silver thread, was the bold but less lofty mountain of Linitka; beyond was the chain of Matineh, and nearer, that of Ghara Tobi and Rash Kaim, which terminated with their rugged summits the prospect to the north-west. It is the abrupt termination of these chains, and

the opening that extends between them and the Zobar country and mountains, which allows of the Sheikhiwa being seen from Mosul. To the west, was first the bold and wooded mountain of Sir-i-Burd, with the beauteous vale of Sidaka, or Sidek, at its base; and beyond this the giant precipices of limestone which guard Rowandiz, and which open their rocky breast to allow the waters of four rivers to mingle together. To the south-west, the country was lower, yet I recognised some well-known points near Keuy Sanjiak, while the lofty summits of the Kandilan mountains limited the prospect to the south. To the east was the noble expanse of Lake Urimiyeh, and the comparatively low country of Lahijan and Solduz, backed by the hills of Sardusht and Mikri, and stretching beyond till lost in the haze of a mid-day sun.

It was with regret that we tore ourselves from this magnificent prospect; added to which, the mountain itself had a charm which was deeply felt by all. It, perhaps, more particularly originated in the deep silence which reigned upon this lofty summit, and which appeared as if for ever unbroken on the spot which thus rose up to the region of the clouds so perfectly alone, so pure in its canopy of white, and with an atmosphere so substantially deep and blue, that it seemed a cloud of itself; and the spectator shuddered to think himself upon its bosom!

It has been truly remarked, that,

Not vainly did the early Persian make  
His altar the high places and the peak  
Of earth-o'ergazing mountains\*.

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\* If Major Rawlinson be correct in supposing that the mountain of Asnavend, which bore one of the three original sacred fires—that

After half-running, half-sliding, we found ourselves in an hour comfortably seated just below the inferior limits of snow, where a fire had been kindled, and breakfast was prepared to reward us for our toil. There were also a host of Kurdish shepherds, who had gathered round to wonder who were the madmen—for they were polite enough to deem us such—who had come to run, as if in derision, over their snow-clad mountains\*.

A large caravan passed along the road in the course of the morning, and, indeed, notwithstanding the predatory habits of the Kurds, this is in summer-time one of the most frequented passes in this part of the country, the same merchants having recourse in severer seasons to the

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of Azer Geshep—was at or near the famous Keli Shin, this high and remarkable mountain was the most likely to be chosen as the site of the temple; but it may be objected both to the heikhiwa and to the Keli Shin, that they are rendered almost inaccessible by snow and glaciers, and I am much more inclined to seek for the site of Asnavend at the peak of Atash Tagh (Fire Rock), before noticed, which is a commanding yet accessible eminence, and better adapted to the description given in the Zend Avesta, where Mount Asnavend is mentioned as between Var Khosrau, or Lake of Van, and Var Tekhesht, or Lake of Urimiyeh.

\* I here lost the last opportunity of obtaining a snow worm; a creature abundantly noticed by old naturalists, as Aristotle, Pliny, Ælian, and Theophrastus. Strabo says, they exist in Armenia, and contain good water, which may be drank, after tearing the vesicles that contain it. He also gives their names after Apollonidus. When at Mosul, I had been positively promised by the Chaldeans that they would obtain one of these natural curiosities for me; but although I afterwards offered a premium for the discovery none were brought, notwithstanding that their existence is mentioned by all as a well-known matter of fact.

road by Rowandiz to So-uj Bolak; but in winter, all roads are equally impassable. The elevation of our halting-place was 8568 feet.

On leaving our station we kept rounding the acclivities of the mountain for several hours, during which we passed over a great variety of rock formations, and rivulets, or rather torrents, pouring down from the perpetual glaciers of this lofty peak. The first rivulet we met with came from a small lake at the south-west side of the mountain, which had, apparently but a few years ago, broken its boundaries and scattered over the valley a vast accumulation of rocks, boulders, and pebbles. We then passed no less than three successive torrents, each from eleven to fifteen feet in width, and pouring along with such rapidity that the legs of the hardy Kurd mules trembled beneath them when urged into the stream. The various streams united in a beautiful wooded vale lying still many hundred feet beneath us, and containing several villages of Kurds, for there were no more Chaldeans in this part of the mountains.

Still curving round the acclivities of the mountain we entered upon a forest of oak, with an undergrowth of jasmine, small honeysuckle, and cercis. This region was the most agreeable in the mountains; the temperature was mild, and the air light and pleasant; there was neither the heat nor parched vegetation of the plains, nor was there the snows and extreme cold, with the fierceness of torrents and rugged torn-up fragments of rock, to be met with in the higher regions. It took us four long hours' ride to descend from our station to the head of the valley of Sidaka, or Sidek, which we had no sooner gained than we found mulberry-trees



loaded with fruit, which, as may be naturally expected, put a great impediment in the way of progress, as every one was helping himself according to his means.

The change in the temperature and vegetation was, as may be imagined, very great. We were in the midst of rice and melon cultivation, and surrounded by groves of mulberry. Several little villages were scattered along the side of the river of Sidaka, or upon the declivities of the hills. The valley is, strictly speaking, a ravine at the base of the Sheikhiwa; it and the surrounding country still remain under the government of the Bey of Rowandiz. The tribe dwelling in this vale called themselves Pir Astini. We proceeded a few miles down the valley, and then brought-to in some pasture lands with hedges and trees, resembling, in almost every particular, a way-side in our own country. Not far from us was a small village, called Jeffuli, from whence we obtained the usual necessities.

*July 2nd.* Next day we continued our journey along the valley of Sidaka, as it is called by the Kurds, and by the Persians Sidek. It was narrow, and densely wooded. Not far from the end of the valley we crossed a small but rapid river by a bridge carried over a ravine, a little beyond which was a brook, and between the two a bold naked mass of rock is isolated, so as to strike out of the valley with precipitous walls. On this projection is the fort of Sidaka, a square court, with four round towers at the angles; but having also in front another curtain and gateway, defended by two more towers. Before the castle is the village, which contains about 100 houses. Although the present castle is a comparatively modern building, the rock on which it stands

appears to have been chiselled on its face at a very remote date, for the waters have since that period wrought changes which are easily distinguishable from what was done in ancient times to render the rock more difficult of approach. There is every reason to believe, from the peculiarities of its position, as well as from its antique appearance, that it was a station or fort at the time when this was the great road from Nineveh to Ecbatana. A wooded open valley unites with the Sidek vale from the south-east, and the united waters flow into the comparatively open country between Sir Linitka and Sir-i-Burd.

It is not improbable that I was the first European who, in modern times, has visited this remarkable fort, or who, indeed, has crossed the mountains of Kurdistan at this point, and I was anxious to examine it carefully and search for inscriptions, although I was not at the time aware of the report obtained by Major Rawlinson of their being such at this place. Unfortunately, however, the soldiers came out of the castle, insisting upon the examination of our papers and baggage, as this was the frontier-fort between Turkish and Persian Kurdistan. So, to avoid this annoyance, I was obliged to yield to the general wish to push on and leave the soldiers unsatisfied. Immediately beyond Sidaka we commenced the ascent of Sir-i-Burd, a huge mountain of a more or less conical form generally covered with wood, of which a large proportion were valonia oaks. The country we had now entered upon was, indeed, a continuation of the Amadiyeh district, and, like it, is the true country of valonia and gall-nuts.

As we advanced amid the dense forests of Sir-i-Burd

the scene presented little variety, but we passed round the head of one valley, in which there were villages and some cleared places for cultivation; where there was a spring, there was also generally one or two trees of more gigantic growth than the rest, and a more or less open patch of greensward, where caravans are accustomed to bivouac. It took us five hours to accomplish a distance of eighteen miles, which led us nearly round one-half of the mountain's circumference. We then began to descend towards the vale of Rowandiz by a difficult pathway, carried over a shelving declivity of schists, and on which we were obliged to walk. It constitutes the second of the difficulties of this road, which are three in number, viz.: the snows of the pass of Keli-Shin, the descent on slates at the foot of the Sir-i-Burd, and the vast limestone precipices west of Rowandiz.

The prospect that opened upon us during the descent was that of a bold and rather peculiar rocky scenery. A stony and not well-wooded vale lay beneath us, bounded to the west by a precipitous and bare ridge of limestone rocks. It was evident from the form of the valley that its waters did not flow along its centre, but close to the last-mentioned ridge. The town of Rowandiz was not visible, but it was easy to guess at its situation; and the deep cleft, through which the river of Rowandiz forced its way to join the waters of the Zab, rose gradually from a mere glen in the neighbourhood of the town to a giant staircase of rocks as they united with the westerly range; and through which the upper part of the now lofty ravine was visible at a vast distance, as a deep black enormous fissure.

## CHAPTER XLIV.



Izedi Tomb.

**Town of Rowandiz. Kurd Bey of Rowandiz. Road carried down a Precipice. Peculiar Hydrography. Comparison of the Great Zab and Tigris. Descend to the plains of Adiabene. Occurrences at Mosul. Visit to Eski Mosul (Old Mosul). Mosul Ashirat of Arabs. Numerous Wild Boars. Mr. Rassam, Vice-Consul at Mosul. Astronomical Observations.**

I WAS prepared from the scanty description of Dr. Ross, the first and only European who had preceded us at Rowandiz, (pronounced by the natives Rawanduz,) to meet with much to interest me in the position and peculiarities of this remote and little known mountain town, but the reality exceeded my expectations. We were almost at its portals before it became visible; but as we approached, the distribution of the numerous ravines, with their perpendicular walls of limestone rock, the place whereabouts the town would be, became every moment

more distinct. At length, coming over a gentle hill, we saw a mount with one of the usual square castles with round towers upon its summit; but this was not yet Rowandiz. We travelled on, and tower after tower displayed itself in succession, till, upon a naked plain of limestone, higher up, a few gardens made their appearance, and at length the town itself burst upon our view: the houses, built in rows, one above the other, and descending in successive tiers, along a tongue of limestone, which has a deep ravine to the east, and another to the north, the latter containing the river of Rowandiz. We descended into the ravine and found a bridge thrown across the precipice where the river is only ten yards wide and about one yard deep, and rolling about twenty feet below.

As we rode through the steep and narrow streets, the crowd that pressed upon our passage to see the strangers, was so great, that it was with difficulty we could get along. It was in vain that I had looked in entering the town, among these naked rocks, for some tree, beneath which to seek for a night's repose; I had seen none, and was obliged to wend my way on this occasion with the remainder to the crowded and dirty khan of the city. We were no sooner there and installed in the balcony that surrounds the inner court of these Eastern hostels, than the whole interior, court and all, was filled with spectators; among them I observed to my surprise a young Shammar Arab, exceedingly well dressed. "How did you come here?" I asked him; "How did you?" was his answer, smiling significantly. He then told me that he had crossed the mountains from Keuy Sanjiak. Now as I had been on a former occasion from Suleimaniyeh

to Keuy Sanjiak, I only wanted the itinerary from that place to Rowandiz, to fill up a good part of Kurdistan, and two minutes more saw me, pen in hand, inditing to the dictation of the polite young Shammar, to the infinite amazement of the crowd, who wondered how I had so soon found a friend. Mr. Rassam, however, had found a host of friends on his part, Romish Chaldeans from Mosul, who bring European manufactures into these remote parts in exchange for galls, skins, tobacco, &c.

The town of Rowandiz has been estimated at 2000 houses, but I could not count more than 1000. As I may, however, have left some out, let it be allowed altogether 1300; but most of them contain from two to three families, none so few as one, and many more. Indeed I never saw such a crowded population, nor so strange a scene. The roofs of the houses have no walls as in other Eastern towns, and the moment the sun set the dinner was taken, and the bed made upon the roof; for the pent-up valleys of Rowandiz and Amadiyeh are as oppressively hot as the plains of Mesopotamia. There were more than 500 persons to see us eat; and so great was the population that at night I observed there was not room enough on the roofs, and that hundreds of people, men, women, and children, lay in the streets. Many had entwined a few branches round their couches; some had erected little scaffoldings of wood and branches, on which slept the family, dogs, and fowls, but the scene was very strange to the eyes of a European. Altogether there was less refinement here than I had yet witnessed in the East.

The town is defended on the land-side by a wall with round towers; and the bey has several guns.

There were also several round towers outside the town : on the opposite side of the east ravine there are two ; between the castle, to the north, and the ravine of the river, there are two more ; and two in advance of the walls on the land-side. There is also a larger tower in the town on the higher part of the rock. The bey has as usual the best house, and a very pleasant summer-house, covered with branches of trees, where he spent the day while we were there.

The present bey is brother to the late chieftain, who rebelled against the Osmanli government, and whose fate is involved in Oriental mystery. The ambition of this man led him to plan conquests upon a large scale, and to threaten a large portion of the Osmanli dominions, in which enterprise had he been seconded by the Kurds as a nation, there is no doubt that he might have met with considerable success. As it was, he sacked and ravaged the fortress of Amadiyeh, and made an independent fort of it ; and he even had the audacity to build a fort at the ferry upon the Great Zab, by which he broke off the communication between Baghdad and Mosul. He also built many minor forts at different derbends or entrances into the Kurdistan mountains, two of which I passed upon a former journey, not far from Keuy Sanjiak. At length Ali Pasha moved with a small body of troops and some field pieces against the rebel Kurd, to whom a further prestige was attached, from his lameness, which led among the extravagant Orientals, to his being identified after such limited prowess with Timur Bey. Ali Pasha, however, did not take his troops and guns beyond the hills of Herir on the outskirts of the mountains, and which, as far as the

real difficulties were concerned, was no nearer than Baghdad. A series of negotiations was commenced here, and the bey was ultimately allured from his fastnesses, and sent to Constantinople. A little previous to this, the bey was visited by Dr. Ross, from the Residency of Baghdad, and afterwards by Mr. Wood, now consul at Damascus. This latter gentleman, who was then dragoman to the British Embassy at Constantinople, interested himself much in the fate of the prisoner, and also got the Ambassador to exert himself for the mountain Kurd, (who had promised in return great regard and friendship for the English,) so far as, after his swearing allegiance to the Porte, to get him sent back to his country, with the new title of Mohammed Pasha. He was accordingly shipped off to Samsun, but disappeared at Amasiyeh, owing, as it was studiously reported, to illness, but from inquiries we made at Amasiyeh itself, shortly after the time, we learned that he was overtaken there by a messenger from Constantinople with the bow-string\*.

Dr. Ross, and on his authority, Major Rawlinson, have written of the river of Rowandiz as if it were identical with the Great Zab, which is not the case, as the river of Rowandiz comes from the west slope of the Kandilan mountains; and up its fine and open valley is the road to So-uj Bolak: near Rowandiz it enters into a ravine of limestone, and receives at the town a stream

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\* A few years ago Abbas Mirza also sent an army against the Kurds of Rowandiz, then governed by Mustafah Bey, but the Persians were driven back and obliged to retreat, with the loss of their artillery.



from the south, and the ravine keeps increasing in depth with its further progress to the west. Not far below the Rowandiz is a gap in these cliffs, through which flow the winter-torrents from a high mountain, towering over these ravines, and called Sir Hasan Beg. Further on, and about one mile below Rowandiz, the river of that town is joined by a much larger stream, formed by the union of the three great streams with many minor ones which flow from the Sheikhiwa and the river of Sidaka.

*July 3rd.* We did not leave Rowandiz till mid-day. There was much commercial activity in the khan; they were loading two caravans at the moment with madder-root, tobacco, and buffalo-skins. The merchants of Mosul bring there English and French goods to exchange for galls. I saw the skins of two Kurd foxes, evidently a peculiar species, very small, with no brush to the tail; the fur fine and short, of an ash-grey colour, except the mesial line of the back, which was brown; the ears were short. Passing the gardens of the town, we made a descent into a deep valley with a gap through the lime ridge into the bed of the Rowandiz river; we then ascended one hour and a half to the crest of the shoulder of Sir Hasan Beg. We descended from hence one of the most remarkable precipices that I have ever seen a road carried down. It was not so lofty as many in the Tiyari, but it was nearly vertical, and upwards of 800 feet in perpendicular depth, and yet the road was hewn in the face of this precipice, along which it winded round and round with so gradual a descent that it might be effected in safety on horse-back. We went fast, for we were thirsty, and the windings must have been six or seven miles in length.

Having gained the bottom, the road does not follow the valley or ravine of the river of Rowandiz, but that of Pir Hasan, which flows into it. This river presented the remarkable peculiarity of having its origin outside the inner range of mountains to the west, and of then forcing its way into, instead of out of them, winding along deep ravines and secluded rocky dells, till it fell into the river of Rowandiz, to flow out of the same mountains back again to the west; and very little beyond this junction the united streams of Sidaka, Rowandiz, and the last-mentioned stream, flow into the Great Zab. The union occurs amid stupendous precipices of limestone, which rise perpendicularly upwards of 1000 feet above the pigmy torrents, though these must have been the main instruments of this singular configuration and distribution of rock and water.

The rivers abounded in fish; and our road up the glen of the Pir Hasan river had many charms. In the first place the steep precipices shaded us from the hot beams of the sun; there was plenty of water, and the wooded cliffs presented great variety of scene: in some parts vast slips had taken place, and huge masses of rock for a time hid the river from sight; then we came upon a little open space with a base of sand or gravel, while at other times the road was carried with difficulty under overhanging cliffs. At length we arrived at an open plain, where the limestone rocks at the outskirts of the range were nearly vertical, while within they became almost immediately horizontal, an arrangement not so readily accounted for by the hypothesis of upheaving forces, as by that of subsidence. Near the exit of the mountains I visited a curious cave, but of no remarkable depth,

and a little beyond we came upon a wooded vale, in part cultivated, where we took up our quarters in a most pleasant situation by the river side; and in which I enjoyed a luxurious bath.

As we continued our journey the next day, however, we found that we were more rapidly entering upon an uninteresting country, the sun-burnt plains and undulating district which extend between the outlying low ranges of hills of the Kurdistan mountains. First on our road were the hills of Koniattman, clad with oaks, among which appeared a modern square castle called Kalah Kin by my informants, and Kalah Julamerik by the muleteers, who were from Rowandiz. These hills led us to the plain of Herir, beyond which is the rocky range of limestone called Gharah Surgh. Passing by Anoma, a large village, we came to the banks of the Zab, where is a ferry and two villages, the one on the left bank being called Kasroki, that on the right, Kendil. The ferry, however, had been removed lower down, and when we reached it, as there was only a very small raft supported by eight skins, it took us three journeys of one hour each to carry over everything; and what rendered this delay in the middle of the day more irksome was, that there was no tree nor overhanging rock to shelter us from the sun, and I think I never felt its direct rays more powerful.

Difference of opinion has existed among geographers as to the comparative size of the Great Zab and of the Tigris at Mosul; and this is not surprising, since they are so nearly equal in magnitude that sometimes the one has the superiority, sometimes the other. I have collected a variety of data upon the subject, and the result

is that at Nimrud, at the ferry to Arbil, and at Herir, the Zab varies from 150 to 200 yards in width, while the Tigris, seldom less than 200 yards, expands occasionally to 300 and even 400 yards, as at Yarumjah. In fact, the Tigris varies very much, so that at the time of flood it presents the appearance given to it in the map, which represents it as formed at Mosul of many branches. At these seasons it attains in some places a width, as we have before seen, just above Mosul, of about an English mile, and is a truly splendid sheet of water. But the Zab is always much deeper; and it is probably on this account that it is so celebrated for the quantity and size of its fish. It contained, when we saw it, a larger body of water than the Tigris, whose tributaries are not supplied by so many snow-mountains as those of the Zab. Indeed the main branch, or that of Arghana Maden, comes from mountains (Azarah) where there is no snow at this season of the year. The temperature of the waters of the Zab is also several degrees lower than that of the waters of the Tigris throughout summer, and they are consequently delicious to drink. As the seasons of the floods of the Tigris are in April and May, and those of the Zab in June and early in July, the superiority passes in succession from the one to the other. When at their lowest, probably, the Tigris has a slight pre-eminence.

A little beyond the ferry we entered upon a country of sands and sandstones, with the usual rivulets clad with gaudy oleanders. There are many villages on the banks of the Zab, and we stopped at one of these, called Isa, by the side of a clear spring, and as Mr. Rassam and Davud were now approaching Mosul they began to

feel themselves at home, and we enjoyed the evening in calm repose, undisturbed by the long histories of robberies and murders that had been dealt out in so wholesale a manner on the other side of the mountains. We suffered much, however, at night from hot blasts, which came from the plains of Mesopotamia, and kept the thermometer at 110° during the night. It was impossible to sleep under such circumstances; but the result was beneficial, and next day the atmosphere was generally cooled and more agreeable.

*July 5th.* The main part of the morning's journey was directed up the valley of the Akra river, which is a tributary to the Zab, and not to the Khazir, as marked in Dr. Ross's map. About eight miles from the Zab there are two streams; one of which finds its way by a ravine through the limestone range that flanks the low country, and is here called Sir-i-Sadah; the other comes from Akra\*, which was only distant about one hour's ride. This valley and the plain of Nav-Kur (the Plain of Mud), produce the greater part of the rice consumed at Mosul, as well as many common and water-melons. The best and largest water-melons are, however, said to be produced on the banks of the Khazir.

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\* Akra is described by Dr. Grant as a romantic little town, embosomed in gardens and fruit orchards. Bold and bare rocks rise abruptly from the foot of the town, which is also overlooked by a castle lately ruined by the Turks. The population is about 2000, and of these, thirty houses belong to Romish Chaldeans and Syrians. The Doctor visited here one of the Abbasside Kurd princes, who received him graciously, rising from his seat, and giving him a seat by his side. Akra was also visited by Colonel Sheil.

We left the valley by a hill called Sir Deriyeh, of no great height, but commanding a most extensive prospect, and from whence I got bearings of all the various outlets of waters from the mountains, with also the inlet of Pir Hasan, the only case of the kind that I know in the Kurdistan hills. Below this hill we entered upon the extensive plain of Nav-Kur, studded with villages, but only very partially cultivated; yet more so than in its northern portion, where we had crossed it on our departure. The river Khazir flows through its centre, but afterwards approaches closely to the foot of Jebel Maklub, which it washes at its south-eastern base. We travelled on till dark, and then took up our quarters in the village of Chorek.

*July 6th.* The Jebel Maklub is prolonged to the south-east by low hills of sandstone, on the side of which is the large village of Zenganah. The Khazir forces its way through these hills at the foot of Maklub, but is again turned off by the hill, indifferently named Ain al Safra (the Yellow Spring), or Ain al Beidha (the White Spring), from two springs on it, so called, which irrigate the lands of the village of Bertulli and others. The Ain al Safra and Maklub appear from Mosul as two distinct hills, but they are united by a low range of sandstone and limestone, amid which is the village and khan of Duberdah. We took breakfast at this place, and trotted from thence to Mosul in four hours, the distance being about eighteen miles.

*July 6th.* On our return to Mosul, I found the long expected box of instruments arrived from England, but as it had unluckily been forwarded from the coast of Syria on the back of camels, every single object in it

was broken into fragments. On the 9th of July, Riza Mirza, the eldest of the three Persian princes who had visited England a few years back, arrived at Mosul and spent a few days with us. In the latter end of the month a certain Comte de Sivrac arrived upon a mission to the Romish Chaldeans, and was entertained in the old Jesuits' house in the town. Captain Lynch came from Baghdad on August 2nd, accompanied by M. de Sercy, the French ambassador to Persia, and a numerous suite, and they reposed themselves a few days at Mosul.

*August 10th.* As it was becoming a little cooler, I made an excursion to Eski Mosul, proceeding the first evening to Atmeidat, a small village on the banks of the Tigris, three hours north of Mosul. The next day we passed by Badus, through a range of low limestone hills, where Rennell's map indicates ruins, but I could only find the remains of a village, and a pile of stones upon an eminence like a cairn. From the hills we descended to the water-side where were several villages, beyond which were the ruins of a castle situated on a hill called Tell Ajus.

Keeping along the banks of the river, we came to the spot where, from having a south-easterly course, it took a sudden bend to the south, and upon the promontory thus formed, we perceived plainly the ruins of old Mosul. The town had been situated, like the modern town of the same name, upon an isolated mound or terrace of gypsum, but differently with regard to the river. The ruins were not so extensive as to impress me with the idea of the city ever having been larger than the present Mosul, or to have contained a population of

above 20,000 souls, but it had apparently some buildings of as high pretensions to architectural perfection as any at Mosul. The houses having been constructed of pieces of gypsum cemented by mud, were in a very ruinous condition; the foundations, cellars, or serdaubs, or parts of walls, were generally all that remained. The most remarkable edifices were the ruins of a serai, outside of the town, and in the same style as Harun el Rashid's palace at Rakkah; a large building upon an eminence at the north end of the town, now converted into houses; and an oblong building with a façade ornamented with circular columns of gypsum. To the north-west was a curious isolated arch of considerable dimensions, and there were other buildings on the plain.

There was nothing, however, that belonged to a period anterior to the Mohammedan era, and this was the chief point which I wished to determine by this excursion, especially with regard to the existence of two Singaras, admitted by Cellarius, who says, there is a Singara on the Tigris, as is clear from the descriptions of Ptolemy and the Peutingerian Tables; but this can be clearly proved to be an error of Ptolemy's, for after noticing Amida (Diyarbekr), Cepha Castrum (Hisn Kefah), Bezabde (Jezireh), all on the Tigris, and as if following the river, he then notices Sinjar, Betousa, or Betuna, then Labana, and then Birtha; leaving, in fact, the Tigris, and crossing Mesopotamia to the Euphrates, by Sinjar (Singara), Seruj, afterwards Betunæ and Batnæ; and thence to Birtha, now Birehjik, and which, from supposing it to be on the river Tigris, Kinneir wrongly identified with Tekrit.

A short time before we approached the ruins, we



were joined by two Arabs of the Mosul Ashirat, who were at present at variance with the Pasha of Mosul and encamped a little beyond the ruins. Mr. Rassam was not with me on this excursion, but the Bedwin, Haji Ali, and the Greek, were of the party, and the former shortly after the Arabs went away, told me from the conversation he had with them, that it was unsafe for us to proceed to the encampment of the Ashirat, and indeed that we should be very insecure at the ruins. This was very vexatious, but there was no help for it, and I knew that it could not be a misrepresentation, as it only involved us in the fatigue of returning the same evening by the way that we came.

I accordingly left the party with the horses, to give them a temporary rest and feed at the ruined serai, and walked on myself to examine and make admeasurement of the ruins. On my return I found the party in a state of considerable anxiety, as the very Arabs who had previously joined us had been seen to return from the encampment with an addition to their numbers. Under these circumstances, tired as the horses were with a long ride, it was necessary to remount, and retreat on the road back to Mosul.

As we rode along the river-side I observed a number of Euphratic turtles tearing to pieces a stag, which had been brought down by the river from the mountains. With a little exertion we gained, just by night-fall, the village of Sheikh Kara, inhabited by Fellah Arabs, and just as the women and children were driving away a wolf, with shouts and cries that the animal did not appear to regard much.

The next morning we started, before daylight, to

enjoy the cool of dawn. As we proceeded along we observed a great number of boars, with troops of young ones, coming down from the upland, where they had been feeding all night, and repairing to hide themselves during the day in the jungle. I secured one of these by stationing myself at the mouth of a ravine, where I had not been a few minutes before half a dozen pigs came grunting along within a few yards of me. Great was the dismay when I suddenly advanced upon the party, the different members of which galloped awkwardly away in various directions; selecting one, however, of portable dimensions, I shot him through the body, and he was carried with us to Mosul. There was a great quantity of game in these hawis, or jungles, especially francolins and partridges. Wild boars were uncommonly abundant in a dry ditch in the same hawi; I put up more than a dozen, and found one that had been killed by the jackalls. Where there were rocks, there were also great numbers of pigeons. We arrived the same evening at Mosul.

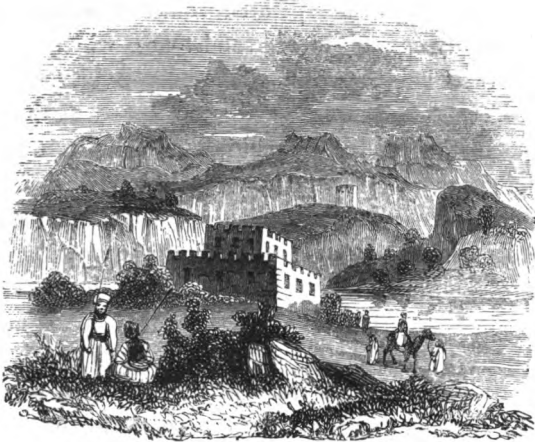
Shortly after my return from this expedition, while I was preparing for an extensive autumnal journey through Armenia to Mount Ararat, and back by the Lakes of Van and Urimiyeh, and the Buhtan district of Kurdistan, I received a letter from the Royal Geographical Society, announcing that it was not their intention to carry out the objects of the expedition any further, which left me no alternative but to return the best way I could; a circumstance I regretted the more as we had so lately arrived in the real field of our labours, the Sinjar, and a great part of Armenia and Kurdistan still remained almost unknown land; we had established

friendly alliances almost all around us, and we had also commenced the transcription, by native priests, of many Chaldean works.

My personal disappointment was, however, diminished by the intelligence that came nearly at the same time, of my friend and companion Mr. Rassam having been appointed, through the kind exertions of Lord Ponsonby, Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul at Mosul. When Mr. Rassam joined the Euphrates expedition at Malta, Sir Frederic Ponsonby, then governor of that island, had promised him that in case Her Majesty's Government did nothing for him at the end of that expedition, he would provide something for him. That brave soldier and excellent man, however, died in the interval, and the circumstances having been made known to his amiable relative, Lord Ponsonby, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary at Constantinople, by Colonel Chesney, he was good enough to secure for him this appointment, so much the more valuable as being a spot where from his family connections, Mr. Rassam's influence will be most beneficially exerted in promoting the commercial interests of this country, and at the same time in establishing intercommunion between our own and the very interesting Chaldean nation and church.

The interval between this and the 24th of August, when we started for the high uplands of Armenia, was employed in regulating the chronometer, which was effected by occultations of the stars and eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter, for Greenwich time, and by transits of a star over a fixed meridian and equal altitudes for rate. The heavenly phenomena were particularly favourable, and several good observations were obtained.

## CHAPTER XLV.



Castles of Fenik (Phoenica).

Chaldean Village of Al Kosh. Ruins of Sulub. Plain of Mar Yacub. Cross the Cha Spi. Town of Zakhu. The Khabur, or River of Zakhu. Jebel Judi. Site of Mount Ararat. Various Traditions. Plain of Zakhu. Castle of Rabahi. Town of Jezireh. Modern Name. Population. Chaldean Episcopate of Mar Yuhannah. Pass of the Tigris. Ruins of Fenik—ancient Phoenica. Castles and Tombs.

THE first evening, as is generally the case, was a mere start, and we bivouacked on the greensward in front of the large and well-known Roman Catholic Chaldean village of Tel Kaif. The next day our journey lay over the same plain, in the direction of the monastery of Rabban Ormusd, known by the descriptions of Mr. Rich, and the position of which is easily made out, by its being at the foot of the only precipice, or abrupt cliff, which presents itself on the south face of the long limestone range in which it is situated, and which is

named after it. This range of hills, of uniform outline and no great height, is separated from the Jebel Maklub by a low hilly country of red sandstones, which part the plain of the Chaldeans from that of Nav-Kur, previously described.

The history of the foundation of Rabban Ormusd, and the origin of its Persian name from a convert and martyr prince of that nation, is contained in Assemani. At present there are resident in it, a metropolitan, four priests, some monks and theological pupils, or assistants. At the foot of the mountain, and not far from the monastery, is the Chaldean village of Al Kosh, well known as the seat of the Roman Catholic Patriarchs of that nation, and supposed to be the birth-place of Nahum, who proclaimed the burden of Nineveh, and is called in the Bible the Al Koshite.

An hour's ride brought us to Batnaia, a Chaldean village of fifty houses, and a little more than another hour to Tel Escof, once a very flourishing Chaldean village, but now sadly fallen off. Sandstones succeed to limestones here, and the plain rises gradually to Hatara (the Halah of Dr. Grant), whose white-washed tombs, with conical and fluted spires, announced from the distance an Izedi population. Beyond this the country is hilly, the road being carried over the red sandstone rocks which crop out at the foot of the Rabban Ormusd hills; but there is a lower and better road, which we had passed on a former journey, but which was now dangerous, as the Mosul Ashirat of Arabs, whose headquarters were still at Eski Mosul, had crossed the Tigris on a predatory expedition.

Amidst these hills is the reed-clad rivulet of

Bowusah, which we forded at a ruined khan, but which a few miles below irrigates the lands of two flourishing villages. In the evening we arrived, after a long ride, at the Izedi village of Hamari, with the usual conical tombs. This village is situated 500 yards from the north-west extremity of the Rabban Ormusd hills, which point bears from the Consulate at Mosul north  $6^{\circ}$  west.

*August 25th.* An hour's ride beyond Hamari is another Izedi village, called Sulub. It is situated near the junction of two rivulets, between which is a high artificial mound of remote antiquity, described in the Katabasis, as being at that time the seat of a palace. The ancient road and the modern one on the upper Tigris, follow pretty nearly throughout the same line, it being determined by the physical necessities of the soil. Sulub is, by meridian altitude of the sun, in north latitude  $36^{\circ} 52' 5''$ .

Crossing from hence a plain enlivened by troops of gazelles, we approached the foot of the hills called by the Kurds, Cha Spi, and by the Arabs, Jebel Abyadh, both signifying the same thing (the White Hills). This range is the north-western prolongation of the Jebel Gharah, and it re-assumes that name on the west side of the Tigris, where it is prolonged in low hills on to the plain of Sinjar; it is separated from the Rabban Ormusd by another rocky spur, between which are open valleys, cultivated by industrious Chaldeans. The most accessible road from Mosul to Amadiyah lies up the most southerly of these vales, and it was the one followed by Mohammed Pasha and his army, on the occasion when we avoided them by crossing the mountains at Sheikh Adi.

## II.

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Two Chaldean villages, Mar Yacub and Sheish, occupied the acclivities of the hills before us. A little further on we came to Koasheh, a Kurd village, where we intended to quarter ourselves for the night, but some altercation having taken place, in which the villagers opposed us with open violence, we were obliged to load again and continue onwards to Malasena, where, however, we were only able to procure barley for the horses.

The aspect of the plain which lies between the Cha Spi and the Tigris is monotonous and uniform. There are but few villages and little cultivation; hence most is waste land, immense tracts of which had been burnt by late conflagrations. It is one of the frequently observable indications of a benevolent providence, that all the social plants of these plains, and consequently all its characteristic vegetation, are of use to man. Next to the grasses, the most common plant is the prickly *Mimosa agrestis*, which presents, in autumn, a gall that is eaten by the peasants and sold in the streets at Mosul; next in frequency is the *Tragopogon*, the root of which is a common and delicious esculent; large quantities of gum are gathered from different species of *Astragalus*; the Gramineæ feed herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, and troops of gazelles; and besides these, there are only the white or gilded blossoms of a few vagabond species belonging to the families of Umbelliferæ or Compositæ.

*August 26th.* Following the direction of the Cha Spi, three hours' ride brought us to where the modern road turns to the north, through the hills. At this point the chain is divided into two nearly parallel ranges,—a

southerly, the most lofty, and a northerly and lower range. There is a journey of upwards of two hours over a wooded and hilly district, between the two; where is also the village of Hasan Agha. But in the prolongation of the same hills towards Tigris, the two ranges unite, and constitute one.

As the stranger approaches Zakhu, he is struck with its bold and isolated appearance. It is not a town in a partially civilized country, like Mosul, but an outpost of warlike Kurdistan. Built on an island of rocky conglomerate, that rises out of the blue waters of the Khabur, a pile of ruin,—belonging to different ages, with abutments of solid square stones, modern Turkish walls and defences, and still more recent mud compartments, which disfigure its loftier parts,—towers so prominently over a crowd of tents below as to take the whole attention, and impress one with the idea of an ancient feudal castle.

We forded the Khabur, and bivouacked under the shade of the castle, and away from the crowd of curious. About a mile above the town is a bridge, on which is said to be the miraculous impression of a foot, and the island town is connected with the mainland by another, defended by a gate. On a former occasion, and at a different season of the year, the river was not fordable. It was so full of fish that in the evening while I was bathing in its waters, they were continually striking against my body.

The course of the Khabur has been long a geographical puzzle. Kinneir and Monteith make it the same as the river of Sert and Betlis, and Rennell the same as the river of Amadiyeh; and all the most modern autho-



rities are nearly as widely incorrect. Although the vale of Amadiyeh is the same as that of Zakhu, there is a line of watershed between them, as described in the visit to the Chaldeans. The Zakhu river is but a small stream until it is joined by the Hazer, the resulting stream being called the Perishabur Su. The exact sources of these two rivers are yet unknown; but there cannot be the slightest doubt that they flow from the mountainous country beyond the Jebel Judi and Zakhu Tagh, or from that part of the Berrawi district and of Buhtan\* generally, which lies between the Hakkari district and the river Tigris; the Khabur coming from the east, the Hazir from the west†.

It would be scarcely proper to leave Zakhu, with the lofty peaks of the Jebel Judi, and the still loftier interior Buhtan, stretching far away to the north like a sea of mountains, without saying a word upon a question agitated among Oriental travellers, concerning the comparative authenticity of the traditions which have reference to the site of the mountain called Ararat in the Old Testament.

Facts illustrative of so remote an antiquity are naturally not numerous, and difficultly tangible. Mount

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\* The Buhtan country is bounded to the south by the vale of Zakhu and the Badinan district; to the east by the Berrawi and Hakkari districts; to the north by the tribes of Mukush and Argerosh Tagh; to the west by the Tigris, and to the north-west by the Buhtan Chaye and Shirwan tribes.

† Since this was written I observe that Dr. Grant lays specific claim to having been the first who determined that the Khabur came from the Berrawi country, and was not the same as the rivers of Sert or Betlis.

Ararat has, however, been allowed by most of the ancient profane or inspired writers, to belong to Armenia; but so do the Gordyene mountains, of which the Jebel Judi constitute a part, and to which tradition assigns its Thenanin, or Mountain of the Ark, as well as the Armenian Massis,—the Mohammedan Aghri Tagh (the Painful Mount\*.)

The authority alike of Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Hieronymus, is in favour of a mountain on the Araxes, which only proves that they probably derived their tradition from similar sources.

The only Chaldean historian adopts the tradition current among the Chaldeans and Syrians as well as the Arabs and other Mohammedans of the present day†, that Ararat is in the Gordyæan chain, and the memory of this was preserved till A.D. 776, by a Chaldean monastery, now supplanted by a Mohammedan mesjid, which is a monument consecrated by another worship to record the same event.

That such a temple cannot be supposed to have been erected upon the summit of a snowy mountain, as has been critically remarked by Bell, in his *System of Geography*, is partly true, and from all I could learn it exists on one of its acclivities. But Messrs. Sullivan and Buckingham are mistaken in supposing the Judi

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\* Mr. Consul Brant remarks that at Bayazid there are no traditions respecting the Ark, and the natives know the mountain by no other name than Aghri Tagh.

† The Foreign Secretary of the Geographical Society substantiates what is stated by me, Mr. Rich, and Mr. Consul Brant, that Mohammedan writers say that the ark of Noah rested on Jebel Judi.

Tagh or Jebel Judi to be covered with snow during the whole year; at the present season there only remained a very few patches in crevices and ravines.

Cellarius points out a remarkable fact, that the Chaldean or Targum version of the Bible, called that of Onkelosius, reads Mount Kardu for Ararat, and another Targum or Tergum version, called that of Jonathanis, reads, by mis-spelling, Kadrum Mountains.

Elmacius, in his *History of the Saracens*, speaking of Heraclius, says, he ascended into the Gordyæan Mountains, and saw the place where the Ark rested.

It thus appears to be a question, in which profane antiquity and the Armenian tradition is ranged against Chaldean, Syrian, and (*quære*) Hebrew tradition, with which the Mohammedan has sided.

*August 27th.* On arriving this morning at the Chaldean village of Tel Kobbin, although after an absence of three years, we were immediately recognised by the peasants, who overwhelmed us with hospitality. There was not a family in the village which did not contribute something. To meet, as far as lay in our power, their kindness, we sat down outside of the village, where they all took their places, men, women, and children, the priest at the head, full of decent but affectionate joy; and we passed the heat of the day with these friendly people. Tel Kobbin is, by sun's meridian altitude, in north latitude  $37^{\circ} 14' 10''$ .

Starting hence, we left the great road which goes by Nahrwan, and approximated to the Perishabur river, and passing the large Chaldean village of Girki Pedros, we bivouacked near that of Takiyan, where we were well received.

The plain of Zakhu, shut up on the one side by the Cha Spi and by the Jebel Judi on the other, and extending from Zakhu to the Tigris, is chiefly peopled by Roman Catholic Chaldeans, who have seven villages, viz.: Takiyan, Perishabur or Peshabur, Nahrwan, Tel Kobbin, Girki Pedros, Wasit, and Bedar. Perishabur is an ancient site, and there is a ferry there over the river of the same name and over the Tigris. In addition to these is the Mohammedan village of Marsowah, at the foot of the Cha Spi, the Kurd Sayid Bey's castle, near the foot of Jebel Judi, which was overthrown in the campaign of Reshid Pasha (1836-37), and Zakhu, the seat of Osmanli government, with a mixed population of a number of Osmanli officials, Kurd peasants, and Chaldean and Jew dealers and tradesmen.

*August 28th.* This day we travelled up the course of the Tigris, and I observed a fact additional to the sections given of this country in my *Researches*, that a small patch of volcanic rocks crosses the river from the uplands on the left bank to form a headland on the right.

The castle of Rabahi, situated on a high artificial mound, appears to have been the third station on the road in the time of the Katabasis, viz.: (1.) Sulub, (2.) Perishabur, (3.) Rabahi. Neither inscription nor tradition relates its history to the traveller in the present day. Five hours' ride from Takiyan brought us opposite to Jezireh, where we halted some time in order to procure barley for the horses, but this place is celebrated by travellers for its inhospitality, and we could obtain none. Buckingham was imprisoned here, and many have in modern times been subject to various annoyances, which would be remedied were the Osmanli

government to put it under the vigorous Pasha of Mosul and not under Diyarbekr, with which it is connected by a most devious route, whilst its sympathies are all pre-eminently Kurd.

Jezireh was in ancient times, according to Chaldean tradition, a city of that nation, and called Zabelita, or, according to St. Martin, Zozarta or Bazebeda in Zabicene. The Chaldeans of the present day abbreviate and corrupt its name to Xurta. It appears to have been the city in Gordyene, of which Zarbienus or Zabienus is described in the time of Lucullus as king. Under the Romans it became a municipal town, with the name of Bezabde. The Romans were expelled from it by the Persians, from whom it was re-conquered by Diocletian, and afterwards by Galerianus. It was again lost to the Romans at the death of Julian. It fell into the power of the Osmanlis with the downfall of Diyarbekr and Mosul, but was generally governed by vassal Kurd princes, and it was last sacked for rebellion by Reshid Pasha in 1836.

The modern name of this small town is derived from a ditch or canal, which was dug by a prince of Buhtan, between the Tigris on the east and a small stream which waters the town to the west, having its sources in the volcanic hills of Baarem, and emptying itself into the Tigris immediately below the town. This rivulet is fordable for nine months in the year, but for the other three has to be passed by a dilapidated and dangerous bridge. Colonel Sheil thought he saw a river leaving the Tigris, to form the island, two miles from Jezireh, yet he afterwards describes himself as descending about 300 feet the low hills which form the

banks of the river, and he then notices after this descent, crossing the small arm of the Tigris which forms the island on which the town is built.

Although many travellers now pass through Jezireh, information regarding its actual condition appears to be much wanting. Balbi, in his last edition, gives to it a population of 20,000 souls, and describes Amadiyeh and Julamerik as small places compared to it. The reverse is the case. The population, when I visited it three years ago, and again at the present moment, could not be averaged at 1000 souls.

It is still the seat of a Roman Catholic Chaldean bishop as it was in the days of Assemani, but there are no Roman Catholic Chaldeans resident in the place, either bishop, clergy, or laity, although there are a few Chaldeans.

In the dearth of every thing at Jezireh, we proceeded the same evening to Mansuriyeh, a flourishing village of Chaldeans, situated at the entrance of the pass of Tigris, and three miles north of Jezireh.

We were hospitably received by the villagers, who were well dressed and comfortably off. It was here that three years before, on attempting this pass, we had found the same village in possession of the Kurds, who obliged us to turn back and take the road from Jezireh by Nisibin to Diyarbekr.

Mansuriyeh is separated from the mountains, which hem in the Tigris at this point, by a wooded and fertile valley, about half a mile in width, and watered by a tributary coming from the Buhtan district. This valley is entirely inhabited by Chaldeans, who have several villages united, as usual, under a temporal and

spiritual authority, in the person of the bishop of Mar Yuhannah. The names of the villages in this district are Mar Yuhannah, Mar Akchah, Zananep, Jerret, Birka, Berret, Deik Sheik, and Mansuriyeh; this latter constitutes, as it were, the outpost of the Chaldeans in this direction. Unfortunately the bishop of Mar Yuhannah had gone on a visit to Mar Shimon, or we would have penetrated the valley, to pay him a visit.

*August 29th.* Crossing the river of Mar Yuhannah we entered upon the Pass of the Tigris, visible from far away in Mesopotamia, and celebrated for the opposition which the Greeks under Xenophon met with at this naturally formidable barrier.

The spur of the Jebel Judi, which here advances upon the river, does not descend in absolute precipices, but, after a steep wall of rock, composed of limestone beds, in nearly horizontal strata, slopes away in a steep acclivity of detritus, with occasional masses of rock or fallen cliff jutting out into the river, or piled together in promontories; so that it is only during the summer season, that this road is practicable.

After tracking this difficult path for some time, the horses at times in the water, at others treading along a shelving and slippery surface, the widening of the ravine, and a modern mill with its garden, first announced an improvement in the country. The road became now a beaten track and distinguishable from fallen stones and earth. At the same time the line of cliffs began to recede from the river, till suddenly, from having a nearly horizontal stratification, additional beds appear as it were in front of the cliffs, dipping nearly vertically to the west, and rising in rude irregular conical summits in

front of what had been hitherto one continuous wall of rock. On the west side of the pass and on the right bank of the river, the structure and the character of the country was different. Basaltic rocks, sometimes with low cliffs presenting a rude prismatic structure, extended along the bank, or rose in green and grass-clad valleys to the dark stony cliffs of the hilly country beyond.

As we proceeded onward, our surprise and pleasure may be imagined, at finding extending before us, a considerable expanse of well-wooded gardens, which stretched from the hills down to the waterside, and for about two miles up the river's course. Nothing could exceed the rich luxuriance of these groves and orchards; there were open spaces here and there for maize, melon, gourd, and cucumber, but otherwise the groves of plum, apricot, and peach, appeared almost inaccessible from the dense lower growth of fig trees and pomegranates, themselves again half hid beneath clustering vines. Overlooking this scene of vegetative splendour, and upon the side of the hill, were the ruins of a castellated building, the battlemented walls and irregularly dispersed square towers of which still remain. This building covered a considerable space, being 600 yards in depth by 1100 in length. Traces of outworks and of buildings connected with it were also quite evident, stretching downwards to the gardens.

On two mounds not far distant from each other, and close to the river, are the ruins of two other smaller castles of similar characters to the larger one, only with double battlements, and consequently rising more loftily from the deep green groves, in the midst of which they



are situated. It would appear, from the great quantity of ruins in every direction, that this spot overgrown with fruit trees was once the site of a town, but probably built in the style common in the East, every house having its garden. This place is in the present day called Fenik, and corresponds to the ancient Phœnica\*.

The gardens are watered by a rivulet, which flows from a narrow and rocky glen, the entrance to which is difficult, the path lying along the course of the waters, which occasionally flow over a naked bed of rock, or tumble into successive basins of marble, and rendered more slippery by aquatic confervæ; at other places the waters are lost beneath a rich overgrowth of fig trees and spiny acacia, or are carried off by subterranean channels, belonging to the many aqueducts which appear to have been hewn throughout the length of the glen.

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\* Ammianus Marcellinus notices in this neighbourhood Bezabde (Jezireh) and Phœnica. Mr. Rich, who was the first to notice the existence of the Castle of Fenik, from information collected from the natives, identifies this castle with the Phœnica of Julian's historian, and Fenik indeed appears to be a corruption of Phœnica, or Phineck, as Assemani writes it.

Phineck is mentioned in the *Tarikh Al Akrad*, as destroyed by Khalapi, prince of Sert, on his way to lay siege to Jezireh; and in 1459, Amir Ahmed, the Buhtan, who occupied the Carduchian mountains, according to Assemani, took Jezireh from Amir Ibrahim, who took refuge in the castle of Phineck.

Rich calls it a very ancient and celebrated castle, and adds, it is renowned in the history of the Kurds as early as 1461, in which year a battle was fought between the chiefs of Hesn Kief and Buhtan. In the same year Ahmed of Buhtan, the tyrant of Jezireh, took Fenik and ordered Ibrahim, with his sons, to be burnt.

In the midst of this picturesque scenery a cottage now and then peeped into view from a dense foliage which secreted it like a nest, while an occasional mill announced itself by its noise. On the cliffs above were numerous sepulchral grotts, some simple, others double, mostly divided into compartments, but without inscriptions or designs.

Higher up the glen, was a small village called Geli (Ravine or Pass) Sherafi, many of the houses of which were hewn out of rock, and some of them out of fallen masses, which often stood erect at the foot of the cliffs like great obelisks with a door-way in front. Beyond this village the pass narrowed, and was fenced in by perpendicular walls of rock, and we did not explore it any farther, but returning to the gardens by a break-neck road, we rounded the front of another inclined face of rock, and about half a mile from the first ravine entered into another, which contained the modern village of Fenik.

This place presented to our view about a hundred houses built on the two sides of the ravine, and many of them excavated. Having been long tenanted by independent Kurds, they had preferred the imaginary safety of the fastness, with all its discomforts, to the beautiful gardens that lay at their feet. The village was defended by several modern Kurdish forts, two of which were on the opposed hill-tops, while other small ones succeeded to one another along the crest and acclivities down to the village. This pass of the Tigris was rendered by these Kurds quite impracticable to strangers, or even to Osmanlis, till the time of Reshid Pasha, who brought them under subjection.

We did not stop at the village, but after visiting its chief rode across the gardens about half a mile to the northerly of the two forts on the bank of the river, already described, where we found the servants and baggage-horses reposing, and which is, by meridian altitude of the sun, in north latitude  $37^{\circ} 27' 35''$ .

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## CHAPTER XLVI.

Castle of Konakti. Finduk. Syrian Villages. Castle and Ferry of Chelek. Armenian Site of Thil. Chaldeans on the Centrites. River of Buhtan. District of Gharzen, Arzanene. Town of Sert. Ali Tagh—Niphates. Ancient Kârduchia and Gordyene. Site of Tigranocerta—Diyarbekr.

WE started from the remarkable Pass of the Tigris, still keeping along the river banks; the stream flowing from north-west, while the direction of the chain of hills to the east being as usual north-westerly, the interval between the two continued to increase till the road took a middle course between them. This intervening space was at first occupied by rice-grounds, but we soon began to ascend towards new hills, which we found to be defended by castellated buildings. We did not, however, reach these this night, but brought up in an olive grove near the summer village of Zawiyah. The castle of Konakti bore north-west, that of Fenik south-west; while on the opposite side of the river, and about three miles distant, was the large village of Mauvi. Beyond this the Tigris is hemmed in by perpendicular walls of rock, having, like the Euphrates at Rum Kalah, cut itself a channel through a high upland of indurated limestones.

*August 30th.* Leaving Zawiyah, we descended into a deep and narrow ravine, having a rapid stream at the bottom, which abounded in trout. Although the ravine was scarcely 300 feet wide, the industrious peasants had

found room in so sheltered and favourable a spot for gardens of gourds and melons, and for vineyards and orchards. There were also many antique sepulchral grotts in the cliffs above.

On regaining the upland, we passed the castle of Konakti, which we found to be a mere square, like some of the Irish castles, built of cut stones, cemented by mortar. Near it were the ruins of two other similar castles. The style and epoch of construction is distinct from that of the ruins at Fenik. There is every reason, however, to believe that they defended in more modern times the same approach to the mountains which was the seat of another of the numerous fatiguing combats sustained in these countries by the adventurous and undaunted Greeks.

Beyond this we entered into a narrow glen, where we obtained some fossils characteristic of the limestones of these countries, which belong to the supra-cretaceous epoch. Among others was an ostracite, with serpulæ upon the outside of the shell, looking as if just picked up from the sea-shore. The road winded much, and in one part was carried along the face of a precipice several hundred feet in depth, and over which one of the horses nearly mistook its way. The course of the Tigris could be traced below, by the dark line of its hidden path, during the whole of the journey. We now turned round a hill, and then descending gently reached the large Kurdish village of Finduk. This was in every respect a highland village; the men were tall and strong, rude and fierce; the women handsome, and their complexions fair and healthy. Finduk was, by a meridian altitude of the sun, in north latitude  $37^{\circ} 31' 40''$ ,

and at an elevation, by boiling-point thermometer, of 1520 feet.

We descended from Finduk towards the Tigris by Kuwarro, a small village, to Baravan, another collection of cottages of Syrian peasants. The river was a short distance below us; it issued to the north from a wooded and picturesque ravine, washed the eastern foot of the mountain of Vihan, which rose by admeasurement 1760 feet above the river, and then entered its deep channel in the limestone upland. There were numerous villages, chiefly of Syrians, in the valley, and each had its garden and orchard, so that the appearance of the whole was cheerful, while the alpine and river scenery was truly magnificent.

Having reached the village before the luggage, we had extended our carpets under the shade of some fine *valonia* oaks, which grew over the tombs of the Syrians, but when the remainder of the party came up, there was a general objection made to such a site for a night's bivouac, so we were divided into two parties, one within the funereal grove, and the more superstitious without.

*August 31st.* We passed the other Syrian villages, with their clustering gardens overhanging the smiling river below, its blue waters darkened by the shadows of the colossal Vihan. The rocks had now changed to saliferous red sandstones, which were beneath the ostracite limestone, and contained carboniferous beds on the hills between Finduk and the Tigris, where they are associated with rocks of the felspatho-pyroxenic series. All the rivulets that flowed from this sandstone were loaded with common salt, which also effloresced on their banks.

Following the bed of the river for about an hour, we came to a narrow ravine, at the entrance to which, on the left bank, was a rivulet and mill, and a castellated building on the rocks above, while on the right bank was a village perched on a height, which it was difficult for us to conjecture how it was reached. The present road was another summer one, not passable for three-fourths of the year; hence Colonel Sheil and other travellers crossed the Tigris at the ferry of Chelek, and reached Jezireh by the devious road to the west of the river.

We got through the glen in about an hour, and entered upon a plain, a few miles up which we perceived the irregular and lofty towers of the castle of the Kurd Bey of Chelek. We stopped opposite to this village, and on the left bank, and sent over for provisions; but unluckily the bey mistook our not coming over ourselves as an insult, and refused any assistance. After some delay, we succeeded in getting barley for the horses and food for the party from the villagers. The heat of the sun was very great here, and we had no shade. There was a cave, which also served as a khan, but it was so full of vermin that the blaze of a mid-day sun was preferable. Chelek is celebrated for its scorpions, which are so numerous that to avoid them the singular practice obtains of sleeping in summer on a dry part of the bed of the river; the beds are left in their stations all day, and I had thought Rowandiz an extraordinary scene, but the nocturnal sociability of the good peasants of Chelek exceeds even the varied groupings of that place. The khan-cave is, by a meridian altitude of the sun, in latitude  $37^{\circ} 41' 5''$ .

The road from Chelek led us along the banks of the

river, by another most beautiful pass, winding through lofty cliffs of limestone, and a little more than an hour brought us to a deserted khan, by the side of a rivulet and bridge. The road here left the Tigris, and I let the party go on, while I stopped a few minutes to contemplate the enchanting scenery of a river I was about to quit perhaps for ever. A remarkable quiet pervaded everything around. The deep flood of the Tigris moved calmly onward without a murmur, the trees were undisturbed even by the slightest breeze, and not a living thing was perceptible, save a solitary vulture, whose foot-fall seemed to strike the ear as it left its aerial circles to light upon the gothic pinnacles of rock that crowned the cliffs before me. It would have been impossible not to have wished to rest for ever in so beautiful and so secluded a spot.

We gained from hence a cultivated upland, leaving to the right the district of Kiyou, with the Chaldean villages of Milan, Batan, and others. One hour's ride brought us to Wahted, a Kurd village, about 200 yards from the point where the river of Buhtan joins the Tigris, while on the opposite side is the celebrated village of Thil, with a large artificial mound. The Foreign Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society has mistaken Colonel Sheil's etymology of Til for tel, the Chaldean and Arabic for a mound or hill, but the name of this place is Thil or Til, and it is not unknown to Armenian history. Father Michael Chamicii, whose *History of Armenia* was translated by Avdall, and published in Calcutta in 1811, relates that Aristahes or Pustahes, the youngest son of, and pontiff after St. Gregory, having been murdered by an Armenian chief,



when on a journey to Zophs (Sophene of the Romans, now Kharput), his body was buried in the village of Thil. Vertannes, the third Armenian Pontiff, retired to the same place (Thil), on the death of Tiridates, and was accompanied in his retirement by the wife of Tiridates, and his sister Khosrovedught (the daughter of Chosroes). But it has a more antique history than this, for it is recorded that a statue of Minerva, which had been brought from Greece by Artaces, was placed in this village by Tigranes. The existence of Chaldean villages in this neighbourhood is a circumstance also of some interest, for as far back as the days of Xenophon we find Chaldeans noticed as among the native troops who opposed the Greeks at the Centrites, of the identity of which river with the Buhtan Chaye there can be no doubt.

*September 1st.* We travelled up the banks of the river Buhtan, which averages a width of three hundred feet by four to five in depth. Our road lay over an hawi or alluvial plain, the soil of which must have been uncommonly fertile, for the grasses and liquorice plants grew nearly as high as a man on horseback. Leaving Kurbayah, a small village, with a fort, to the right, we came to where the river issued from a pass, the village of Jaminiyah, with hill of same name, with a ruined fort on its summit, being on the right bank, and a limestone precipice, with a village beneath, on the left. There are here carbonaceous measures, but I observed no true coal. Passing another hawi, and the villages of Sheikho and Moti, we saw the ancient site and castle of Redwan, about a mile to the west. There had been a great road leading to this place formerly, for there still existed

three pointed arches, the remains of a bridge over the river at this place. A little beyond this we came to a ford, where a Kurdish Bey wanted to force tribute from us, but this was successfully resisted. There were some pretty-looking villages, with their defensive towers, around us. Proceeding hence up the right bank of the river, we came to another narrow pass of limestones on red-sandstones, which, at a distance of two miles and a half, somewhat opened, and was enlivened by gardens; and after a journey of three hours from the ford we ultimately left the river of Buhtan by a steep ascent up the hills to the west. This ascending and difficult road was in great part an artificial causeway, up which we had to toil nearly two hours, altogether, before we gained the upland, another hour's journey over which brought us to the town of Sert.

*September 2nd.* Sert or Serd is a small town, situated on an undulating upland, 2750 feet above the level of the sea, and between the rivers of Buhtan to the east and that of Betlis to the west, which latter is visible from the town in a north-east direction, while the Buhtan Chaye is not. It appears to have been Kinneir who first promulgated the idea of the river of Buhtan being the same as the Khabur or Zakhu river; Colonel Sheil, who does not appear to have corrected this error, yet made a great step by distinguishing it from the Betlis river, under its proper name of Buhtan Chaye.

Our inquiries at Sert concerning Erzen or Arzen, the Oppidum Arzaniorum in Arzanene of the Byzantine historians, were at first unsuccessful; at length, Mr. Rassam bethought himself of using the guttural gh, when the place was immediately recognised as Gharzen,

about nine miles north-west of Sert, upon the Betlis Chaye, the valley of which was visible from our roof. This stream corresponds, then, to the river of Erzen of the ancients, but we could hear nothing here nor at Mush of the lake Thospitis in Arethusa. Pliny is wrong in identifying the Erzen river with the Nymphius, which is that tributary of the Tigris which flows by the city Nymphaion, the Martyropolis of Ammianus, Procopius, &c., and which are both in the present day represented by the town and river of Meiaferikin.

It was originally my intention to have proceeded from Sert to Mush directly by the mountains, and to have explored the long-debated question of the lakes and subterranean feeders of the Tigris, but I could get no one to go with me, nor to supply horses for such an easy expedition. Mr. Brant, however, who was happy enough to visit part of this country immediately after the subjugation of the Kurds by Hafiz Pasha, gives an excellent account of the modern history of a territory not previously described since the days of the Romans. He found among other things, the westerly branches of the Gharzen Su to be composed of the Ilijeh or Ghazero Su, the Sarum Su, the Yak Su, and the Kolb Su, all of which unite in the Gharzen district—the ancient Arzanene—and are then, according to the information we received, joined by the Betlis river\*.

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\* Notwithstanding this now established situation of the Gharzen district, corresponding in part with the ancient Arzanene, I am still inclined to identify the Oppidum Arzaniorum with the modern town of Ghazero, visited by Lord Pollington, who does not notice its river, but which Mr. Arrowsmith, with every probability, deduces to

There are some gardens near Sert, but they occupy chiefly the summits and acclivities of a few eminences to the east, and their foliage is neither dense nor close enough to give relief to the open unsheltered aspect of the town. The houses have a cleanly look, being for the most part built of stone; the Serai, or governor's residence, as usual, stands prominent over the other buildings. Kinnier, in 1812, reckoned the population at 3000 persons; Colonel Sheil estimated 1000 houses to 5000 souls. The last corresponds to a rough enumeration made from the roof of our house. The population consists of Kurds and other Mohammedans, Roman Catholic Chaldeans, and Armenians.

The Christian part of the community are chiefly engaged in dyeing calico red, the material for which is brought from Betlis. The Christian population is dense; we found sometimes as many as four families in a house.

Sert is situated, by moon's meridian altitude, and by chronometer, from time at place, rectified by equal altitudes, in east longitude  $41^{\circ} 34' 7''$ , and by sun and moon's meridian altitude, in latitude  $38^{\circ} 2' 40''$ .

The westerly prolongation of the great range of Taurus, known to the Mohammedans by the name of Ali Tagh, which constitutes the great barrier of this part of Armenia, and is often incorrectly marked as the Nimrud Tagh in the maps, rises boldly beyond and above the upland of Sert, and of the Gharzen and

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be the Ilijeh Su, the westerly tributary of the Gharzen river, Ghazero is, according to Mr. Consul Brant, the seat of the richest of the three independent Beys, or princes of Tiriki, viz., Ghazero, Ilijeh, and Khini.

Buhtan rivers, and constitutes in altitude and in alpine appearance, a transition from the loftier snow-clad peaks of the Mar Hannan and Jellu Tagh in central Kurdistan, and the more tame and gentle outline of the Maden and Azarah Tagh, which constitute Taurus in Sophene and the Bey Tagh and Ak Tagh, the Taurus of Lesser Armenia.

Two summits are more particularly distinguished in this range by their superior altitude. The highest of these is called Mut Khan, from the Kurd tribe of that name who live in its neighbourhood. It had a perpetual glacier on its slope, and bore from Sert north  $35^{\circ}$  west. The other is called Sir Sirah, a giant limestone precipice on primary schists, not very far from Betlis, and bearing from Sert north  $11^{\circ}$  east.

It is a question of comparative geography, well worth determining, now that better materials are afforded, whether the ancients considered these mountains as belonging to Armenia, or as constituting part of Kurdistan. Xenophon places Karduchia on the confines of Armenia and Assyria; Strabo describes the Niphates, celebrated in poetry, as much to the east of the Masius (Jebel Tur), having the Abus (Gujik Tagh) to the north, and Ptolemy looked upon the same chain as part of the Taurus, as Strabo does also the Gordyæan mountains. In the same manner, the Choatras of Ptolemy is described by Cellarius, as running from the Niphates and mountains of the Karduchii to the Zagros which divided Media from Assyria. This corresponds very nearly to the system adopted by Rennell; Taurus as far as Tigris, Niphates from Tigris to Centrites; Karduchia, Gorduene, Gordyene, or Corduene, from

the Centrites to the Zabatus; then the Choatras and the Zagros.

A further question, proposed to me by the Society, presents itself here for consideration, whether or not there exist any ruins or inscriptions which may prove the existence of an ancient city (*quære* Tigranocerta) at or near Sert. A false indication concerning a vast extent of non-existing ruins adopted by Kinneir, from the mere assertion of a jesting Kurd bey, and the misuse of the word *Sert* for *Kert*, also *gerd* and *kerta* corresponding to the Greek *polis*\*, has led geographers to adopt the identity of Tigranocerta and of Sert as an ascertained fact; but modern travellers (and our own explorations attested most indubitably the same thing,) have stated that there are no remains of antiquity at or near the comparatively modern cassabah of Sert, while all the circumstances of the case tend to prove the identity of Amida, or Diyarbekr, with the city of Tigranes.

Lucullus, on entering upon his campaign against Tigranes, approached Armenia from Sinope. The army crossed the Euphrates and entered Sophene, or the district of Kharput, above the Taurus; for when the men wanted to stop and take a fort, in all probability either Arsamosata or Carcathiocerta, the Roman general pointed to Mount Taurus still before them, and said, "Yonder is the fort you are to take;" then pushing his march, he crossed the Tigris, and entered Armenia. Now the Euphrates may be crossed either at Kebban Maden

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\* The Syrians use the same word, *karta*, whence, Cellarius remarks, the Karthago, or Carthage, of history.

or at Malatiyeh, to enter Sophene; but by either road, the Tigris must be afterwards crossed near Arghana Maden, before the territory of Diyarbekr is entered upon, and which, from being then the residence of Tigranes, Plutarch especially distinguishes as Armenia.

Tigranes fled from Tigranocerta on the approach of the Romans, and repaired to Taurus, where he was joined by many Armenians and Gordyæniæns, whence it would appear that he retired to the Gordyæan portion of Taurus. In the mean time, Lucullus, to draw the king into a battle, laid vigorous siege to the city. Tigranes having received succours, descended from Taurus into the plain, and, according to the Armenian historians, his troops broke through the camp of the Romans, entered the city, and succeeded in rescuing many of the king's wives. Plutarch does not notice this improbable circumstance, but says that Lucullus, leaving Murena before the city, himself advanced to give Tigranes battle, and encamped on a large plain with a river before him, the camp of the Armenians being on the east side of the river. The passage of the river was not opposed by Tigranes, who even thought, from its taking a westerly bend, that the Roman legions were in flight. There was on the opposite side of the river an eminence to climb, which was plain and even at top, and when the Romans gained this, the hosts of Tigranes fled in every direction.

A careful consideration of these circumstances identifies the whole description with Amida, situated near the Tigris, and having a plain to the north, where the river makes a westerly bend, and where the banks on both sides of the river terminate in a level or plain above.

There is no such disposition of territory, nor even the immediate proximity of a river, at Sert, which also never was a walled or fortified city, nor is there any position in the latter district from which, being on the east side of the Buhtan Chai, Tigranes could have perceived the Romans investing Sert.

According to Plutarch, Lucullus, after the capture of Tigranocerta, marched against Artaxata, but was opposed again by Tigranes at the river Arsanias. Now it is evident, that had Tigranocerta been the same as Sert, Lucullus would not have had to cross the Arsanias (Gharzen Su) on his way to Artaxata. According to Sextus Rufus, Lucullus, by the capture of Tigranocerta, obtained Madenan, the best region of Armenia, and descended by Melitene into Mesopotamia. This appears to refer to the district of Maden, or of the Mines, which is close to Diyarbekr.

Tacitus describes Tigranocerta as being near Nisibin, and in the siege of Tigranokert, by Shapur (A.D. 372), that prince sent his Armenian auxiliaries, according to Father Chamicii, to Nisibin; he would scarcely have done so had it been Sert.

Lastly, I may mention, that St. Martin says, that all the Armenian writers consider Tigranokert or Tigranogerd as the same as Amida, also called Dorbeta by Ptolemy, and the Diyarbekr of the Arabs.



## CHAPTER XLVII.



Armenian Cottages.

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Collision with the Kurds. Pass of Derej Tasul. Pass of Ali Tagh. Vale and River of Bakiyeh. Vale of Ulek. Town of Betlis. Disposition of Town. Castle. Population. Commerce. History. Bash Khan (Head-Waters). Nimrud Tagh. The Armenian Taurus. Throne of Ali. Peculiar Armenian Houses. Remarkable sources of a River. Capture of a Robber.

*September 1st.* ON leaving the plain of Sert, we passed the hill and village of Halasnu to the left, and entered upon ravines of marls and gypsum, the waters of which, as of all others in the neighbourhood of Sert, are tributaries of the Betlis Chaye, and not of the Buhtan Chaye. We next crossed a cultivated upland, from whence we had a rapid descent, amid purple sandstones, to the banks of a salt stream, nearly dried up. A rather steep ascent led over a range of low hills, and we descended hence to the banks of a considerable tributary to the

Betlis Chaye, and rested a short time at the village of Tawah, inhabited by Roman Catholic Chaldeans and Armenians. On the hill-side, to the south-west, was Bada, a village of Roman Catholic Syrians, while to the east, at the distance of about two miles and a half, was the large village of Kufra\*, inhabited by Shirwan Kurds, Syrians, and Armenians, with a ruined castle, perched high among rocky hills. Our luggage had gone on to this latter place, so after taking a round of bearings, we proceeded by a cross valley, where were some springs, from which large quantities of salt were obtained by the natives, and gained the heights of Kufra.

The Kurds here, as we bivouacked outside of the village, were extremely rude and intrusive, which finally led to a collision. One of the Kurds had his face cut open, and our Bedwin servant had his head also much cut with a stone; nor was the matter settled till Mr. Rassam bethought himself of carrying a present to the chief. The Kurds, however, who had not had their full revenge out, expressed their determination to waylay us next day, so Mr. Rassam thought it advisable to obtain a guard.

*September 4th.* At Kufra commences the most difficult pass which the mountains present on this line of road, and which Kinneir describes as the worst he met with; what would he have said to the passes in the

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\* Kufra is considered by the Kurds as a town. The castle of the Prince of Shirwan is only an hour from hence. The bey is powerful and independent, and is a younger branch of the Hasan Keif family, and consequently an Eyubite, or descendant of Saladin. There is said to be a gold mine in Shirwan.

Tiyari country? It is called Derej Tasul, and is carried at first along the side of a hill composed of sandstones, with limestones forming cliffs above; soon the sedimentary formations are broken up by serpentines, euphotides, and altered rocks, so that the axis of Taurus is the same here as elsewhere. The bold mountain of Garsavera, with some picturesque villages on its acclivities, rises to the right. The road afterwards became more wooded, and overlooked to the left, the valley of Pasha Sheika at some depth below. Limestones now succeed to the igneous rocks, and the road is paved, till where the summit level is gained, and a respite afforded along a level road on the mountain crest, and passing at an altitude of 5120 feet through a forest of oak, with occasional pear trees.

The descent is steep enough, and still through a forest; it led us, however, to a beautiful wooded valley, where we breakfasted upon bread and water-cresses, by the side of a delicious spring. In this valley are two rivulets; one flows by the village of Ashkah, the other and larger one comes down from the valley of Shiak, and passing by a ruined khan, marked as Khan Var (There is a Khan) in some of the maps, sweeps round the south side of Sir Sira.

While sitting by the spring, we were joined by two well-armed Chaldean mountaineers, who, as they were going the same way, offered to join our party, and thus enable us to dismiss our Kurd guard, which we accordingly did. Our road from this valley was another long ascent, amidst forest-clad rocks of limestone, and thence we entered a pass, gaining, after two hours and a half's ride, the crest, but we could not the same evening

effect the descent; darkness overtook us in the forest, and we were obliged to bivouac at the first water we came to.

Our party was disturbed during the night by the supposed presence of Kurds roving about us, having been attracted by our fires, for all was solitary and deserted enough around us. Some shots were fired at the real or imaginary intruders, and as it was also raining pretty sharply, the two circumstances together deprived us of our night's repose.

*September 5th.* The cold gray dawn of morning displayed only the mist lying upon the adjacent hills, and enshrouding the bold alpine scenery around; but as the broad expanse of day bared the giant features to our view, we could perceive that we had rested on the acclivity of a range of mountains of primary schists, which had another of similar proportions in front, separated from us by a wide wooded valley, with a river in its centre, flowing to the west, till turned aside by the base of Sir Sira, and lost between it, and another mountain opposite to it, and of similar character and aspect—a huge mass of limestone thrown off by the central axis of schists.

The mountain country we were now in the heart of, constitutes part of the Ali Tagh, but the immediate district is called Bakiyeh. There was a good deal of cultivation on the acclivities opposite, where were also several villages, and a castle, called after the district, Kaleh Bakiyeh; the river also bore the same name, and the ravine at the foot of Sir Sira was called Geli Bakiyeh. Lower down the valley, was the Armenian village of Sap, and higher up, Sheik Jami, a Moham-

medan village, embosomed amid groves of walnut-trees, and surrounded by vineyards and gardens. The descent to the valley was cheerful, and the greensward and hedges were adorned with most of the flowering plants characteristic of an English autumn.

Where we forded the river it was forty feet wide by nine inches deep. This was near an old khan, called Karkush Khan, beyond which, to the left, was the poor village of the same name. Proceeding upwards, the valley narrowed and changed its direction, the river coming more from the north, till, on its taking again an easterly bend, we left its banks and ascended hills of schist, where, on passing a Kurd encampment, we lost our Chaldean friends, who had come to purchase sheep. A little beyond we gained the crest of the hill, from which we observed, stretching before us, the fertile valley of Ulek, containing two well-built villages, Upper and Lower Ulek, and so carefully cultivated, with wagon-roads in every direction, that we could fancy ourselves transported into another country.

Beyond Ulek (where we reposed ourselves a short time) we again crossed hills of chlorite-schists, beyond which, to the right, was the district of Chayina, fertile, and abounding in large villages, situate upon the Bakiyeh river, the only stream of any importance in this part of the mountains. We descended into the vale of Inip, with one stationary village and an encampment, and we left it by a narrow pass in limestones reposing on mica-schists, and from the junction of which two rocks there issued an abundant spring.

This rocky and winding pass brought us to the valley of the Betlis Chaye, here a mere rivulet, ten feet

wide by one in depth, up the course of which we pursued our way till the castle of Betlis, and soon afterwards the interminable succession of rock terraces, overhanging gardens, and picturesque houses, which constitute that remarkable town, presented themselves to our admiring eyes. The old Kurd Beys, who used to rule here with a haughty disregard of their master, the Padishah, have been tamed in modern times. The actual governor, having received presents on the occasion of the visits of Colonel Sheil and of Mr. Consul Brant, hearing of the arrival of Englishmen, went to extremes in civility, and pressed us much to take up our quarters with him, and upon our declining so inconvenient a publicity, he sent us to an Armenian house close by, so that we could be supplied from his kitchen.

Betlis being a very picturesque and remarkable site, compared by Kinneir to a crab in its figure, has been lately the object of lengthened descriptions, none of which, however, after visiting the place myself, satisfy me as giving a good idea of its peculiarities. The houses and public edifices are not, as by error propagated through all these reports, built of soft sandstone; they are constructed of the same stone as that on which the town is erected, or red and brown lava, which has apparently flowed from the Nimrud Tagh, and nearly filled up the vale of Betlis. The mountains around are composed of limestones reposing on mica-schists. The lava only lies in the valley; it is generally a light friable porous rock, but in some places becomes also compact and augitic, passing into basalt.

The disposition of the surrounding mountains has given origin on the large scale to two distinct valleys,

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each having its tributary stream of water, and each nearly filled with houses and gardens, but the subsequent floods of lava have, partly by their disposition, and partly by the effects of denudation, given rise to a greater detail and diversity of configuration. This is not so apparent in the north-easterly valley, where the hilly slopes are more regular and continuous, and the basin-like curve of mountain incloses only a prettily dispersed series of houses and well-stored orchards and gardens rising one above the other, their uniformity only here and there broken by the ruin of an Armenian church, or the white dome of some obscure mesjid; but a tongue of land, composed chiefly of lava, divides the two valleys, and at its uppermost part it is crowned by the Serai, a modern building in the form of a parallelogram. In its prolongation southward the same peninsula contains a market, and then a long row of good solid houses or mansions, which have an appearance of antiquity that is assisted by the sombre aspect of the building material. These houses are often inclosed within battlemented walls, the gates are capacious, the arches lofty, and the fronts extensive; they belong chiefly to Armenians. To the west the same peninsula terminates abruptly over the valley in precipitous cliffs, and houses of similar character, with balconies overhanging the depths below, and gardens and trees interspersed, are carried along the face and sides of the rock terraces at various altitudes and in positions varying with the necessities of the soil.

In the great western valley these peculiarities are so often repeated as almost to baffle description. The most prominent objects here, however, are the ruins of a

capacious old castle, standing upon a nearly isolated crag of lava, and looking as venerable as time-stains and ruin can make it. The cliff on which it rears its ancient front is in a low situation; nearly in the centre of the valley, which below is encumbered with a large khan, and crowded with houses and bazaars, amid which, now and then, a white-washed mesjid, or a menareh like a pillar on the rock, contrasts prettily with the black and rugged lava cliffs. Above the castle the rivulet of Betlis comes tumbling down amid rocks and houses so profusely mingled, that it is almost impossible to discern where one begins and the other leaves off. The waters are also carried away in ducts to irrigate miles of gardens, from which they fall again in innumerable rills over rocky cliffs, gladdening the green banks which here and there fringe the ravines, or watering terraces, luxuriant with the fruit-trees and flowering-plants of the climate, or are finally lost in caverned recesses.

Betlis is said to contain 2000 houses of Mohammedans (Kurds, Turkomans, Shiites, and Osmanlis); 1000 houses of Armenians, about 50 of Syrians, and some of Chaldeans. Kinneir reckoned a population of 12,000 souls; Colonel Sheil makes only 1500 houses. The accounts I received tally with those of Mr. Consul Brant and Mr. Southgate. There are three jamis, twelve mesjids, and several tekiyyehs. The Armenians have eight churches, three of which are in ruin. The Syrians and Chaldeans also have each their place of worship.

There are khans for merchants and for goods; the trade consists in woollens, tobacco, gall nuts, and gum tragacanth, of which latter 12,000 okahs are annually



exported. Raw cotton is brought from Persia, and cotton cloths are manufactured in the town. The Christians are employed in trade, as artisans, in dyeing, and in distilling arraki.

The serai of Betlis is situated, by Mr. Glasscott's observations, in east longitude  $42^{\circ} 4' 45''$ , a result which approximated tolerably with our own chronometrical observations. The north latitude of the same place, by sun and moon's meridian altitude, was  $38^{\circ} 24' 5''$ ; by Mr. Glasscott's observations,  $38^{\circ} 23' 54''$ . The elevation by barometer 5470, being nearly 300 feet above the khan. The boiling-point thermometer did not give results quite so high, only about 5000 feet for the serai.

At this elevation the inhabitants never sleep on the roofs of the houses, and melons, water-melons, grapes, and figs flourish side by side with apples, pears, plums, cabbages, and the esculent vegetables of a temperate climate. The native Christians travel, and bring European manufactures here. A French picture of Napoleon, at the head of his Guard, adorned our room.

Although Betlis is evidently a city of considerable antiquity, its history is quite unknown, nor is it noticed in the Armenian Chronicles. St. Martin only says of it that it has always been governed by Kurd Beys. It must, however, have been anciently in possession of the Armenians, as the road between Artaxata and Tigranokerd could not otherwise have been open. In Tavernier's time it was governed by an independent bey, and in the present day it is still a beyship, hereditary in a Kurdish family, the last representative of which has been displaced by the Osmanli Pasha of Erzurum, and supplanted by a brother supposed to be better disposed

towards the Sultan. The son of the deposed governor, a boy of twelve years of age, spent most of his time with us during our stay.

*September 7th.* We were not the first travellers who left Betlis with regret; we could willingly have spent a week on its cool terraces and retired mansions. Our road lay up the valley of the Betlis Chaye, and an hour's ride brought us to the khan of Babshin, handsomely built of black lava, with a rivulet near it pouring its waters over a dyke of basanitic lava. In the rear was a village of the same name.

Exactly one hour's distance we passed another khan of similar solid architecture, and another hour's ride from this brought us to Bash Khan, a khan, as its name expresses, at the head of the waters, being situated near the last spring which pours its tiny flood into the basin of the Tigris, all beyond being level plains to the foot of the Nimrud Tagh or the Lake of Van. The Easterns are not at all inattentive to these great features of physical geography, and as at the line of watershed between the Great Zab and the Persian rivers we have Bash Kaleh, so here they have also their Bash Khan. It is situated at an elevation, by boiling-point thermometer, of 5690 feet, which corresponds with what would be expected were the elevation of Betlis above the sea about 5000 feet, as indicated by the boiling-point thermometer, and not 5475, as deduced from the barometrical levelling of Dr. Dickson, who accompanied Mr. Consul Brant, and with which the elevation of Lake Van estimated by the same levelling at only 5467 feet does not tally, for the traveller is always rising from Betlis to Bash Khan, from which to Tadvan is nearly a level plain.

We had to proceed beyond the head-waters, at nearly the same level, to the foot of the Nimrud Tagh, a group of nearly conical mountains, having on this its southern front six distinct summits, all essentially of volcanic origin, and in part clad with brushwood of deciduous oak. We then turned to the left over the plain of Tacht Ali (the Throne of Ali), when we began our descent towards the sources of the Kara Su, and the extensive plain of Mush.

Hitherto, as previously remarked, till the publication of the map accompanying Mr. Brant's Memoir, the Nimrud Tagh has universally been adopted as the great mountain chain of Southern Armenia; as at once the easterly prolongation of Taurus, and corresponding to the Mons Niphates of the ancients: but it is not so; the great chain here alluded to is the Ali Tagh, the Nimrud Tagh being a local volcanic group rising out of the upland beyond. In Armenia as in Kurdistan, and in Lesser Asia, the great rivers tributary to Euphrates and Tigris, or flowing direct to the sea, as the Seihun and Jeihun, pass through the main chain of mountains, which is here, as just said, the Ali Tagh, and to confound which with the Nimrud Tagh, does not lead simply to a verbal, but also to a geographical error, by which the range of Armenian Taurus is made to course north of Betlis, instead of south of that place.

It would be a high desideratum, in the shading off of maps, if a convenient method could be found of delineating uplands and watersheds without confusion with regard to mountain chains. The aspect of peninsular Asia in such a map, would be very striking. The low irregular hilly and littoral district, succeeded by equally

low plains, as at Duzcha, 250 feet above the sea, Boli 570 feet, Vezir Kupri and Gadilonitide 800 feet, Ladik 700, the Campus Themiscyra and that of Thermo-donta, the imaginary land of the Amazons, 500 to 600 feet. Then rising as in steps to the uplands of Kasta-muni 2400 feet, of Eski Shehr 2300 feet, of Angora 2700 feet, of the Haimaneh 3000 feet, of Churum 2360 feet, of Merzivan 2000 feet, and of Erzurum 6000 feet. Then again the central uplands, without outlets to their waters, at Bulawadin and Ak Shehr, 2300 feet, at Koniye 2900 feet, at the lake of Koch Hisar 2800 feet, at Eregli 2600 feet, at Kara Hisar 3420 feet, at the Lake of Urimiyeh 4300 feet, or at Lake Van 5460 feet.

The chain or rather country of mountains, which separates these latter from the territories to the south, constitutes but one brief and stupendous descent leading in Lesser Asia to the Mediterranean, and in Armenia and Kurdistan to the plains of Assyria and Mesopotamia, the latter scarcely any where more than 700 feet above the level of the sea, to which they gradually descend.

On our descent from the Throne of Ali, we passed the village of Erwan (the Beast), presenting to us for the first time those peculiarities in the construction of the houses which, noticed by Xenophon, have forcibly attracted the attention of travellers, as remaining in all the exactitude of the minutest detail to the present day, for under the almost ever-enduring circumstances of climate and physical exposure, the condition of the peasantry in these countries has remained the same for upwards of two thousand years. I have preserved a

memento of these curious huts in the engraving accompanying this chapter\*.

Passing the large Kurdish village of Nurshin, we arrived at a kumbet or tomb, standing in an isolated burial-ground. It is a very pretty edifice, with a semi-circular dome, and pointed arched windows, with a bevelled basement of black, the upper part being constructed of red lava. This tomb is erected in the immediate vicinity of a fountain which constitutes the head-waters of the Kara Su. We were surprised to find a natural artesian spring, coming up from a deep circular hollow in volcanic rock. The waters poured out in two abundant rivulets, over the opposite lips of the crater, each stream being upwards of thirty feet in width at its origin, and both uniting shortly afterwards. The crater itself was 220 feet in circumference, and at an elevation of 4540 feet above the level of the sea. It is curious that Mr. Consul Brant, who must have passed close to this spring, did not hear of it from his guides. The Rev. Mr. Southgate, who also travelled this road, notices, however, a tradition of fountain of unknown depth, said to exist on the summit of Nimrud Tagh, and which communicates with the source now in

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\* Xenophon describes the houses as underground, and states that in them were cows, goats, sheep, and fowls, with their young. But the huts are not so strictly speaking underground, as covered excavations; a wall being raised (in front only) to support a roof of rafters, upon which earth and mud is heaped till the whole becomes like an excavated mound of soil on which the grass grows, and which is generally continuous in parts with the adjacent greensward. The intense cold of the winters on these high uplands is thus well guarded against.

question. Thus it appears, as is often the case, that local tradition coincides with the results of physical investigation. St. Martin also notices this fountain on the authority of Armenian writers, as being near the Nimrud Tagh, and being very remarkable. The waters at their issue are very clear and pure, but being soon spread over a wide district of marsh, the Kara Su becomes afterwards one of the few rivers that are so called and are entitled to the epithet.

We bivouacked near night-fall at a Kurdish village called Kotni, the inhabitants of which gave us much trouble. Our quarrels unluckily commenced by one of the party being attacked by a youth with a sickle; and who in running away fell upon his own sickle, and cut his knee. This being a blood affair, and the Kurd attesting that it had been done by his opponent, it could only be settled after many hard words and much threatening by a donation of money. About one o'clock in the morning, our sharp-eyed Bedwin descried some one roving near our beds. We preserved perfect silence, and in about half an hour's time, an attempt was made at robbery; one man was caught in the act after some little resistance, another having effected his escape in the dark, although two shots were fired at him. Our captive was as ill-looking a ruffian as is easy to be found even among Kurds. The people of the village denied that he belonged to them, probably because if we had taken him with us to the Pasha of Mush, the village would have been fined for the attack made upon us, especially as their bad character was well known. So after keeping him prisoner till daybreak, we let him go.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

**Armenians of the District of Mush. Ravages of the Kurds. Retaliation of the Osmanlis. Town of Mush. The Murad Su. Hill of Osp Polur. Mountain of the Thousand Springs. Castle of Khinis Kaleh-si. High Uplands of Armenia. Overtaken by Sickness. Tributaries to the Aras. Arrival at Erzurum.**

*September 8th.* On the hilly heights above Nurshin there are the crumbling ruins of an old castle, and on a cape or headland which advances to the north of Kotni, over the marshes of the Kara Su, is one of those simple edifices, solidly built of hewn stone, without windows, and nearly square, only with sloping roof and rounded at its eastern gable end, which announces an Armenian church, and is the form common to all such buildings in this part of Armenia.

Our road lay over this cape, and we then entered upon the great plain of Mush, 40 miles in length and from 12 to 14 in its greatest width, and said to contain upwards of 100 villages, each having from 30 to 40 families. The mean elevation of this plain may be estimated at 4200 feet above the level of the sea, a considerable elevation, but 1800 feet below that of the plain of Erzurum, and the climate is in consequence less rigorous.

The villages are mostly Armenian, but there are some also of Kurds. The latter, however, inhabit few villages permanently, but have their kishlak, and repair to their yailas, or summer quarters in the mountains, part of the year. This sad system of quartering them-

selves upon the Armenians during the winter, fully explained by Mr. Consul Brant, has existed from time immemorial; but this year, as there was a great scarcity of corn and general dearth, Hafiz Pasha has given orders that the old system should not be put in force, and it was his enlightened intention, if he found he could once break through the practice, to do away with it altogether.

The Armenians of the district of Mush have hitherto not only been subject to an authorized vexation and spoliation entailed by Kurdish supremacy, but also to frequent incursions of the same predatory tribes; on which occasions they drive away all their cattle, sheep, and goats, and treat the inhabitants according as they submit quietly to be left destitute, or resist this cruel system of plunder. The inability of the Osmanli government to protect its Rayah population in these remote and exposed districts, has led the Armenians to emigrate, whenever they can possibly accomplish it, to the provinces under Russian dominion, where they are well received. The Russians have rebuilt eighty of their small churches within a few years; they also send emissaries among them under the garb of travelling doctors; and I was informed by an aged and respectable inhabitant of the district, that the amount of emigration from the plain of Mush alone had, within these last few years, exceeded a thousand families. The Osmanlis, it is true, put a guard upon the frontier to prevent emigration, but it is quite inadequate for the object contemplated. This would require a service as complete as that on the Austrian frontier of European Turkey; while the government could employ its troops much



more effectually, and at the same time render emigration less necessary, by giving adequate protection to the poor but industrious Christian peasant.

After a journey of two hours, we crossed the Kara Su, on a wooden bridge; it was here eighteen feet wide by two deep, dirty and muddy. A little beyond was Marnik, where Mr. Southgate had his share of the grievances to be met with in this oppressed and abjectly miserable country. This is the first Armenian village coming from the east. The church is ruined, as are also those of all the Armenian villages that are situated more than three hours from the town of Mush and the seat of the Pasha, this being the extreme distance to which the Osmanli government has been able to extend a common protection, that is to say, one that ensures security to flocks, reaping of harvest, and inviolability of dwelling-houses or public edifices. The appearance of the Armenian villages, also, as you approach Mush, the activity of the people, as well as the thriving agriculture and numerous herds, attest to this amelioration in their condition in the neighbourhood of the seat of government.

We next passed the Kurdish village of Nokh, but it had been destroyed by the Pasha of Mush only a few days before. Every cottage, of which there had been fifteen to twenty, had been overthrown and burnt, and the ruins were still smoking. It appears that the inhabitants had not only kept perpetually plundering their neighbours, but it was also, as is too generally the case, always against their will, that a traveller passed without contribution. The system of punishment adopted in this case is, however, at once barbarously cruel and

insufficient, defeating indeed its own ends. In such an onset of armed and revengeful justice, the guilty escape first, many innocent suffer, and all that remain go to carry their wrongs, to continue their bad habits, and, above all, to cherish an undying hostility against the Osmanlis, in some less accessible quarter of the same neighbourhood.

The next place we came to was the Armenian village of Ahkevank. It had been ravaged by the Kurds only a few weeks before, who had left scarce anything but their houses to the poor inhabitants. The kaya was a man possessed of much pastoral wealth, having numerous herds and flocks of sheep. A large family of sons and daughters were married, and two generations had gathered around him, and looked to him for everything. To be reduced in a single day from patriarchal affluence and prosperity to the most absolute poverty, had been more than the old man could bear, and we found him overwhelmed and sick on his couch of sorrow.

The next village, Tersemer, was one of Kurds, which had lately experienced the same fate as Nokh, and had been burnt by the Osmanlis. This was certainly an unfortunate district; we had met as yet with nothing but painful scenes; but fording the Kara Su, we passed through Irisdir, a prosperous Armenian village; and beyond that came to Hass Keuy, another Armenian village with two churches, both in repair, and so rich as to be made the seat of residence of an Osmanli Bey.

At a cape of limestone a little beyond Hass Keuy is an abundant spring, turning round which we passed several Armenian villages, one of them with a pretty

church situated high up on the hill-side, above the village. Next we passed Mogi-yunk, the seat of the Pasha, who resides in a mud and stone mansion, built in a recess of the hills, high up on the side of which is a picturesque round-towered and battlemented castle of olden times. We did not delay here beyond the time necessary to procure an order for accommodation, and we found ourselves the same evening in an empty Armenian house in the town of Mush.

Mush is built upon a hill which stands out from the foot of a lofty mountain, whose summit is clad with patches of perpetual snow. On the highest part of this hill are some castellated ruins, and to the east it is separated from other hills by a ravine, containing the rivulet of Ak Su (White Stream), which is tributary to the Kara Su. In the rear of the town are nothing but dreary mountain wastes; in front, lands covered with vineyards and tobacco crops, with here and there a wood-embosomed village.

The population of Mush, according to information obtained by Mr. Rassam, is only 600 Mohammedan families, 250 Armenian, and 50 Roman Catholic Armenian families. It contains a good market, several khans, five mesjids, and ten madresahs, while the Christians have five churches and fourteen priests. One of the Armenian churches is called Keuk Bedavend (Church of Forty Steps), as it is approached by such a number of steps cut in the rock.

Mush is, by observation of the sun's and moon's meridian altitude, in north latitude  $38^{\circ} 45' 40''$ , and according to Mr. Glasscott, in longitude  $41^{\circ} 29' 30''$ ; by barometer (according to Dr. Dickson), at an eleva-

tion of 4692 feet; by boiling-point thermometer, 4311 feet.

The sanjiak or province of Mush is said to include 600 villages, of which 75 to 80 belong to the same district as the town. The number of Kurd families in the province is said to be 5000. This district is the same as the Motenen of Ptolemy, and Otene of Pliny; it is the Moxoene of Moses of Chorene.

*September 10th.* An hour's ride from Mush, over a plain covered with villages, brought us to the Kara Su, which had here, with the progress of time, migrated from a bridge of seven arches, leaving it to the pigeons, and obliging us to immerse ourselves in its dirty waters. Our road thence continued over the plain, on which were flocks of crested cranes. At Suluk, nearly eight hours from Mush, from which it bore north  $15^{\circ}$  east, we came in contact with the Murad Su, which we crossed by a bridge 500 feet in length, and formerly consisting of fourteen arches, of which the ancient ones are in the round or Roman style, and the newly-built ones in the pointed or Saracenic. The intervals where the arches had fallen in were crossed by planks, on which were laid slabs of limestone, which contained impressions of cranes' feet and numerous anodontæ, apparently the same as those found on the Murad Su in the present day. I could not find this formation *in situ*, but I compared the marks with recent foot-steps on the mud of the river, and the fossil with the recent and common bivalve of the river. We bivouacked at night at Kirawi, the near branch of the Murad Su being nearly dry, and the bed crowded with cranes, geese, ducks, teal, and phalaropes, of which we killed several.

*September 11th.* We passed the remarkable tell, with castellated ruins, which is called by the villagers Sultan Mahmud Kaleh-si, and by the Armenians, Osp Polur (Hill round as a Lentil), where a Kurd chief, of the name of Alau-ddin, is said to have resisted the Osmanli forces a century ago. Beyond this was the village of Sikawa or Kawus, the inhabitants of which had emigrated lately to the Russian provinces. As we proceeded upwards, always nearly due north, the banks of the river narrowed, the hills on both sides being composed of supracretaceous limestones and sandstones, nearly horizontally disposed. After a ride of four hours, the valley opened, and we came upon the junction of the Char Buhar Su, which has its origin apparently from the south-east slope of the Bingol Tagh, and was about forty feet wide by two in depth at its junction; at the same point the Murad Su had a mean width of 150 feet, but was deep. It now flowed from the east a little south.

We left Mr. Brant's route at this point, and ascended the bleak basaltic hills which now first presented themselves to the right, or north-east. On the first crest we found a coarse sandstone, tilted up by the basaltic rocks, and large deposits of altered marls.

We continued to travel for several hours over similar hills, always at an elevation of from 5000 to 6000 feet above the sea. *Astragalus*, *Gnaphalium*, fennel, and a few other plants which resist sudden changes of temperature and great atmospheric vicissitudes, alone flourished on these monotonous heights, which constitute the easterly prolongation of the Bingol Tagh. We did not succeed in passing over them this day, and were obliged, by night coming on, to bivouac at a spring at an eleva-

tion of 5866 feet by boiling-point thermometer, and where there was no fuel to be obtained. It froze sharply at night, and some of our attendants, who had not changed their Mesopotamian dresses, suffered very much from the cold.

*September 12th.* Crossing another crest, the road descended by a devious route of two hours to the banks of the Kizil Chaye (Red River), a tributary of the Murad Su, supplied by the eastern slopes of the bountiful Bingol Tagh. The banks of all the rivers in these high uplands, from the Murad Su to Erzurum, are well stored with brushwood, and afford a pleasing contrast to the nakedness around, looking like a verdant fringe that encircles the bases of the mountains.

The succession of rocks in the same district, from below upwards, are mica-schist and clay-schists, conide and ferriferous limestones, conglomerates of the saliferous red sandstones, various coloured sandstones, sands, marls, and gypsum. The upper part of these deposits are those through which the last great eruption of rocks of the felspatho-pyroxenic series has taken place, or over which they have been effused in vast accumulations, filling up the valleys, where the accumulation is naturally deeper than on the hill-side, altering the sedimentary formations into so many wackes and spilites, and being afterwards themselves cut by the perpetually-flowing streams into narrow picturesque ravines, or deep glens, with broken precipitous acclivities.

In little more than two hours from the Kizil Chaye we arrived at Aruz, upon the Kaleh Su, turning up which was a short ride to Khinis, the seat of government of the surrounding country.

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This remarkable place consists chiefly of a castle, built upon a cliff of basaltic rock, up knolls of which walls, bastions, and curtains in advance, are carried in picturesque profusion, while the few hamlets that have gathered round the seat of government fill up the glen below, or advance stealthily upon the plain above. Khinis is at an elevation, by boiling-point thermometer, of 5239 feet (5686 feet by barometer, Dr. Dickson). Our meridian altitude of sun was taken at Aruz, which is in north latitude  $39^{\circ} 17' 40''$ ; Khinis or Khunus Kaleh being, it appears by Mr. Glasscott's observations, in  $39^{\circ} 21' 42''$ .

Mr. Southgate, who followed a different road, describes what he calls *the plain* of Khunus, situated to the eastward, as containing eighteen villages, all of which are Armenian.

I have previously remarked that the main features and leading points of contrasted configuration in the great Armenian upland are derived from the alteration produced in a country of recent sedimentary deposits reposing on low hills of schistose rock being broken up by one or more great eruptions of volcanic rocks. The Terktob, or Barmahsiz Tagh, is an example of simple upraised sedimentary deposits; the Chekmah Tagh, of the volcanic rock occurring in dykes in mica-schists, even to the crest of the hills, while on the acclivities are upraised and altered limestones. The Bingol Tagh is a vast mass of volcanic rocks, with altered formations.

This Mountain of a Thousand Lakes, concerning which many ridiculous traditions are current among the Armenians, is not so much a distinct mountain, as a

long crest upon an upland district. From these circumstances, although at so considerable a height above the level of the sea, it gives no impression of loftiness from the uplands around. Its long continuous crest, protected at the same time by bluff ridges of volcanic rock, is more favourable to the perpetuation of glaciers and snow patches than an isolated cone like that of Supan Tagh, which is also visible from Khinis. Hence the Bingol Tagh may be considered as somewhat below the lower limit of perpetual snows in these parallels, although it has snow patches (whence its numerous lakes and water rills) all the year round, while probably the Supan Tagh expresses the height of the same inferior line pretty accurately.

*September 13th.* A little more than a mile and a half north of Khinis we came to another rivulet, with the usual wooded banks, which soon afterwards is divided into two tributaries, one from the west, the other from the north, and a little beyond the northerly tributary is found to result from the union of two more streams. Below all these hydrographical subdivisions occurring within so short a space, is the ruin of an Armenian sepulchral chapel, remarkable for its peculiar lightness and elegance of style, rising like a colossal cross with a lantern dome. Near it are some large upright stones, with the cross in bas-relief.

We travelled along the southern foot of the Chekmah Tagh, and up the valley of the west branch of the second division of streams, till we came to where the same stream was itself the recipient of two, one from the north  $10^{\circ}$  east, the other from the south  $80^{\circ}$  west: and here we halted, in north latitude, by the sun's meridian



altitude,  $39^{\circ} 24' 5''$ . The ground where we slept was marshy and wooded, the night was also frosty, and by next morning four of the party had caught malaria, as well as, strange to say, one of the horses.

*September 14th.* We ascended this morning the Chekmah Tagh, on the western crest of which is a ridge of black basalt (the Kara Kaya of Mr. Brant's map), the summit and easterly prolongation consisting of indurated limestones on mica-schists. Here also was a kumbet of similar black rock, with numerous graves around, although there were no habitations within sight. We descended by an open glen in basalt till we came to water, when, owing to the continued illness of several of the party, we halted at the foot of a basaltic knoll, on the summit of which were the ruins of a fortress. Mr. Rassam, taking advantage of some travellers also on the same road, left us here to continue his road onwards to Erzurum. This castle is, by sun's meridian altitude, in north latitude  $39^{\circ} 29' 40''$ , and at an altitude by boiling-point thermometer of 5380 feet. At night-time the frost was severe; a jug of water placed by the bedside of the sick was frozen over with a thick coating of ice; this in the time of still great heats in Mesopotamia\*.

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\* It is curious in the present day to look back to a not very long period, when the last commentators of Xenophon in this country had recourse to a theory of Tournefort's to explain the severe cold of these lofty regions, viz.: that the earth was impregnated with sal ammoniac! The fact is, that when once upon the uplands, without instruments, a casual traveller has no idea of the elevation at which he is travelling. A curious instance of this kind once presented itself to me. I requested a travelling gentleman to take notes for

*September 15th.* The Khan Tagh which was now before us inspired hope to the sick, and we were able to make an early start. We found this range composed of limestones, which were remarkable for the great quantity of iron ore which they contained. We noticed the presence of this mineral, at a subsequent opportunity, to Hafiz Pasha.

On our descent from the mountain we found ourselves on the banks of the Bingol Su, why so named in preference to the numerous other streams descending from that mountain, it is difficult to say, but it is the first tributary met with on going northward to the river Aras. It abounded in fish. Ascending another gentle eminence we made a further descent to a second large tributary to the same river, on the banks of which we halted half-way from a ruined khan and salt springs, and a village to the south. The latitude of this place was, by meridian altitude of sun,  $39^{\circ} 37' 30''$ ; altitude, 5530 feet.

*September 16th.* We started as usual before the sun, so intolerable to aguish persons, had become strong. Our road lay up the rivulet by the khan, previously noticed, where are several wells, from which saline waters are obtained and evaporated by the sun's heat. A little beyond this three tributaries (the customary hydrographical complication in these uplands) united to form the rivulet whose banks we were now leaving.

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me in a traverse he was making, where he had to pass uplands from 2000 to 3000 feet in altitude. His report of his journey was, that he had travelled over downs of no great height, somewhat similar to those of Sussex!

Our road lay up a steep hill, between the westerly and north-westerly, or central of the tributaries, as will be found delineated on the map. We crossed the crest, and passing the central rivulet, which here made a curve, gained the next ascent, when we broke down by illness and were forced to halt on the hill-side, in north latitude, by sun's meridian altitude,  $39^{\circ} 44' 50''$ , and at an altitude of 6350 feet.

*September 17th.* We continued our journey this day over the same range of hills, consisting of euphotides, diallage and tremolite rocks, with serpentines tilting up altered sedimentary deposits of the supracretaceous series. On this day's journey the poor black horse, which formerly belonged to Mr. Russell, and was ridden by him at the battle of Nizib, and which, ever since the 13th, had had alternate chills and then sudden and most profuse perspiration till the water ran down him like rain, could go no further, so, rather than leave him to fall into bad hands, I made up my mind to shoot him. The Greek servant took off the saddle and bridle, and I applied, without dismounting, a pistol to his ear. For a moment after I had fired he appeared as if untouched, only a little stunned; the ball had gone right through his head. In a few moments, however, a gush of blood flowed from the nostrils, and it was all over with poor Kara Nizib, who had stood the brunt of the battle and the retreat, and who had been our companion in such long and toilsome journeys.

After a very fatiguing journey to the suffering sick, of seven hours and twenty-five minutes, we arrived at Erzurum, where we were kindly received by old and new friends.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

City of Erzurum. Antiquities of Erzurum. General Remarks on Armenia. Journey to Trebizond. Town of Trebizond. Return to Constantinople.

ERZRUM was at this moment the place of residence of several English gentlemen, who were exerting themselves in illustrating the geography of these little known Eastern countries; among these were Colonel Sheil and Mr. Thomson, of the Persian Embassy, and Mr. Consul Brant, whose enterprise and success in the cause are well known. It behoves me, then, to say little upon a place already in such good hands.

Some contradiction exists among authors as to the origin of the name of this celebrated Armenian city. De Herbelot appears, however, to give it correctly, when he says it is a corruption of the ancient Arabic name, *Arz al Rum*, Country of the Romans. St. Martin writes it *Arzeni er Roum*, Arzen of the Romans, a name which he supposes to have been given to it to distinguish it from another place in Armenia, also called Arzen; but we have already shewn, that this district is called *Gharzen* by the Orientals.

Bell, in his *Geography*, gives the various estimates of the population of Erzurum, as made by ten different authorities, besides that of the Russians, who when masters of the town are supposed to have taken a correct census, and who make it amount to 100,000 persons, yet it is stated in the town and recorded by Mr. Southgate, that by a late census the population is only determined at 35,000.

Mr. Brant's barometer gave, as the mean result of a number of observations, an elevation of 5500 feet to the town of Erzurum, and my boiling-point thermometer a result of 5700 feet, which is a close approximation.

The Chifteh Menareh, with its two curious towers, its interior ranges of apartments or cloisters, its abutments with double-headed eagle, its Saracenic gateway, and superadded Mohammedan tomb, the original form of the building being probably that of a cross, has been a puzzle to many as it was to us. These ruins of incongruous style have been said to belong to a Greek monastery, and then to an Armenian church. The Russians found in the cells ancient shields, helmets, bows, arrows, and swords, and Chaldean or Syriac inscriptions. Its history appears in reality to be almost that of the various dominant nations of Erzurum.

There is also at Erzurum a monument, which represents the pillars of Keli Shin, only without inscription, but apparently belonging to the same worship.

The Armenians of Erzurum are building themselves a new church, since Mr. Southgate penned his rebuke on the condition of the existing edifice. There is also an American missionary, a Mr. Jackson, residing here, and who keeps up the line of communication between Trebizond, where is Mr. Johnson of the same mission, and the large and thriving mission of Urimiyeh.

It is to be regretted, that we have not as yet a good map of the sources of the Kara Su and those of the Aras. Mr. Thomson has lately visited the former, and it is to be hoped his map of the environs of Erzurum will soon be published. Probably the statements of Strabo and Pliny, that the Euphrates and Araxes originate at a

distance of only six miles from one another is true, not only with regard to the southern head-water of the Aras and of the Murad Su, but also to the northern head-water of the Aras and those of the Kara Su. We still find it repeated in modern works of geography, that there is not a stream of water within five miles of Erzurum, while the fact is, that the waters which the inhabitants drink, and which irrigate their gardens, are tributaries to the Kara Su; they are, however, very spare in quantity, and are at some seasons of the year absorbed before reaching the Euphrates.

I cannot leave the present capital of Armenia without noticing how remarkable it is, that the ancient state of this country is among the least known to the learned and curious of Europe, and it is one of the countries of the East that has hitherto attracted the least attention. There can be no doubt, that were the literature of this ancient people more studied, the comparative geography of the country drawn from its present obscurity, and a new light thus thrown upon its history, a feeling of real interest would be excited in the present fallen condition of its people.

There is, indeed, much in the history of Armenia to interest the Christian and the antiquarian, and that could not fail to awaken the most profound curiosity and sympathy. There are few countries which present more striking pictures of the early struggles of Christians against idolatry, in the memorable martyrdom of the Vardanians and the Levondians, who shed their blood in defending their church from the profanation of the fire-worshippers and the followers of the Arabian prophet; nor is there less field for inquiry and for instruc-

tive exploration in the remains of the dynasties of the Haic, the Arsacidæ, the Satraps of Persia, of the Greeks and the Khalifs, the era of Macedonian rule, that of the Bagratian race of kings, or the more humble princes called Reubinian—moments of comparative calm and prosperity, swept across by the tempest-like invasions of a Genghiz Khan, a Timour, and the no less fearful devastations of a Shapur and a Schah Abbas.

*September 25th.* There are several roads from Erzurum to Trebizond. The winter road, which is the longest, passes by Gumush Kaneh, and takes the longer portion of valley; all the others cross over the mountains at various points, to the east of the road by the mines, but whether going by the mountains or only by the valley road, the muleteers often go indifferently so far to the west as Ash Kaleh, and at other times turn off by the villages of Bey Mansur and Kodja Bunar, where they take to the mountains. It was our good fortune to avoid Ash Kaleh, and passing the first day over the woodless plain of Erzurum, cultivated and abounding in villages, we arrived at Bey Mansur, without visiting the warm springs of Ilijeh, and which village we found to be situated at the foot of hills, not far from a cone, bearing from Erzurum north  $59^{\circ}$  west, and where a tributary to the Euphrates of greater dimensions than the river of the plain of Erzurum finds its way out of the hills. Thus the river of Erzurum is probably not the most remote source of the Euphrates.

*September 26th.* Our road lay over hills of supracretaceous limestones and sandstones, tilted up by euphotide and serpentine rocks. We made a steep descent to the valley of Gol Veran (Dry Lake), and another ascent

by Kodja Bunar (Old Man's or Head Spring). We descended hence into the vale of the river of Ispera, or Choruk or Juruk, which we had now to follow for some time by the valley of Masat or Marrat. The chain of hills which we had crossed between the valley of the Kara Su and that of the Choruk or Juruk river, is called the Kop Tagh, and is regarded by Balbi as belonging to the group of the Erzurum mountains, but it assimilates itself both by structure and geographical relations with the Chamlu Bel and Kara Bel, the ancient Paryadres and Scydisse.

We had a beautiful and uninterrupted ride along this valley, in which there are some mines to the west, to Baïburd of the Turks and Russians; Baibout, Baibut, and Baiaboot of Bell, Brant, and Southgate. This town is on the river Juruk, now a goodly stream, and for strength, not pleasantness, is situated amid barren rocks of limestone, which inclose it as in a basin. The castle, which occupies a single hill to itself, is of considerable extent, but ruinous and untenanted. Baïburd contains 400 families of Mohammedans, and 100 of Armenians, several jamis and mesjids, and one Armenian church. Kinneir says that this place offered no resistance to the Russians, but the people of the town asserted that it was defended for three days.

*September 28th.* Passing some barren hills we descended into a rich and cultivated valley, with several villages, at one of which, called Var-Khan, were ruins of a rather handsome Armenian church, and of a monastery, or other ecclesiastical edifice. Beyond this we entered upon a valley, with rivulet, into which one of the baggage-horses fell, in endeavouring to cross a bridge



of a single plank. In this valley was the small village of Afshin, with a ruined castle. We kept ascending hence, passing the village of Mezra, over the Tekiyyeh Tagh (Monastery Mountain), which, from its name, has been identified with the holy mountain of Theches of Xenophon, and was clad with woods of straggling pine.

We descended from this range into a narrow ravine, with rivulet, in a country of trachytes; and then, after another short ascent and descent, gained a valley, in which was an inn kept by a Greek. This is the only road in Lesser Asia where we met with such an accommodation, but the traveller has still to provide his own bed. This place was called the Tash Kupri (Stone Bridge).

*September 29th.* Another long ascent led us to the last range of hills that we had to cross before reaching the Black Sea. There were two more inns on the road, but as it would soon be blocked up with snow, the proprietors had taken off the planks which served as a roof to the houses, and departed for winter-quarters at Trebizond. We had just got tired of the barren treeless expanse of heights we were traversing when suddenly the road began to descend, and the beautiful valley of Stavros, with scattered cottages and continuous forests, only broken up by fields of maize and fruit-burthened gardens, extended before us the whole apparent length of our remaining journey. Our descent was not, however, the affair of a moment, but was long and tedious; at times we were involved in clouds of mist in the heart of a fir grove, at others sliding down a causeway, at once a road and a water-course.

When we at length reached the valley below, its numerous beauties fully repaid us the slight trouble of the descent. It was peopled chiefly by industrious Greeks, not fierce Lazis, as Mr. Southgate's seruji falsely declared to him, but labouring Christians, who dwell in villages, the white-washed cottages of which rise one above the other on the hill side, each with its field of maize, at the roots of which an after-crop of gourds and kidney beans is grown. Around were also groves of walnut trees, and orchards of fruits, while nuts hung from every hedge. Each village had its little white-washed church, some of which were, however, in ruins, and becoming thus very soon ivy and shrub-clad, were picturesque.

A short distance down the valley we came to where it was joined by the rivulet of Gerisleh, and on the heights above, between the two streams, was a large modern Turkish mansion. Below this was a bridge and custom-house; and after two hours and a half ride from this we compassed some low hills, which led us down upon the town and sea-port of Trebizond.

On our arrival here we were put into quarantine, in consequence of the plague raging, as it was stated, in the neighbourhood, but having, by the kind assistance of the vice-consul, Mr. Suter, been enabled to perform spoglio\*, our confinement was limited to three days; and indeed the whole thing was a farce, as far as any real attention was paid to enforcing quarantine regulations.

There was, at this time, at Trebizond, a German

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\* A change of clothes, ablution, and fumigation.

student, who was residing there solely for the purpose of illustrating the history of this very ancient and interesting town ; and it is with pleasure that I notice the probable addition to existing literature of the history of a place which has been in succession a Greek colony, the capital of a kingdom, and a Genoese commercial mart.

The most ancient notices we have of Trapezus, or rather Trapezon, are those of Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus, who mention it as a Greek city, and a colony from Sinope. It was considered as a free city by the Romans, according to Tacitus and Pliny. Mela Pomponius records its splendour, and Eustathius speaks of it as a great emporium. The Emperor Adrian constructed here an artificial port, the remains of which are visible in the present day. It was sacked by the Goths in the third century, but reverted to the Greeks when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Latins, at which period it became a separate kingdom, under the Comneni family, who reigned there till it was yielded by David Comnenes, chiefly, it is said, at the instance of his mother, to Mohammed II. Until the edict of Soleiman the Great, against princes holding governments, the town was generally ruled by princes of the royal family ; and it was from here that in the time of Bayazid II., and in the year 1511, Selim, afterwards first sultan of that name, issued forth, with the forces of the province, to win an empire.

The population of Trebizond has been the subject of the usual diversity of statements among travellers. Bell quotes six different reports ; Balbi adopts that of St. Martin, of 3000 houses and 40,000 inhabitants ; but

it is now the opinion of European residents that the whole population amounts only to 25,000.

We quitted Trebizond by the steamer plying thence to Constantinople, from whence Mr. Rassam repaired to his Consular duties at Mosul, while I ultimately reached my own country, where I hope, at some future period, to be able to publish the more positive and scientific results of these travels, of which I now present a sketch to an indulgent public.

THE END.

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